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RURAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

A TEXTBOOK IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

by

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FOREWORD

IN NO SPECIALIZED FIELD OF SOCIOLOGY has there appeared a greater volume, or greater diversity, of research findings than in rural sociology. During the 40-year period in which rural sociology literature has developed, there have been few attempts to reduce or convert research findings into a body of organized science. The reasons are that, with very few exceptions, both reports on research and other treatises have been chiefly concerned with the worthy purpose of presenting significant information about rural life and living. Action institutions and agencies and the general public have demanded information on and analyses of rural situations which it was desired to improve. Rural sociology textbooks have been written to be used chiefly in classes composed of students who were taking the course in rural sociology for informational rather than scientific purposes. Administrators, or controllers, of research funds have approved few research projects the findings of which did not give promise of immediate usefulness and practical action programs.

Anyone who has closely followed the evolution of rural sociology textbooks cannot, however, fail to recognize the gradual attempt to convert rural sociology research findings into a body of scientific sociological knowledge. This book is a worthy attempt to carry this trend a long step forward by presenting a solid core of conceptual interpretation of those types of social phenomena which have either easily identifiable social structure or are oriented by values. All such types of phenomena its authors call "social systems." The term is not too familiar to rural sociologists but is far superior to the term "social organization" or "social structure" because it includes all systems of social interaction which are structured by either locality, formal organization, or cultural factors; they may be major social action agencies, local cliques, or broad religions. All of them are, however, functioning social entities in which individuals seek and find status, roles, rights, and objectives (purposes) in daily living and by means of which they fulfill the imperatives of being persons.

Sociologists have far too long taken too literally Carl Pearson's statement that science is method, without recognizing that no amount

of rigidly applied method of analysis can create the actual norms by which human beings systematize their behavior. Social systems are not products of scientific method or mere products of abstract concepts. There can be no logical conception of phenomena, no matter what method of classification and interpretation is used in analysis, if there is not logic or system in the behavior of the phenomena themselves. Social systems are the functioning imperatives of personal and social being without which life would not only be a riddle but would be unlivable. It is because of their universality and relative stability that once they are understood, something approaching predictions of their behavior can be made.

But merely to establish the fact that human relations or social interactions do manifest themselves in social systems does not convert a discussion or even an understanding of them into science. Merely to observe or perceive phenomena is not enough. Conceptualization is essential to classification of knowledge and classification is the first step in scientific analysis. A concept is both definitive and interpretive. It is definitive in that it prescribes that this datum is included within and that that datum is excluded from a class or type of phenomena. It provides interpretation in that once a phenomenon is assigned its place in a type or class, all that is known about other phenomena included in that class can be used to help understand it.

The concept used by the authors of this book for classifying and interpreting social systems is the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* dichotomy. By converting this dichotomy into a continuum they establish a scale of gradients between these two "ideal" or "model" types or systems of social interaction and are thus able not only to have a number of classes but able to isolate degrees of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* types of behavior values. In doing so they must, of course, utilize many data which were not assembled by use of their basic concept. Even so, their design of analysis makes control of observations possible and such control is essential to anything approaching scientific analysis of social phenomena.

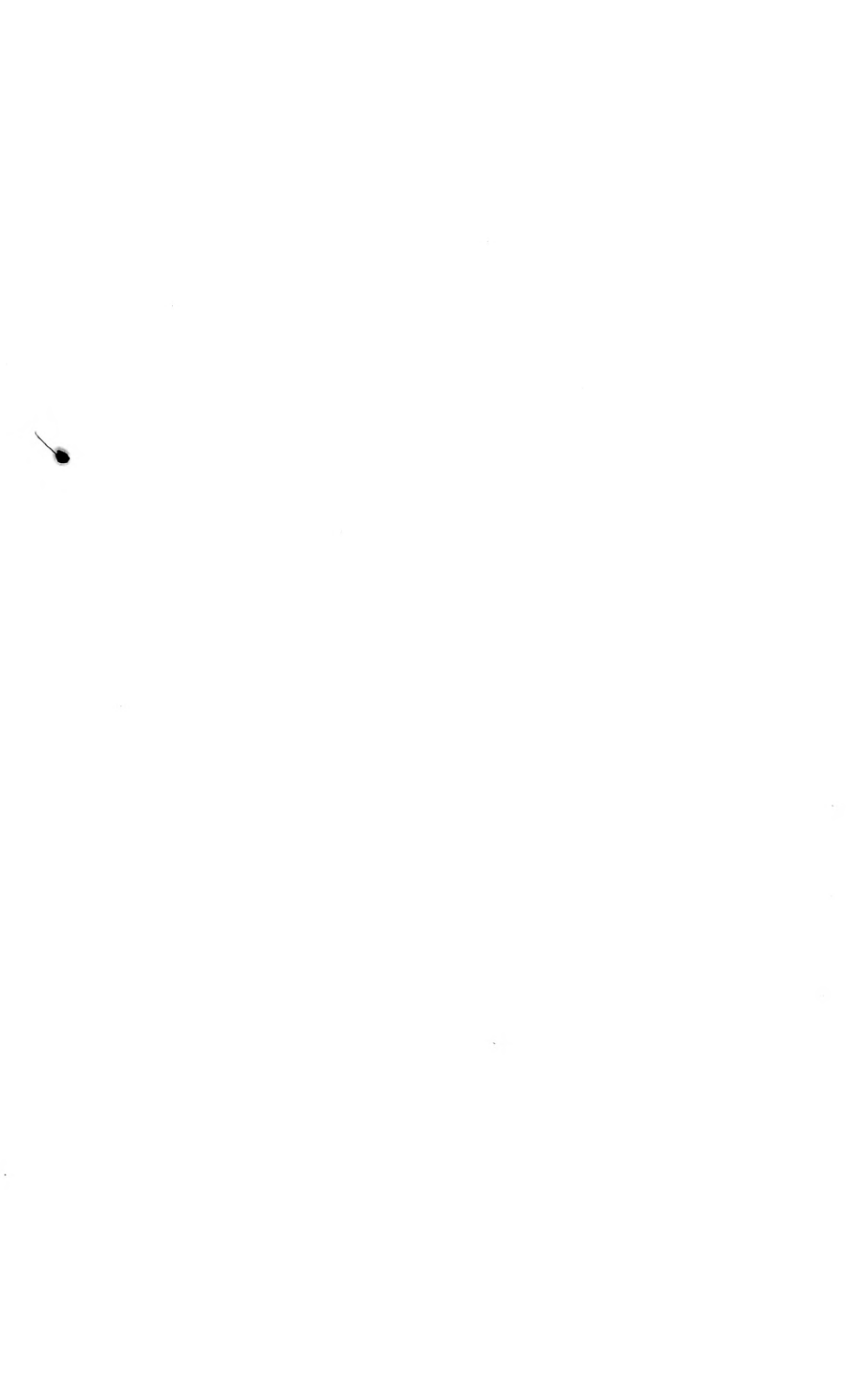
Before we go further in a critique of what this book accomplishes or attempts to accomplish, it is probably necessary to set forth a little more fully what the authors mean by social systems, although to do so will be repetitive of the first few pages of their text. To paraphrase, they say that a social system is either an organization composed of persons who interact more with members than with non-members when operating to attain their objectives, or it is a pattern of relation-

ships which prevails and perpetuates itself without interpersonal contacts because members have a common orienting set of values. In one instance its structure is easily identifiable. In the other its values can be easily identified even though its structure may be fairly nebulous. Both consist of "social interactions" and the "cultural factors" which structure them.

Their ten-point scale of *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* continuum is based on contrasting components or characteristics of the two "ideal types" and used, sometimes quantitatively, sometimes by carefully defined terms, to analyze social systems—family, religion and the church, education and the school, farmers' organizations, and so forth. Because their analysis must often be made by use of data not assembled or classified in terms either of social systems or the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* concepts, there are differences in the extent to which their quantitative scale can be applied. In all instances their scheme eliminates purely lineal analyses and makes control possible in observations and interpretations.

Needless to say, there are great differences in the types and contents of social interaction in such cohesive systems as families and such nebulous systems as general farmers' organizations. This makes the use of "ideal types" in analysis much more difficult in some cases than in others. If, however, all social systems have elements in common, namely, "social structure" and "value orientation," it is both practically and scientifically useful to analyze them and attempt to understand them in terms of their common denominators. Such an attempt on the part of its authors constitutes the outstanding contribution of this book.

CARL C. TAYLOR



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INTRODUCTION



CHAPTER 1

THE NATURE OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS— FRAMES OF REFERENCE

WHY A BOOK ON RURAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS?

THIS VOLUME is organized around social systems. The authors believe that such an organization supplies an approach more adequate than others in meeting the demands of science, especially in regard to understanding, prediction, and control. Furthermore, we feel that the social system approach is superior to many frames of reference which employ abstract terms pertaining to less functional entities. This approach, the authors feel, is particularly applicable to administrators who have specific roles in concrete social systems and to those engaged in modern group work.

County agricultural agents, foresters, social workers, soil conservationists, civil engineers, and other professionals inevitably come into contact with such social systems as cooperatives, unions, families, churches, and schools. For those who use organizational structures as channels of communication to reach people with programs, or for others who must establish communication between members, the concrete social system is more meaningful in most cases than abstractions of a different order. Considering the present stage of development in sociology and anthropology, and considering the limited knowledge of social processes possessed by many technically trained professionals who work with people, we believe the contribution of these disciplines may be accepted more readily if we deal with concrete social systems familiar to potential users. Cast in the framework of social systems, it is hoped that the student of rural sociology may gain a better understanding of rural group life, its interaction, functioning, and change.

WHAT IS A SOCIAL SYSTEM?

One may think of social systems on two different levels, which, for our purposes, do not often require differentiation. In the first place, a

social system may be considered as concrete, or a cooperative social structure such as a football team, a Farm Bureau local, a family, a church congregation, a school, or even a silo-filling ring. It can be shown that these organizations are composed of persons who interact more with members than with non-members when operating to attain their objectives.¹ When considerable action is involved, as in a football game, it is not difficult to distinguish the players from the non-players. Even in such relatively simple situations, however, there may be a central system and various sub-systems. The usual starting line-up, for example, represents the central core, and the substitutes organized into various groups represent the sub-systems.

In the second place, a social system may be viewed as abstract, or one in which patterns of relationships prevail from generation to generation and from region to region.² Viewed in this way, social systems consisting of elements or patterns that persist do not require that specific persons be considered as parts of the system. A Catholic church official of a given order and status, for example, can quite easily fit into or adjust to the sub-systems in different parts of the world or even into the same sub-systems of earlier generations.

According to our conceptual scheme, the subject matter for sociology and cultural anthropology is human culture and interaction. Although such subject matter may be viewed in many ways, we choose to make the various types of social systems our chief concern. As the significant unit of social systems, we accept Sorokin's "meaningful interaction of two or more human individuals" and his requirement that interaction be an event "by which one party tangibly influences the overt actions or the state of mind of the other."³ Social systems

¹ Chapple and Coon define a system as "a group of individuals interacting with each other at a higher frequency than with non-members when the system is in operation." See E. D. Chapple and C. E. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942, p. 707.

Linton applies the terms "societies" or "groups" to what we are calling "concrete social systems." Our "abstract social systems," Linton terms "social systems." Although we are not concerned with the relative merits of different terminologies, the student should know that such distinctions exist. See Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, pp. 253-257.

² Cuber makes a somewhat similar distinction between institution as an abstraction and institution as concrete reality to that which we here make between concrete social systems and abstract social systems. See John F. Cuber, *Sociology*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1947, p. 388.

³ P. A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, p. 40.

are made up of social interactions and the cultural factors which structure these interactions.

What do seemingly diverse social systems such as the Michigan State College, a combat fighter squadron, or the X family of Middletown have in common? What instructions can be given a stranger so that he may identify these or others as social systems? What are the significant differences in social systems? Volumes can be written in answer to these questions, but key elements of concern to those interested in understanding personality formation, social interaction, and culture can be outlined.

ELEMENTS OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

That interaction between persons within a functioning social system is greater than interaction between those within and those outside has already been mentioned as characteristic of social systems. Although a large number of elements might be suggested, the authors feel that certain components related to the structure, value orientation, and locus of social systems are most important. These include the following: (1) Roles, or that which is expected of individuals in given situations. (2) Status, or the ranking given individuals, based upon the consensus of members as to what traits and qualities are to be rated high and low. (3) Authority, or the right and power of individuals to influence others (a concept that also implies certain duties). (4) Rights, or the immunity from authority, and duties, or the required obedience to authority and the requirements associated with the individual's role. (5) Ends and objectives, or those changes (or perhaps the maintenance of the *status quo*) which members of the system expect to accomplish through the operation of the system. (6) Norms, or those rules which govern the application of means in the accomplishment of the ends or objectives. (7) Territoriality, or the locus and space requirements of a social system.

If other elements of social systems remain, the authors believe they are so inextricably interrelated that any classification which separates them is not realistic. For our purposes, however, we shall consider roles, status, and authority as primarily parts of the structure of social systems. The ends or objectives and norms we consider as primarily aspects of the value orientation. Thus, although some overlapping may occur, the social structure and value orientation are the two basic type-parts of social systems.

As applied to a specific social system—a football team—the ele-

ments just outlined may become clearer and more realistic. At a very early age, a child in American culture learns that different players on a football team do different things and are designated by the positions they play. Such positions we call roles, or what is expected of one in a given situation. The child also learns that some players are considered better than others. The basis for rating players, rooted in a general consensus as to what qualities are to be rated high and low, gives the players different status. It will also be perceived, particularly if the signals are called aloud, that the one player who calls signals influences the actions of others more than any single individual influences the action of the signal caller. The child may properly ask why this player or the coach has the right to influence others? This right and power to influence others is authority. A person with great authority holds permission-granting rights and gets those over whom he exercises authority to do his bidding much more than they get him to do their bidding. Great authority is usually coupled with much one-way action, an extreme case of which is hypnosis, a relationship in which the subject has little apparent influence. Two-way action implies less authority, as in the case of the committee chairman who has members of the committee do only those things the committee has previously determined should be done. Studies have shown that the element of authority is not restricted to human groups. For example, among chickens there is a well-defined "pecking order." That is, chicken A may peck any other member of the flock; chicken B may peck any member except A; and so on to chicken Z, a very frustrated chicken that can peck no other chicken. Although pecking orders are seldom as regular as this, similar behavior has been observed among baboons and goats studied in captivity.⁴

In football, the coach has the right to influence the players. He is an authority. When he sends the team onto the field to play, the authority is temporarily and partially transferred to a player who calls the signals. The coach further designates which players will play certain positions, or certain roles. With the authority and role go both rights, or immunity from influence, and duties, or required obedience to authority and conformity to requirements associated with the roles being played.

⁴ For a summary of these studies see Charles F. Harding III, "Objective Studies of the Social Behavior of Animals," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. II, No. 4, July-September 1943, pp. 21-29; also J. P. Scott, "Dominance and the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis," *Physiological Zoology*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, January 1948, pp. 31-40.

A child who sees a football squad running signals soon notes the interaction pattern sufficiently to distinguish between team members, spectators, and others who may be near. Furthermore, he will be able to readily differentiate football teams from other teams and groups. In more generally applicable phraseology, he will detect changes in the situation which the organization or its leaders hope to bring about by the action. The child learns the team's ends or objectives—what the team is trying to do.

As football teams play in competition, officials are empowered to declare penalties for violations, thereby rewarding the other side. These penalties are determined by the rules of the game. We call this aspect of social systems norms, which govern the application of means to achieve the end or objective. Whether they are written or not, all systems rely upon norms.

Territoriality or location in space is also a very important element which should not be omitted in the description of social systems. In football the rules of the game not only specify the dimensions of the playing field but also the spatial relationships of the various players. In offensive play the football center, for example, cannot trade places with the end. The roles are assigned to physical locations as related to the other players.

In considering systems as a whole, territoriality is also important. In warfare, control of areas is basic to strategy. When countries are occupied following a war, boundaries become very important because they indicate the extent of the occupying army's authority. In systems such as concentration camps and prisons, territoriality is of extreme importance. In kinship groups, the authority pattern and other factors are related to the manner in which marriage settles the spatial relationships of the two families of orientation. Furthermore, territoriality is of importance to discussions of locality groups such as neighborhoods, trade centers, and cities, as well as of governmental units such as townships, counties, municipalities, states, and nations.

VALUE ORIENTATION AND MORALE

Many groups are not organized for specific objectives. Associations in MacIver's⁵ sense, or special-interest groups in Toennies'⁶

⁵ R. M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1937, pp. 4 ff. and 282 ff.

⁶ Ferdinand Toennies, *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology (Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft)*, translated by C. P. Loomis, New York: American Book Company, 1940, pp. 225 and 247 ff.

sense usually have rather specific objectives; but in the case of friendship and kinship groups, the value orientation includes the objective which, if it can be expressed at all, may be as broad as "preserving our way of life" or "keeping our gang together." Any group will have some of this type of motivation, which may be characterized as "persistence of aggregates";⁷ but non-purposive behavior of intimate face-to-face groups make the interpersonal relationships ends in and of themselves. A typical family will not disown a son because there is an opportunity to adopt another child who will make the family more efficient in this or that respect. On the other hand, the football team that does not use the most efficient players will probably win few games. These differences are due to differences in value orientation. Even though all systems have patterns of authority, roles, rights and duties, and status, they may vary greatly in their value orientations.

Many elements, of course, are related to the morale of a social system. Roethlisberger⁸ has stressed the importance of open and effective communication between authorities and the various levels of subordinates. Of importance also is the relative emphasis placed upon objectives and the possibility of attaining them. Thus the integration of all the elements of a system is important for the greatest personal satisfaction and security of its members.

Zeleny⁹ has developed sociometric methods for measuring what he calls morale. His measurements in reality deal with congeniality. Likert¹⁰ and the Morale Division of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey measured morale in terms of the absence of willingness to accept unconditional surrender, absenteeism in industry, loss of faith in leaders, belief that one's own group or class was getting the worst of it, and such general conditions as defeatism, fear, hopelessness, fatalism, and war-weariness. It should be obvious that regardless of whether morale is high or low in a given system, it is dependent upon the functioning of the communication system and the

⁷ See the discussion of Pareto in Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937, pp. 278 ff.

⁸ F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943, pp. 189 ff.

⁹ Leslie D. Zeleny, "Sociometry of Morale," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. IV, No. 6, December 1939, pp. 799-808.

¹⁰ The United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Morale Division, *The Effects of Strategic Bombing on German Morale*, Vols. I and II, December 1946. See Volume II for a discussion by the senior author of this text on the influence of bombing upon morale as reflected in suicides in German cities.

integration of the elements outlined. High morale exists when all members of the system are in accord with its ends, agree upon its bases of attaining status, have confidence in its leaders, conform to its norms, and are willing and ready to make great sacrifices to defend the system. A system that places excessive emphasis on "success goals," or on norms, protocol, and customs, and frustrates achievement, will probably have lower morale than a system in which such elements are balanced.

APPLICATION OF CONCEPTS

Variations in both social structure and value orientation make for a general over-all variation in the nature of social systems. Many writers have attempted to describe these variations by what may be called "sponge" types.

Many types are in use. However, their practical utility has been questioned. It is not difficult to understand why many sociologists and anthropologists who are required to assist in directing human affairs can see little or no value in such "sponge" concepts as Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft,¹¹ mechanical solidarity and organic solidarity,¹² sacred and secular society,¹³ Apollonian and Dionysian societies,¹⁴ folk and civilization,¹⁵ primary and secondary groups,¹⁶ or familistic, mixed (contractual), and compulsory interaction.¹⁷ Useful as such concepts, configurations, and themes of social systems¹⁸

¹¹ Toennies, *op. cit.*

¹² Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, translated by George Simpson, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1947, Book I; also Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-451.

¹³ Howard Becker and R. C. Myers, "Sacred and Secular Aspects of Human Sociation," *Sociometry*, Vol. V, No. 3, August 1942, pp. 207 ff.; also Vol. V, No. 4, November 1942, pp. 355 ff.

¹⁴ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934.

¹⁵ Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LII, No. 4, January 1947, pp. 293-308.

¹⁶ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.

¹⁷ Sorokin, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-118.

¹⁸ Clyde Kluckhohn, "Patterning as Exemplified in Navaho Culture," in Leslie Spier, A. Irving Hollowell, and Stanley S. Newman, *Language, Culture, and Personality*, Menasha, Wisconsin: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941, pp. 109-129; Clyde Kluckhohn, "Covert Culture and Administrative Problems," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLV, No. 2, April-June 1943, pp. 213-227; Morris Opler, "Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LI, No. 3, November 1945, pp. 198-206; and Kurt H. Wolff, "A Methodological

may be in analyzing human behavior and culture, few administrators and executives would be enough interested to listen to a sufficiently complete explanation of these concepts to make them useful. Nevertheless, such concepts may be very important in major social movements.¹⁹ The Nazi movement would never have been what it was without the *Volkgemeinschaft* or "community of fate" idea,²⁰ nor would the socialist and communist movements be what they are without the Marxian concept of the *buergerliche* Gesellschaft or middle-class capitalistic society. These and similar concepts have played and will play major roles in wars, race riots, and revolutions.

Consciously or unconsciously, everyone, whether a scientist or a director of human affairs, is continuously using similar concepts. When they are of such a nature that they may be defined, their elements specified, and their over-all or Gestalt qualities described in objective terms, they may be instruments of science. When not, they may be useless, or they may be used to accentuate prejudice, thus augmenting race hatred, religious strife, and class conflict.

STUDENTS' APPRAISAL OF THEIR ARMY AND FAMILY AFFILIATIONS

The authors devised an instrument whereby students in rural sociology classes could compare aspects of the value orientation and social structure of various systems with which they had had experience. In the winter and spring terms of 1949 there were 90 students who had had experience in the armed forces during World War II. They were requested to compare the military unit with which they had had most experience with their own families, most of which were farm families. In making this comparison they were requested to recall how they were related to their fathers and other family members when they were from 10 to 15 years of age. In comparing the family and army units, the following instructions were given: "In each case please assume the following conditions: A sudden emergency about which no member of the group had any warning requires that the

Note on the Empirical Establishment of Culture Patterns," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. X, No. 2, April 1945, pp. 176-184.

¹⁹ Paul Honigsheim, "The Roots of the Nazi Concept of the Ideal German Peasant," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 1, March 1947, pp. 3-21.

²⁰ C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, "The Spread of German Nazism in Rural Areas," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 6, December 1946, pp. 724-734.

permanent location (residence of the family, and offices or quarters of the other group or groups) be moved within twelve hours. All possessions and equipment used by the group and its individuals must be moved by the group itself to a new location several miles away." The continua used and the instructions for the use of the instrument are printed in Appendix A. The stability of the averages and the similarities in the profiles of the many rural sociology and other classes whose members have compared the military units they know best with their own families during their youth demonstrate the workability of the instruments and illustrate the importance of the elements which were chosen for the continua used. The findings for the 90 veterans will be described below, but we must now turn to the three concrete social systems which are also to be analyzed through the use of the continua.

CONCRETE SOCIAL SYSTEMS TO BE COMPARED

To illustrate the use and components of the type of concepts employed, in addition to comparing the rural sociology students' appraisal of their own families and military units, it is proposed to compare an Amish family, a Latin-American ditch association, and a federal government bureau in the United States Department of Agriculture. Because the authors know these social systems very well and because the systems differ from one another fundamentally they will be described and compared to illustrate the nature of and variations in social structure and value orientation.

THE AMISH FARM FAMILY

The family to be described is a typical Amish farm family living on the outskirts of the Older Order Amish settlement in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, which numbers about 3,500 persons. The culture of these people has been described in detail elsewhere.²¹ Unfortunately, it is not possible in the space available to describe the history and many other facts of importance concerning these people.

²¹ For a more complete description of the Amish culture see Walter Kollmorgen, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, Rural Life Studies, Washington: U.S.D.A., September 1942. The senior author, one of the directors of the studies resulting in the U.S.D.A. series "Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community" conducted under the leadership of Carl C. Taylor, lived a short time with the Amish family being described. He accepted the only available role to him as an outsider, that of hired hand.

The family considered here lives in the mother settlement from which colonies have gone out into various states. The land was rented and the income was somewhat below average—elements that prevented location in a more central part of the settlement, where land values are almost ten times higher. The more central location insures families more isolation from the “gay” people or non-Amish outsiders. Among Amish families the chief elements from which status is gained are: (1) conformity to the sacred mores of the Amish; (2) success in farm operation; and (3) hard work and thrift. Within the family, status is determined according to many of the same principles. Wholehearted obedience and willingness to participate in the co-operative activities of the family are very important.

The Amish think of themselves as a people apart—God’s plain people—who have always been persecuted by outsiders. Their norms, which taboo the use or possession of many conveniences considered as part of the profane, ungodly world outside, are the most significant characteristics making the Amish people different. Thus, tractors cannot be used for draft power in farming. Neither can the Amish own automobiles, trucks, electric lights, lightning rods, radios, telephones, bicycles, electric refrigerators, indoor toilets, or elaborate house decorations. Plain clothes, without buttons, are prescribed for work, church, and visiting. Standardized “plain” grooming in hair styles is characteristic.

Few groups have restricted the occupational roles of their members more than the Amish. Only farming and a few related non-urban occupations are open to children. School beyond the eighth grade or beyond the age of 14, musical instruments, non-biblical books, membership in non-church organizations, and many other activities and objects are tabooed. Dress and grooming mark the Amish as a people apart, and great value is placed upon being in “full fellowship.” Violations of taboos or failures to abide by prescribed customs may deprive one of the right to communion or may even lead to shunning. In the latter case, even the nearest relatives refuse to interact with the violator until he repents and makes amends. The alternative is to “go gay”—that is to say, give up the privilege of “full fellowship.”

Limitations on the possession of such American symbols of status as automobiles, education, house furnishings, clothing, and the like are accompanied by great emphasis upon success in farming and upon hard work. Many dairy farmers arise at 4:00 A.M. and retire regularly at eight at night.

According to the investigator's notes, the family under consideration included the mother and father, a 19-year-old son, and seven daughters, ranging from an infant to one 17-year-old girl. With the exception of the baby, of course, the entire family worked as a team. Each had certain functions and duties to perform. At nine o'clock one morning in April, the family was engaged in the following activities: the father, Christopher, was plowing with the three-horse sulky; the son, David, and the investigator were loading and spreading manure; the mother and three older girls were currying the twenty cows; a younger daughter was feeding the chickens; and the baby was cooing in a basket in the barn. The family had all arisen at 4:30 A.M. The mother had quickly started a fire in the range and had left one of the youngest girls to cook the cereal and boil the coffee. She had then followed her husband, son, and daughters to the barn to help feed and milk the twenty cows. Milking was done by hand, and each person had specific cows to milk and other specific duties to perform. However, if one member of the family was sick or if another, such as the investigator, was added to this work team, the father had no difficulty in readjusting the work in such a way that a new equilibrium was formed with little frustration or friction.

Other Amishmen sympathized with Christopher for having only one boy left at home, because, in general, the heavier field work falls to the men. On this farm, however, the girls and mother all participated in field work. The roles and functions were assigned in accordance with required strength and abilities. A general consideration, however, specifies that the women's first duty is that of caring for the house, poultry, and pigs, while that of the men is almost exclusively outside household affairs. Accounts and buying are the man's business, although in this family the woman's superior education resulted in her participation in these affairs.

The family had two buggies, which could not, however, be used interchangeably by the father and the son. Since David was in the courting stage, he had an open buggy, harness, and several blankets. If David followed the recommended practice of the Older Amish, he would attend barn singings, court a girl, and marry her at about twenty years of age. After the wedding he would sell the open buggy and buy an enclosed, grey-topped one similar to his father's. He would then grow a beard, and his wife would bring her hope chest and dowry to the newly formed household. After the wedding, the bride no longer wears her white cap and white apron, and neither she

nor the bridegroom attends the singings. All these developments designate important changes in both roles and status of the two young people. Marriage constitutes an important transition in the life cycle and is associated with impressive rites of passage.

The Amish family has often been described as patriarchal. To this the authors would most certainly agree. Some superficial observers, however, have described the Amish father as a dictator. It is true that the Amish wife and children are supposed to be submissive to the father, and the children to the mother when the father is absent. Chapple's and Arensberg's²² interaction measurements would show a high origin-response ratio for the Amish father. This would indicate that he ordered, suggested, and directed, and that the wife and children conformed and obliged. Such quantitative measures, however, may misrepresent the authoritarian pattern. If one heard the Amish father order his son to fix the fence in the pasture, he might sound dictatorial. However, his order would assume a different meaning if the son himself had previously said that the fence needed repairing, lest the cows attempt to crawl through.

Many of the directives that Christopher gave resulted from similar discussions. Nevertheless, wives and children are expected to obey fathers, and children are expected to obey both parents. As will be shown later, the Amish father's interaction with other members may superficially resemble that of an authoritarian system such as an army unit. Their basic characters, however, are quite different. This will become evident as the conceptual scheme we plan to employ is developed.

DITCH ASSOCIATION OF EL CERRITO, NEW MEXICO

The function of the ditch association in New Mexico is to clean, maintain, repair, and control the irrigation system of El Cerrito, a village of twenty-five families.²³ Since few cultivated crops grow in the village without irrigation, the ditch association, next to the family and the church, is probably the most important organization. All

²² Eliot D. Chapple and Conrad M. Arensberg, "Measuring Human Relations: An Introduction to the Study of the Interaction of Individuals," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 22, 1940, pp. 3-147. Eliot D. Chapple and Gordon Donald, Jr., "A Method for Evaluating Supervisory Personnel," *Harvard Business Review*, Winter 1946, pp. 197-214.

²³ See *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, El Cerrito, New Mexico*, by Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis, reprinted in C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 265-338.

families owning land in the valley are eligible for membership. Although there is no formal constitution, the association is almost as old as the village itself. No dues are paid. Instead, each family contributes labor in accordance with the area of irrigated land operated. One day's labor is usually required for each acre of irrigated land. If the dam is washed out or if any other catastrophe occurs, the labor involved is allocated in accordance with the number of acres to be watered.

Authority or control of operation is placed with the ditch boss or *mayordomo*, who, with the ditch committee of three members, is elected by a popular vote of all members of the village. The role or function of the boss as an official is to plan the cleaning of the ditch, an event which assumes the character of a community fiesta. Other functions are to inspect the ditch at regular intervals and to call out the men to work when the ditch is to be repaired. In many New Mexican villages the ditch boss has great status in the community. At El Cerrito the duties are equal to or exceed the rights attached to the role, and the office is passed around to all who will function in it. No pay is received. The only reward, other than the prestige attached to the position, comes by virtue of the fact that the boss is not expected to do any labor, since he is a supervisor.

Except for the priest, ditch bosses and all other authorities are called by their first names by those of the same age group. Only first names are used among the members. If enmity develops between members, they may address one another by last names. However, this is not common in this association. In the roles as members of the ditch association, committeemen are expected to make new rules for the regulation of the association and to see that the old ones are enforced. They must regulate water according to supply and need. The authority of the officials is not questioned, but they usually follow tradition or consult with other leaders.

Another aspect of the value orientation is reflected in the fact that a violation of the code of the association may bring about a suspension of water rights or heavy penalties in the form of labor. Such sanctions are seldom necessary. However, people are expected to be, and usually are, cooperative. One's status in the community depends in no small measure upon willingness to submerge self-interest. If a member fails to do his share for good reason, he is pardoned. The people say, "It's the spirit that counts." In general, there is a definite status system for cooperators. Those who fail to do their share in the

cooperative undertaking find help less readily in other events in which assistance is needed. Although one's contributions in this rather timeless society are certainly not accurate to the minute, the value placed on doing one's share is very great.

THE DIVISION OF EXTENSION AND TRAINING IN THE U.S.D.A.

The Division of Extension and Training,²⁴ like the Technical Collaboration Branch of which it is a part, came into being as a result of the war, but nevertheless it is a typical division of a governmental bureau. It became an arm of a cooperative agricultural program concerned with returning the growing of rubber, cinchona for quinine, and cubé for rotenone and other sprays to the Western Hemisphere. These crops had originated in South America but in large part had been transplanted to the East, where they, along with certain fibers and other important crops, were appropriated by the Japanese after Pearl Harbor. To re-establish the production of these crops in areas accessible to the United States, cooperative experiment stations were established in various Latin-American countries. As a part of this program, trainees were brought to the United States to learn American agricultural techniques.²⁵ Specialists were sent to Latin America to make rural sociological and cultural anthropological studies preparatory to beginning adult education and extension work. The division is expected to handle foreign trainees, to make cultural anthropological studies, and to establish extension or adult education work at the experiment stations.

As in other government bureaus, directors, chiefs, and leaders directed activities or gave the permission necessary to carry through a line of work. The rights and responsibilities of functionaries at both professional and clerical levels are specific. The authority of director, chief, head, and leader is limited to the individual employee and does not extend to members of the employee's family. The personal lives of employees and their families are sharply separated from their professional lives.

²⁴ For a more complete description of this governmental division, which was headed by one of the authors, see Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, Chapter 14. Loomis was this division's organizer and first head.

²⁵ As a part of the work of the division, the results of this program were evaluated. See C. P. Loomis and E. A. Schuler, "Acculturation of Foreign Students in the United States," *Applied Anthropology*, Spring 1948. Also reprinted and distributed by the Social Research Service, Michigan State College.

The roles and functions of the bureau have evolved as time passed. Functions could not be as specific as in many bureaus because an employee, although traveling in a foreign country, was expected to look after the affairs of the various other sections, including those of crop production and station management. Upon returning, he was expected to help assign foreign trainees to various government bureaus or land-grant colleges. All were expected to watch for capable technicians who might study agriculture in the United States and carry improved methods to agriculturalists in their own countries. Division of function was less than in many bureaus.

In general, status was represented by one's professional rank, i.e., by P-1, P-2, and other ratings. In this system, status is not accorded in exact relation to rank and salary. Lower ranked and salaried persons receiving the basic P-3 salary but having considerable foreign experience and mastery of foreign languages, for example, may be accorded more respect than a Senior Scientist with higher salary, or even a Principal Scientist (P-5) with a much higher salary but with little foreign experience and mastery of foreign languages. Since the organization was made up of research workers, the standing in the scientific professional groups was also important.

Because the men were away from central controls a great deal of the time and were continually travelling, much more freedom was enjoyed than in most government bureaus. While in travel status, to be sure, certain duties had to be performed outside one's regular work. A formal call, for instance, had to be made at the American Embassy, which led to other duties of protocol.

As the division grew, procedures grew. One could not do *this* but must do *that*. Letters had to be written in five copies of different colors. Letters for the director's signature were written one way, those for the secretary's signature another, and if in either case they went to the Department of State, a more impersonal form had to be used. Even so, anyone accustomed to European bureaucracy, particularly of the prewar type, would class this division as relatively informal and personal. It was not uncommon for those below section heads to call division heads by their first names. Chiefs would be called by their first names only by section leaders, unless those below had been former friends. Nonprofessionals such as clerks, secretaries, and stenographers seldom call their bosses by their first names, but bosses frequently call them by first names or nicknames.

FUNDAMENTAL ATTRIBUTES OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

As social systems, the Amish family and the government bureau are, of course, essentially different. The outstanding difference resides in their value systems, or that which Sorokin²⁶ calls law-norms. The Amish family is more of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* type; the government bureau more of the contractual *Gesellschaft* type.

These two concepts, the latter word of each pair developed by



FIG. 1a. Elements of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* as shown in after-church cliques. Next to the family, the clique or friendship group is characterized by the most familistic *Gemeinschaft* elements. Here in Pozuzo, Peru, eight days by mule-back from the nearest road on the eastern slope of the Andes, these "Germans" from northern Italy have lived for over three quarters of a century. The cliques form spontaneously when fairly large groups of acquaintances assemble.

Toennies²⁷ and the former by Sorokin, are not found in actual life but represent types which are "extremes" or "ideal types." Like the components of atoms in nuclear physics, they are fictions of the mind, invented to assist in understanding the data. The peasant family and the intimate, solidary, face-to-face relationships of the clique or friendship group are relatively familistic *Gemeinschaft* in nature. Toennies thought the attitude and behavior of people in the stock market characterized contractual *Gesellschaft* relationships. Sorokin and Maine have thought of people associated with one an-

²⁶ Sorokin, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-77.

²⁷ Toennies, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff., 37 ff.

other by contract as forming the prototype of what they call the contractual and what we call contractual *Gesellschaft* relationships. In general, it may be concluded that the members of a familistic *Gemeinschaft*-type system place relatively more emphasis than do members of a contractual *Gesellschaft*-type system upon the norms rather than the specific ends of the systems. The inclusion of the word contractual emphasizes a particular type of norm and suggests a characteristic feature of *Gesellschaft* systems.



U.S.D.A. Photograph by Forsythe

FIG. 1b. Farmers are participating in an increasing number of contractual, bureaucratic relationships which have many *Gesellschaft*-like qualities. Farmers of DeKalb County, Alabama, are shown here in the County Activities Building, Fort Payne, where they are seeking information on their cotton allotments under the Agricultural Adjustment Act.

As suggested previously, types such as familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft* are "sponge" designations. They are broad, comprehensive terms which often fail to define explicitly their elements or components. The authors have attempted to abstract some key aspects of these broad types not only in order to illustrate fundamental components of the types but also to further describe differ-

ences between the Amish family, the El Cerrito ditch association, and the division of the government bureau.

That the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft* types are to be considered as extreme, polar types, is familiar to the reader. For purposes of precision, we have chosen to visualize the two types at the extremes of a ten-point scale as shown in Diagram 1. A neutral point is arbitrarily chosen to be 0, and five points in either direction indicate the relative degrees of familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft* traits. Thus, on one hand, point 5 on the continuum represents the extreme or ideal type, familistic *Gemeinschaft*; on the other hand, point 5 at the opposite end of the continuum represents the ideal type, contractual *Gesellschaft*.

The components of the two major types under consideration are each constructed into a scale or continuum. Ratings²⁸ of the Amish family, the ditch association, and the government bureau are made for each of the continua. Also, as stated above, each of ninety students in Michigan State College rural sociology classes with military experience compared their own military units and their families when they were 10 to 15 years of age, by placing them on the continua.²⁹ Those components of the types considered most important to illustrate the nature of social systems include the following: non-rational versus rational action; functional specificity versus functional diffuseness; complete or blanket responsibility versus limited responsibility; and integration of roles within the system versus irrelevance of roles outside the system. A more complete analysis of other important components of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft* may be found in Appendix A.

Non-rational versus Rational Action.³⁰ One of the fundamental characteristics of the contractual *Gesellschaft* as viewed by the authors is its rationality. Three non-rational types of behavior are tra-

²⁸ The composite ratings of Walter Kollmorgen, Olen Leonard, Wilson Longmore, and Charles Loomis were used. Each of these scientists was intimately acquainted with at least two of the systems.

²⁹ Average scores made by the military units and families on the continua in the following diagrams numbered 5 to 0 to 5 were computed by arbitrarily assigning 1 to the 5 position on the right, 6 to the neutral position, and 11 to the 5 position on the left. Thus numbers were assigned as follows to the positions from right to left: 1 to 5, 2 to 4, 3 to 3, 4 to 2, 5 to 1, 6 to 0, 7 to 1, etc.

³⁰ In the interests of brevity the three components of non-rational action, namely sacred, traditional, and emotional, and their opposites are combined. See Appendix A for separate scores on these continua and the definitions at the extreme or 5 positions.

ditional, emotional, and sacred. The characterization used in placing the three systems on a continuum of Non-rational versus Rational is the following: The completely rational act is considered as one in which the interpersonal relationships of the members of the system are in no sense considered as ends in and of themselves. In fact, in rational action interpersonal relations are only valuable insofar as they further some action aimed at the attainment of ends or objectives.

The non-rational act, for our purposes, is considered one in which all interpersonal ties and relationships are the only important ends. All other values are subsidiary. Obviously neither of these extreme conditions exists in reality. In large part it is the high evaluation which farm people place upon home and community ties that makes for "lack of flexibility"³¹ in the family farm, a fact which prevents it from casting off its members merely because they may not pay for their upkeep. Those economists who deplore the "inflexibility" of the family farm enterprise, which results in what they call over-population in rural areas, have failed in many cases to understand the difference in value orientation of the family on the one hand, and a bureaucracy on the other.³²

Diagram 1 shows the appraisal of the value which members of the three social systems place upon interpersonal relationships such as those involved in friendship and kinship ties.³³ Position 5, at the

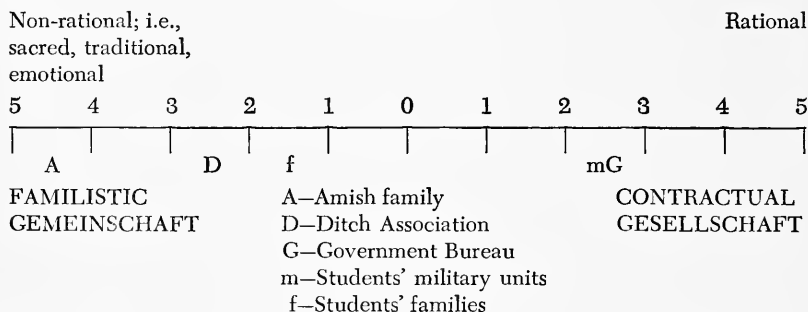
³¹ Joseph Ackerman and Marshall Harris, *Family Farm Policy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946, p. 394.

³² See T. W. Schultz, *Agriculture in an Unstable Economy*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945, p. 201.

³³ For a much more detailed characterization of the elements of rationality and non-rationality and the dangers inherent in the use of these concepts, see Appendix A. As indicated here, the non-rational element "emotional or affectual" as used by Max Weber is not in some respects on the same level as traditional and secular action. As also indicated in Appendix A, the three social systems were placed on the various continua by four investigators independently. All these investigators knew at least two of the systems intimately. On the more specific continua there was remarkable agreement among the investigators. Here in Chapter 1, several continua are combined. This combination has been made in order to shorten the reading required to familiarize the reader with the conceptual scheme of the authors. Among the many limitations of the data, the reader should be aware of the following: In interpreting the continua beginning with Diagram 1 of this chapter and Appendix A, comparisons between the relative positions of the ratings the students gave their families as compared with the military units they knew are more valid than comparisons between either of these and the ditch association, Amish family and government bureau. The four investigators who rated these latter systems did not at the time they made their comparisons com-

left, represents the condition of being extremely non-rational; position 5, at the right, the condition of being extremely rational; and position 0, at the middle, the condition of being equally rational and non-rational. The 90 students with military experience ranked their military units with scores which averaged far to the contractual *Gesellschaft* side. They did not place their families so far to the familistic *Gemeinschaft* side as the rankers placed the Amish family.

DIAGRAM 1



From the point of view of attaining objectives, the action of the government division is the most rational, while that of the Amish family is the least rational. The ditch association occupies an intermediate position. The norms controlling the application of human effort to the attainment of objectives in both the Amish family and the ditch association are governed much more by tradition and permit more emotion than in the government bureau. Although perhaps less rational than a business organization, the government bureau differentiates more sharply between means and ends and permits less opportunity for sacred, traditional, or emotional elements to influence the actions of the individuals. Thus, with respect to rationality, the Amish family and the ditch association have more characteristics of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*; the government bureau more traits of the contractual *Gesellschaft*. For a more detailed analysis of the rational versus the non-rational component, see Appendix A.

Functional Specificity versus Functional Diffuseness. The range

pare their families or army units. Therefore, these latter three systems may be compared one with another but comparisons between these and the students' rankings are less valid. If the five systems had been ranked by the same informants concomitantly, comparisons among all the systems would be more meaningful.

of activities of members of social systems and the extent of the superior's rights over and responsibilities to subordinates may be general and diffuse, or they may be narrowly limited and specific. Thus, the rights and responsibilities of a mother to her young child are diffuse, general, or blanket, whereas the rights and responsibilities of a government bureau chief to his subordinates are functionally specific and limited. He is not required by custom or law, for instance, to help a sick assistant.

Similarly, the norms governing the means used in attaining objectives and the objectives themselves may be either diffuse or specific. Diagram 2 is a graphic comparison of the three systems placed on a continuum ranging from an ideal type in which all action is functionally diffuse to another type in which all action is functionally specific.³⁴ The action pattern of the Amish family is much more blanket and much less functionally specific than that of the government bureau, considered from the point of view of the roles, authority pattern, norms, and ends. As the diagram shows, the ditch association falls into an intermediate position. Along with the Amish family, however, it falls on the familistic *Gemeinschaft* side of the continuum. The government division falls on the contractual *Gesellschaft* side. The average scores rural sociology students with military experience gave their military units and families fall between the Amish family and the government bureau. Interestingly enough, students without military experience tend to rate military units farther toward the contractual *Gesellschaft* side than students with military experience, who have experienced the familistic *Gemeinschaft* nature of buddy groups and so forth.

Community of Fate versus Limited Responsibility. The Amish family represents a relatively complete "community of fate," in that the hardships and sorrows are borne by all and the pleasures and satisfactions are the pleasures of all. In the case of the government bureau, financial loss on the part of a member is borne only partially, if at all, by other members of the system. The three systems are placed on this continuum as shown in Diagram 3. As in Diagrams 1 and 2, the Amish

³⁴ Of course, it is recognized that, considered separately, the authority pattern, roles, norms, and ends of a given system might vary on this continuum. Various elements are analyzed separately in Appendix A. All the elements are considered together here as a sort of over-all average. As indicated in Figure 1 of Appendix A, the elements of the three systems when compared on a profile chart on this continuum form similar patterns.

family falls nearest the extreme pole of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*, while the government division falls nearest the contractual *Gesellschaft* side. The ditch association occupies an intermediate position. The rural sociology GI students place their military units and families as in the previous diagram.

DIAGRAM 2

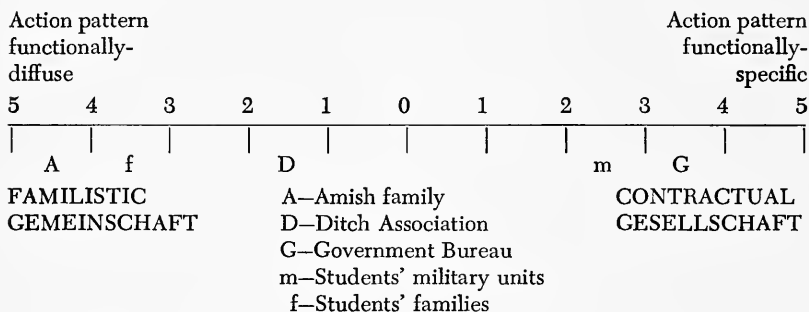
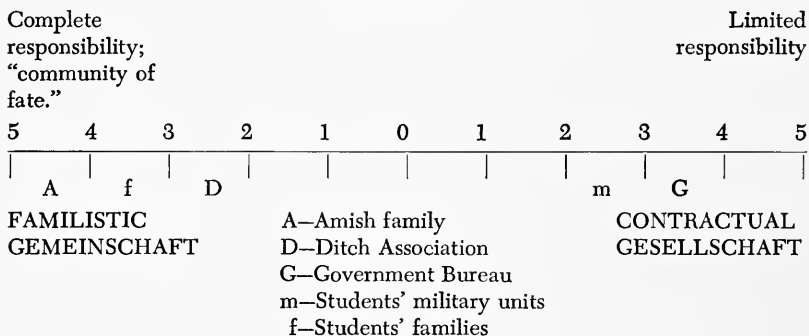


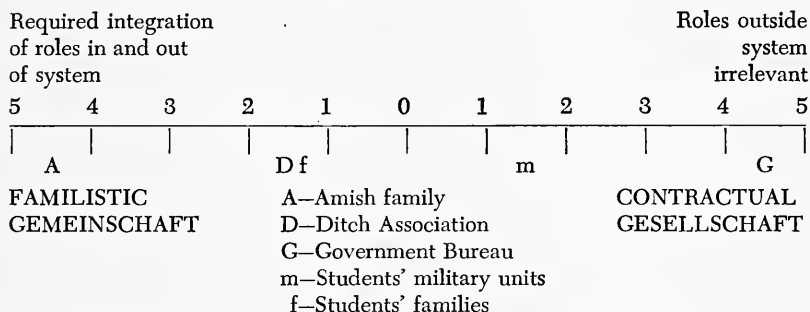
DIAGRAM 3



Integration of Roles Within and Outside the Systems. Some systems require that members play no role outside the system which conflicts with their roles within. Usually a church will not permit its minister, for instance, to make money as a barkeeper; in fact, the freedom of ministers' children outside the church is often more restricted than is that of other children. When the three systems are placed on the continuum showing integration of roles in and out of the system, the profile is similar to those of Diagrams 1, 2, and 3, except that the government bureau falls nearer the extreme contractual *Gesellschaft* type. The Amish family is close to the extreme type

of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*, while the ditch association is again intermediate. The intermediate position of the students' military units and families may be due to the fact that the systems were rated as two contrasting units independently. If each person had rated all five systems at the same time, the general pattern would have been the same, but the order of the systems on the scale might have been different.

DIAGRAM 4



THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TYPES DESCRIBED

That bureaucracy as a large-scale cooperative structure is efficient is attested by its prevalence, particularly in the modern Western world. The last two world wars were struggles between huge bureaucracies, and the outcome of future wars will unquestionably depend largely upon the efficiency of bureaucracy. Among the most important features of the dynamic and powerful nations today is the prevalence of bureaucracy. All nations of any military or industrial importance are characterized by bureaucracy or the contractual *Gesellschaft*-like organization.

Even though *Gesellschaft*-like organizations such as the army, business, and industry are more efficient than familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like organizations, experience has demonstrated that morale in the bureaucracies can be increased if some of the characteristics of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* organizations can be introduced. The more frequent the two-way interaction between authorities and subordinates is, for instance, the higher will be the morale, in all probability. Likewise, the greater the face-to-face relationships and the greater the solidarity of the relationships, the higher will be morale. The depersonalized, secondary, rationalized, and secular

relationships in formal bureaucracy, when coupled with the high mobility resulting from assigning status, roles, and rewards on the basis of attainment rather than upon family or other criteria can be demonstrated to be related to, if not a cause of, great personal frustration and insecurity. The very groups that attain positions of authority in the organizations and professions characterized by these traits have the highest suicide and functional insanity rates.

Such movements as nazism³⁵ and present-day emotional religion are not unrelated to the frustration and insecurity which characterize modern middle- and lower-class life. Toennies and others have called attention to the satisfaction that comes to workers in large impersonal industries through participation in the social life of unions where some Gemeinschaft-like features are emphasized.³⁶ Much of the insecurity and consequent frustration of present-day society is related to the growth of large-scale organizations which have the characteristics of the contractual Gesellschaft. This influence extends to the rural areas and has caught up the farmer in the price and market regime; as a result, the farmer has lost much of his former independence and security.³⁷ The German peasant residing in a family-sized farming area often supported the nazi movement, whereas many urban labor groups sought security through labor, socialistic, and communistic groups in the cities.³⁸

Roethlisberger and Dixon,³⁹ in their study of the Western Electric Company's plant, and Likert,⁴⁰ in his study of life insurance salesmen, have demonstrated that industry and business could improve morale by introducing certain aspects of the familistic Gemeinschaft into their organizations to offset frustration precipitated by the impersonal aspects of bureaucracy. Attempts to restrict output are very often related to the insecurity of workers. It is obvious, of course,

³⁵ Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.* For an excellent discussion of the relationship between Max Weber's concepts: (1) rational-legal authority, (2) traditional authority, and (3) charismatic authority as related to nazism and communism, see Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949, pp. 132 ff.

³⁶ Ferdinand Toennies, *Fortschritt und Soziale Entwicklung, Geschichtsphilosophische Ansichten*, Karlsruhe: 1926.

³⁷ Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933, Chapter XXVIII.

³⁸ Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*

³⁹ Roethlisberger and Dickson, *op. cit.*

⁴⁰ R. Likert, *Morale and Agency Management*. Hartford, Conn.: Life Insurance Sales Research.

that great frustration would be brought about by the mixing of some familistic *Gemeinschaft* traits with some *Gesellschaft* traits. If agencies resorted to particularistic and personal criteria for awarding promotions and status in large-scale organizations, morale would most certainly suffer. Nevertheless, much of the insecurity in large-scale organizations is inherent in the strangeness, impersonality, and secularization of the organization.

The Likert study cited above, for instance, indicates that salesmen are concerned most about the attention their supervisors give them. The German army attempted to overcome some of the insecurity of bureaucracy induced by the rational, functionally specific, and secondary nature of the Prussian army by having unit officers learn the birthdays of their men so that they could be congratulated. Although such innovations represent a change in techniques rather than a change in value orientation, the fact that they are used proves that such bureaucracies lack features which are felt to be necessary for high morale. Mayo and Lombard⁴¹ demonstrated that in those departments of the aircraft industry in which the interaction pattern and the type of authority was *Gemeinschaft*-like, labor turnover and absenteeism were lower.⁴²

If society develops a means of introducing elements of security into modern industry and government, whether based upon features of security characteristic of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*, the contractual *Gesellschaft*, or both, a tremendous force will be released for productive use. This is not to say that an automobile plant can be modeled after an Amish family. Neither would the desired results necessarily be accomplished by turning private bureaucracy into government bureaucracy. The point is that those who direct bureaucracies of either type should realize that workers who are not secure in their families, communities, and occupations are not likely to have high morale in the bureaucracies in which they work.

⁴¹ Elton Mayo and George F. F. Lombard, *Teamwork and Labor Turnover in the Aircraft Industry of Southern California*, Harvard University: Bureau of Business Research, 1944.

⁴² The authors call groups with high morale (in the plants studied) "natural" and "family" groups. One supervisor who was particularly effective in building morale was described as follows: "Z gave most of his time to facilitating the work of others. . . . He saw the problems of maintaining balance among technical efficiency, organization of operations, and spontaneity of cooperation. . . . Z listened to a new employee, introduced him to his companions, tried to get him congenial work associates. . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Social science has demonstrated means of improving the morale of social systems. In this connection, the development of that branch of sociology called sociometry should be mentioned.⁴³ Through special



Acme Telephoto

FIG. 1c. A contractual *Gesellschaft*-like situation in which familistic *Gemeinschaft* sentiments are used. Both management and labor attempt to attain their objectives through bureaucratic and contractual *Gesellschaft*-like organizations. Each attempts to have the public believe the chief motivation comes from familistic *Gemeinschaft* elements. In this case, two young representatives of management are attempting to identify management's interests with those of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*.

sociometric techniques, devised to get people together who want to be together for various purposes, both group and individual efficiency has been increased. Thus work groups of children in school and camp, county agricultural agents in work shops, bomber crews on missions,

⁴³ See Zeleny, *op. cit.* The two fundamental books in the field of sociometry are: J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?*, Washington, D. C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Co., 1934, and Helen Hall Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation—A Study of Personality in Inter-Personal Relations*, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1949. For a review of the general literature, see Charles P. Loomis and H. B. Pepinsky, "Sociometry, 1937–1947; Theory and Methods," *Sociometry*, Vol. XI, No. 3, August 1948. This special issue deals entirely with rural life.

and other groups may perform more efficiently when members are grouped by sociometric techniques permitting those to function together who want to be together. Cleavages within social systems such as those between different races or rural and urban people may be measured, and special procedures such as role playing, social drama, and other forms of group dynamics may be used to increase integration.⁴⁴

It is the authors' belief that important in the explanation for back-to-the-land movements during depressions and for the current phenomenon of small-farm purchase by workers, is the feeling of futility and insecurity in the organizations characterized by contractual *Gesellschaft*. We also believe that underlying rural-urban conflict and the mushrooming fringe areas around the cities are the fundamentally different attitudes of people with basically familistic *Gemeinschaft* orientations and those with basically contractual *Gesellschaft* orientations. Underlying much of the unrest and disequilibrium among both rural and urban groups today is the loss of elements which have here been described as being of the nature of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*.

RURAL AND URBAN WORLDS AS RELATED TO FAMILISTIC GEMEINSCHAFT AND CONTRACTUAL GESELLSCHAFT TYPES

Toennies⁴⁵ maintained that the urbanite was more influenced in his actions by the elements of the *Gesellschaft* than by the elements of the *Gemeinschaft*. On the other hand, according to Toennies, the peasant was more influenced by the elements of the *Gemeinschaft* than by those of the *Gesellschaft*. Tomars⁴⁶ writes: "Certainly there

⁴⁴ Joan Henning Criswell has made the greatest contributions in the measurement and techniques of measuring cleavages. See a list of her articles, *ibid.* In addition, see the classic study by Criswell, "A Sociometric Study of Race Cleavage in the Class-room," *Archives of Psychology*, Vol. 233, 1939, pp. 1-82. In addition to the above references see Criswell's article, "Sociometric Methods of Measuring Group Preferences," *Sociometry*, Vol. VI, No. 9, Nov. 1943, pp. 389 ff., and "The Saturation Point as a Sociometric Concept," *Sociometry*, Vol. V, No. 2, 1943, pp. 146-150.

⁴⁵ Ferdinand Toennies, *op. cit.*, p. xvi, and "Der Begriff der Gemeinschaft," *Soziologische Studien und Kritiken*, Jena, Band II, pp. 274-275.

⁴⁶ Adolph S. Tomars, "Rural Survivals in American Urban Life," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, December 1943, p. 379.

is a vast body of sociological analysis to attest to the reality of the rural as a type of society set off from the urban type, whether this be expressed in terms of primary group versus secondary group organization (Cooley, Brunner and Kolb), sentimental versus rational attitudes (Shaler and others), isolated-sacred versus accessible-secular structures (Wiese-Becker), communal versus associational groupings (MacIver), or in terms of a host of other distinctions." For Sorokin⁴⁷ the rural society is characterized by familism, the urban society by contractualism, but throughout the world the two are merging.

As will be shown in the chapters to follow, rural life in general should not be spoken of as "a world" or a type. The relative significance of those elements characterized by the familistic *Gemeinschaft*, or by its counterpart the contractual *Gesellschaft*, varies in rural society from social class to social class, from type of farming area to type of farming area, from generation to generation, and in many other ways. Consider the variations represented in the huge "factory farms" on the West Coast, the Amishman's family-sized operation in Pennsylvania, the southern lower-class sharecropper's and the upper-upper-class plantation owner's operations, the slave plantations of the Roman Empire, the free peasant operations, and those of the feudal barons of the Middle Ages. If the social systems representing all these and other operations were placed on the various continua in the preceding analysis and in Appendix A, the oversimplification which the use of the more concrete types such as rural and urban, or even of the more abstract types such as the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft*, would become evident. Cities also have their familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like elements. There are the familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like settlements of Japanese in cities like Seattle, and lower-class Italian and other groups in cities like Boston. Nevertheless, by and large, the rural groups and elements of life which are important to rural people have relatively more of the characteristics of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*, and less of the characteristics of the contractual *Gesellschaft*, than do comparable organizations in the cities. Future studies should attempt to be more specific in making comparisons than is possible when such "sponge types" are used.

⁴⁷ Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. 3, New York: American Book Company, pp. 23 ff., and P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. H. Galpin, *Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 642 ff.

SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VALUE ORIENTATION OF RURAL PEOPLE

The value orientation, or attitudinal characteristics, of rural people as compared with urban, when considered in relation to the components of the types we have used, are different even in the United States, where rural and urban life patterns are merging more rapidly than elsewhere. These differences will hold for comparable classes, regions, or epochs. Only a few of the most important distinctions will be treated here.

On most measures of behavior which may be used to compare the sacred as versus the secular attitudes, the farm families, class by class and area by area, spend relatively more money in church activities than do comparable city families.⁴⁸ Studies of radio listening patterns stress the greater interest on the part of rural people for church and religious programs than that of comparable urban groups.⁴⁹

Taylor,⁵⁰ in his attempt to ascertain whether farmers were more "isolationist" than others, concluded that on the whole they are more provincial in their thinking and relatively more concerned with what goes on in the family, neighborhood, and local community than are others. Many other studies⁵¹ have indicated that farm people are in their basic attitudes more traditional than they are rational or non-traditional, as this continuum is used in the previous discussion and in Appendix A. Rural people are able to preserve national culture for a longer time than are urban people, who are more subjected to the invasion of rational thinking, techniques, and high mobility.⁵²

In general, as will be shown in the next chapter, the farm family as a production and consumption unit retains its members in a unified team-work arrangement much more than does the comparable urban family. Although great variations by class and by type of farming area exist, farmers' wives and children help the farmer more with the farm enterprise than the wives and children of city families help the

⁴⁸ Carl C. Taylor, *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, p. 504.

⁴⁹ *Attitudes of Rural People Toward Radio Service*, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, January 1946, pp. 69, 12.

⁵⁰ Carl C. Taylor, "Attitudes of American Farmers—International and Provincial," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. IX, No. 6, December 1944, pp. 257 ff.

⁵¹ Pitirim A. Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929, Chapter 27.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 417.

husbands.⁵³ The fact that the life and occupation of all members of a family are inextricably intermingled so that all members consider themselves a part of a going concern affects the thinking and attitudes of rural people as much as or more than any other feature. This assistance is not only a routine chore type of activity. Tasks and roles of all members are varied from season to season. All members must make decisions which, with the variability of the work, make for certain flexibility not present in all factory work in cities. In interpersonal relationships, responsibilities are less specific and defined than in comparable urban situations. In those areas in which the family-sized farm, owned and managed by the operator, is the ideal (and this includes most of the farming areas of the United States and the world), the farmer and peasant is both management and labor. Physical work is respected and a high premium is placed upon initiative, co-operation, physical strength, vitality, energy, endurance, and effort.⁵⁴ Also, property ownership and control, whatever the systems of tenure, are considered virtues. As Tomars⁵⁵ has indicated, because "the self-respecting farmer of the past was the owner-farmer, living in someone else's house carried the lower status of tenancy, or lower still, dependency." Rural migrants have carried this attitude to the city and it is all-pervasive. Schuler and Taylor,⁵⁶ in summarizing the results of a survey conducted by *Successful Farming* in 1945, state that about two-thirds of the farmers interviewed said that they did not believe the government should own banks, coal mines, and railroads. However, as will be indicated in the chapter on farmers' movements, the farmers have organized to prevent what they thought to be exploitation and have fostered the cause of state ownership of distribution facilities and public utilities. In general, the public opinion polls and surveys have shown that the farm population sides with management in their attitudes towards strikes, organized labor, wages, and the socialization of industry.⁵⁷ However, the farmers of the nation

⁵³ Carl Taylor, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 500. In a 1939 study reported by *Successful Farming*, 38 per cent of the farm families had wives and children who helped out with field work and the heaviest labor. Larger proportions helped with milking, vegetable gardens, and poultry.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 380.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 507.

⁵⁷ See for instance the public opinion survey results reported in *The Public Opinion Quarterly* as follows: Winter 1948-49, p. 763; Fall 1947, pp. 482 and 498; Summer 1947, pp. 289, 296, 311; and Spring 1947, p. 171. See *Successful Farming*, December 1945.

have several times aligned themselves with the laboring interests in national and state elections.⁵⁸ We may thus conclude that the farm family as an operating unit, particularly in the United States, includes both the roles of manager and laborer, and, looking out to the broader society, accepts the value orientation of the middle classes, but that physical labor as an activity is respected and the role of management is appreciated. As indicated above, this integration of roles within the family, and the accompanying attitudes, are more in keeping with the familistic *Gemeinschaft* than with the contractual *Gesellschaft*. In American rural society we have therefore a significant paradox. In terms of material levels of living, the rural people are more like the laboring classes, but in terms of attitudes, they are orientated toward the middle classes, who, as it will be indicated, operate the contractual *Gesellschaft*-like and bureaucratic structures of society. The farm people are a repository of what is sacred and traditional in the culture, but the impact of the contractual *Gesellschaft* upon them is now tremendous. Throughout this book the relative position of various rural social systems as related to the types, familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft*, will be discussed. The relative sacredness, traditionalism, functional diffuseness, and importance of the integration of the various different and important roles within the farm family are extremely important and are, therefore, stressed here in the opening chapter.

SUMMARY

Social systems are organizations composed of persons who interact more with members than with non-members when operating to attain the systems' objectives. All social systems, whether small silo-filling rings or large farmers' organizations such as the Farm Bureau, have elements in common which the social scientist, educator, and administrator must consider if he is to understand them. The elements of both social structure and value orientation, of course, are so inextricably interrelated that any classification that separates them will be somewhat unrealistic.

For purposes of empirical procedure, we consider value orientation as including the *ends* or *objectives* and *norms*. The *ends* or *objectives* may be regarded as changes which the members of a system, especially its leaders or officers, expect to accomplish through the functioning of the system. The *norms* may be considered the "rules of

⁵⁸ Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, Chapter 19. In this chapter there is an analysis of the various political issues farm people supported and opposed.

the game" which govern the application of means, especially the use made of persons and interpersonal relations in attaining the ends and objectives. Norms also include such attitudes as those which furnish the basis for social structure, particularly rights, duties, and the evaluation of persons. The social structure, on the other hand, is composed of *roles*, *authority patterns*, and *stratification*. The *roles* or *positions*, based upon expectancy patterns, are those things which persons in the system are compelled by habit, custom, or duty to do under given conditions. *Authority* may be regarded as the right to influence others, and is obviously related to a counterbalancing element, *rights*, or the immunity from the influence of others. *Stratification* is the hierarchical or the *status* pattern of a system. It is based upon consensus among the members of the system as to what qualities in the individual are to be rated high and what qualities low. *Stratification*, *roles*, and *authority* are all dependent for their effective operation upon a common basis of evaluating human action. Hence, we may say that social structure has its basis in the value orientation, or the attitudes and sentiments concerning right and wrong, justice and injustice, good and evil.

Territoriality, or the manner in which interpersonal relationships of the members of a social system are influenced by social space, is an additional important element of social systems. Rural libraries desiring to increase circulation for people in sparsely populated areas, for example, are confronted with problems different from those confronted in populous areas. Hospitals situated in small towns with trade centers extending more than 30 miles in all directions have problems which hospitals in larger, more populous centers do not have.

The nature of social systems is determined by the interrelation of all the elements enumerated. A professional football team that does not determine who shall play on the basis of competence and performance does not succeed. A family, on the other hand, will not discharge members merely because of lack of technical competence. We take such differences for granted, but if we are to understand social systems, the elements making for such variations must be conceptualized and analyzed.

To point up the differences in the value orientation of social systems, we have introduced the concepts of *familistic Gemeinschaft* and *contractual Gesellschaft*. Stated in oversimplified terms, the former embraces those relationships and associations arising from an emotionally based desire or inclination to associate; the latter grows

out of rational and calculated consideration of the ends to be served by the associations. Both concepts are regarded as "pure" or "ideal" types. To illustrate the characteristics of these types, we have compared the military units and families of 90 GI students taking rural sociology, a Pennsylvania Amish family, a Spanish-American ditch association, and a division of a government bureau in the United States Department of Agriculture, on a series of continua. Compared with the Amish family, the government bureau is much more limited in its range of authority and responsibility for members. It is more rational, more functionally specific, more secular, and less concerned about the outside roles of members than is the Amish family. From these and other differences, the fundamental familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like nature of the Amish family is contrasted with the fundamental contractual *Gesellschaft*-like nature of the government bureau. The 90 GI students described their families as of the nature of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and their military units as of the nature of the contractual *Gesellschaft*. The Spanish-American ditch association is intermediate on the continua.

Problems of building morale always involve developing an effective balance in the elements described as being of the nature of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and the contractual *Gesellschaft*. In both rural and urban areas, the personal security and social solidarity which were once produced by the familistic *Gemeinschaft* elements have largely disappeared. A condition results in which fanaticism of various sorts can easily take root. Emotional religion, nazism, communism, and various extremist movements thrive in a transitional period in which the elements of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* are being replaced by the elements of the contractual *Gesellschaft*.

Although rural life throughout the world and particularly in the United States is acquiring many of the elements of the contractual *Gesellschaft*, on the various continua described in this chapter and in Appendix A it remains more sacred and less secular, more traditional and less rational, more functionally diffuse and less functionally specific than urban life. Viewed from the structural point of view, the fact that the farm family integrates within itself many roles, especially those played elsewhere by management and labor, and the fact that it uses property as both a symbol of status and a means of production are of great importance to the total of society. Although the majority of farmers have material levels of living comparable to lower- or lower-middle-class families in the cities, their attitudes

toward property and most other issues resemble those of the classes above them. Nevertheless, the farmer is both a planner and a doer, he represents both labor and management.

PART I

FAMILY AND INFORMAL GROUPS
AS SOCIAL SYSTEMS

THE RURAL FAMILY: INTERACTION, FUNCTIONS, AND TYPES

BEFORE PROCEEDING with the discussion of the rural family, several generally accepted statements about both urban and rural family or kinship systems may be made:

1. The family is a group which provides for the procreation and rearing of children, and because it is based upon kinship, it depends upon biological factors for some of its solidarity. It is the most universal of all social systems, for it exists or has existed in all societies.

2. The most universal of all social norms is the incest taboo, a norm that is directly related to the integration of the family.

3. The roles played by members of the family vary greatly from culture to culture. What is the role of the man in one may be the role of the woman in another; what is done by adults in one may be done by children in still another.

4. The hierarchical patterns of families differ greatly. In some cultures the patriarchal form predominates. Others are based on the matriarchal family, a form in which descent is usually traced through the mother, not the father.

5. In no culture do we have a record of universal promiscuity. The adult membership of the family units, however, differs greatly from culture to culture. In some societies there may be more than one wife for each husband, a form called *polygyny*; in others, more than one husband for each wife, called *polyandry*; in others, one husband for one wife, called *monogamy*; and, in still others, *group marriage*, including both men and women. Most married people in the world live in monogamous families, but polygamy is sanctioned in cultures containing more people than live in cultures which sanction only the monogamic family.

6. Among students of the family there is little agreement on what form of the family came first in the course of human development. Most forms have been found in association with both the relatively primitive and the advanced technical cultures.

FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

If heads of families, whether rural or urban, were asked what the functions of their families were, there would be much greater variation in the answers than if heads of special-interest organizations such as herd improvement associations or marketing associations were asked the functions of their organizations. This difference is due partly to the great amount of behavior in the family which is not purposive, in the sense that participants very often have no specific objectives they plan to attain from the activities of the system; and partly to the unlimited, functionally diffuse nature of the responsibilities of members of the family to one another. However, when one studies the family as a social system in a society, the following functions are revealed: (1) procreation; (2) providing sustenance and care of dependents, especially children and aged; (3) furnishing education for the young, thus passing down from generation to generation accumulated knowledge, traditions, values, and techniques; (4) furnishing status to the family members in the other social systems of society; (5) providing the cooperative, primary group interaction necessary for: (a) production, or earning a living, (b) consumption, (c) recreation, (d) worship, and (e) companionship. It will be shown that the farm and peasant families, in general, are more efficient in performing these functions than are most non-farm and non-peasant groups.

FAMILY INTERACTION AND PERSONALITY FORMATION

In rural societies and in most urban societies, no social system absorbs such a large part of the interpersonal interaction of the members as does the family. Furthermore, a larger proportion of the most intense interaction, in terms of the extent to which associative attitudes¹ such as gratitude, sympathy, affection, love, kindness, and courtesy are related to it, takes place in the family. These generalizations hold for interaction between pairs such as mother and child, husband and wife, father and child, brother and sister, as well as interaction that involves sets of three or more family members.²

¹ For other associative attitudes as well as a complete classification, see R. M. MacIver, *Society, A Textbook of Sociology*, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1937.

² The discussion of interaction in pairs and sets follows the conceptual scheme of Chapple and Coon. See E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942, Chapters 3, 12, and 13. Originally these concepts and their significance were presented in Eliot D. Chapple and

Paired Interaction. Cooperative interaction between pairs of persons in the family may be studied in various ways. On the American farm or ranch, a son and father may operate a cross-cut saw together; they may cooperate in driving stakes, each taking his turn swinging his sledge; the son may hold a wrench on one end of a bolt while the father applies another to the other end; the son may drive a team hitched to a hay rack while the father loads hay; or he may hold a horse with a Spanish twitch while the father pares down an irregular hoof. Even on the most mechanized family farms with a great deal of one-man equipment; there are dozens of operations suitable to the application of cooperative effort of father and son.

The mother and daughter may also cooperate. The mother may wash the dishes while the daughter dries them; or they may move furniture and do many other things together. Pairs of children may play or work together in similar combinations. For the father and mother the sex act is a paired event. They may cooperate in many activities, the extent of cooperation depending, among other things, upon the restrictions which the culture places upon one sex doing the work of the other. For all these pairs the most common form of interaction is communication by word of mouth, or conversation, which may go on when the pairs are otherwise idle or during work and play.

In any cooperating pair it is rarely difficult to determine which individual is exerting the more influence on the behavior of the other. The person who is consciously or unconsciously exerting the more authority may be determined by noting which asks the other for permission to do what he wishes, and which gets the other to do his bidding more frequently. The authority or leader in a pair is the person given the greater opportunity to grant or withhold permission. As indicated in the first chapter and in Appendix A in the discussion of one-way or two-way interaction, there is great variation in social systems with respect to how much one member influences or is influenced by the others. Among family systems there is also great variation. In all the larger peasant societies the role of the father as permission-giver and initiator of action is relatively great. This is less true in most city groups, and among primitives there is great variation.

Interaction in Sets. The same type of cooperative interaction may

Conrad M. Arensberg, "Measuring Human Relations: An Introduction to the Study of the Interaction of Individuals," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 22, 1940, pp. 3-147.

take place when there are more than two involved, in which case the interaction is said to occur in a set. Typical sets are the interaction patterns of a father and his sons driving a herd of cattle, or of families moving by truck or cart from one part of the country to another. The concept is particularly useful in describing team sports. When a football team is making an apparently successful play, the opponents and their spectator friends may shout, "Break it up!" This may be interpreted to mean, "Break up that set!" Many events may break up the cooperative patterns or sets in families. Broken families may result from death, desertion, or divorce.

As in the case of paired events, the most common interaction in sets is that conducted by word of mouth. A Michigan family reunion group discusses the advisability of changing the meeting place of the annual picnic. An Amish family at the dinner table discusses the fact that the neighbor's cattle have broken into the corn patch. These are examples of sets, and as in paired events, it usually is not difficult to determine who is the leader or authority in such interaction patterns. The leader is the man who in the majority of events involving more than one other person is able to get the others to respond in unison. The good administrator is one who not only can get people to respond to his bidding in unison but also has facility in interacting with only one person in paired events at other times.³

Set and Paired Events and Personality. Few aspects of personality are more important than the interaction pattern. There is considerable evidence that the interaction pattern of individuals is established at an early age and does not vary greatly throughout life. Hence, it is the family that plays the major part in its development. The pattern of interaction⁴ depends upon an equilibrium established between (1) the amount of interaction; (2) the frequency of interaction; (3) the origin-response ratio (or relative frequency with which subordinates do the authority's bidding) plus the permission-granting ratio (or the relative frequency with which subordinates ask the au-

³ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁴ Chapple and Arensberg, who developed these elements, were among the first to attempt to measure authority by observing behavior. In their analysis, the times one initiates to others and they to him is compared to the times one gets others to respond and others get him to respond. A power-driven chronograph is used to furnish data from which to work out this ratio. This yields an unfortunate, oversimplified index of authority. It should not only include response-initiating activity but permission-granting or -rejecting activity. The latter is less frequently found in set than in paired events. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

thority's permission before performing an act); (4) the rhythm of the interaction rate, which is its most basic aspect; and (5) the degree of synchronization the person achieves.⁵

Those people are called "bossy" who seem to want to get others to do their bidding more than the group desires. Others are timid and withdraw from responsibility. Bossy and timid people have high and low origin-response ratios, respectively. Garrulous people may establish a rhythm that allows others little chance to participate. The steam-roller conversationalist exercises little synchronization and may talk others down. Early family and work relationships account for much of the variation in individual interaction patterns. Some people, such as the western shepherders, require little and infrequent interaction. Little is known about the extent to which parents shape the child's interaction pattern. However, the variations are great. The skillful leader, both in the family and in other groups, is able to get all these types to cooperate. Few activities require greater skill than that of the conference leader who, by using group and individual processes, effectively manages the situation so that the timid, the garrulous, the bossy, and steam-roller types each make the greatest possible contribution.

Among farm, ranch, and peasant peoples the family is the cradle of that aspect of personality which we are here designating as the interaction equilibrium. The child must learn to work alone and with others. In few occupational groups is there more opportunity for interaction in paired and set events to develop a characteristic interaction pattern. In the patriarchal family in the rural areas of the Eastern world and in earlier generations of the Western world, a definite dominance-submission pattern developed. As to whether or not this is advantageous in future development, there is little evidence at the present time.

Reference has been made to opportunities for paired events. There is relatively greater opportunity for set events because the agricultural family is a production enterprise. The author remembers that when he was a boy of seventeen, his family put up three cuttings

⁵ An excellent example of paired interaction is the use of the cross-cut saw. Lack of synchronization results when both participants push at the same time, when neither pushes or pulls, or when both pull in the same instant. In conversation, lack of synchronization results in interruptions and long silences. Similar lack of synchronization may occur in set activities, as when hecklers try to break up a meeting.

of about one hundred acres of alfalfa hay. His father, without question the leader in this set event, worked with him on the hay stack, shaping it by rolling and pitching the hay which the overshot stacker brought up to them. The youngest brother, who was nine years of age, drove the stacker team that lifted the hay. A brother fifteen years old and the mother bucked the hay in on top of the stacker head, each using a two-horse buck rake. There remained a sister of twelve who sometimes drove the stacker team or prepared meals and carried water and lunch to the stacking crew. If any one had not fulfilled his role according to expectation, the interaction equilibrium of the whole crew would have been disrupted. This was family teamwork, the nature of which few non-agricultural families, except for a few family retail and handicraft establishments, ever experience as a productive unit. Of course, some non-agricultural families have opportunities to engage in team sports and recreation. In the development of the personality of the child, such team play or work is probably more important than most people realize.

Not only does childhood in the agricultural environment present opportunities to participate in sets under workaday conditions, but team activities must be carried on under crisis situations as well. Among the author's most vivid memories are several occasions when the hay stacking, threshing, beet harvesting, and other set activities were broken up by the severe rain or hail storms which often come up on short notice in the Great Plains. There were times when the whole family tried to corral livestock, repair washed-out ditches, or prevent the crops from being destroyed by pests. Such set events are carried on with intense physical activity accompanied by intense emotional interaction, because every activity is of tremendous importance to each member as well as to the family unit.

Many of the functions in rural areas are home-centered, a condition which permits, and in many ways requires, cooperation among the family members. For example, 84 percent of a sample of 1,000 rural Illinois families did their own laundry, while only 32 percent of a sample of 1,000 urban Illinois families did so. For home canning, the percentages were 61 and 13, respectively.⁶ Not only are rural family members more likely to work together, but their leisure time is more likely to be spent in the bosom of the family. One study reports that urban boys spend an average of 3.7 nights per week at

⁶ J. Roy Leevy, "Contrasts in Urban and Rural Family Life," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. V, No. 6, December 1940, pp. 948-953.

home, while the rural boy spends 5.5 nights at home. For girls, the averages are 3.9 and 5.3, respectively.⁷

Although there has as yet been insufficient research to demonstrate specifically how much the early experiences of the child in paired and set events in the family contribute to personality development, there is little doubt about their importance. Social scientists have not yet agreed whether or not the interaction patterns of the family determine the structure of the larger society. Since it has been estimated that in 50 years 80 percent of all urban people will have come directly out of a farm background,⁸ it is important to know whether, in terms of the interaction pattern which is developed, the training they receive on the farm is advantageous or disadvantageous to those who leave and to those who stay. Lewin and his co-workers believe they have findings which prove that a child reared in a system that permits one member to control the action of the others is prevented from being a good participant in various types of democratic action.⁹ Apparently the personalities of individuals, and hence the social structure of the larger society, are determined in large measure by the structuring processes of the family.¹⁰

⁷ Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family*, New York: American Book Company, 1945, p. 75. See also indices listed in Walter Firey, "The Optimum Rural-Urban Population Balance," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 2, June 1947, pp. 116-127.

⁸ Joseph Ackerman and Marshall Harris, *Family Farm Policy*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946, p. 399, and American Country Life Conference, Report of Committee I, 1946.

⁹ Goodwin Watson, ed., *Civilian Morale*, New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942. See especially the chapter entitled, "Morale of Youth Groups," by Ronald Lippitt, pp. 119-142.

¹⁰ Beers found that the families studied in New York which had the highest integration also engaged in the most sharing activities. Those with the lowest integration rating were more likely to be families in which the husband alone made decisions about the farm, or the wife alone made the decisions about the children and supervised their school work. H. W. Beers, *Measurements of Family Relationships in Farm Families of Central New York*, Ithaca: Cornell AES Memoir 183, December 1935. See also: Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1945; Abram Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945; Allison Davis and R. J. Havighurst, *Father of the Man*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947; William E. Henry, "The Thematic Apperception Technique in the Study of Culture-Personality Relations," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, Vol. XXXV, 1947, pp. 3-135; and Wayne Dennis, "Does Culture Appreciably Affect Patterns of Infant Behavior?," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. XII, 1940, pp. 305-317.

FAMILY STRUCTURE AS RELATED TO THE ECONOMY

The structure of the family in some cultures is determined in large measure by the nature of the work engaged in by the family.¹¹ Thus the Arab family, as exemplified by the Bedouin of northern Arabia, is required to adjust to a situation where fighting for survival's sake is common and men do the dangerous work of protecting herds and finding grazing opportunities. Under these conditions old people and women are less important and have less opportunity to control events than do young men. On the other hand, among the Eskimos the work of the mothers and daughters in preparing food and clothing and the work of fathers and sons in hunting and fishing away from the igloos are equally indispensable. In this situation, the males are not given opportunity to dominate the females more than the reverse.

Children who perform indispensable work and show initiative both at home and abroad are not subject to the great amount of domination on the part of parents which prevails in the rural Irish family. In the Irish family the boys work under the direction of the father at hand labor in the field, and the girls under the direction of the mother in the house. When all are together, the parents will be in control; but of the two parents the man requires by far the greater obedience as measured by the extent to which he controls the lives of the others. Because the man's situation makes the leadership of the male of prime importance, reducing the children's initiative to minor significance in the enterprise, the parental dominance, particularly that of the male, is great. In these relationships one is not sure which is the more compelling factor, the physical aspects of the work situation or the approach to it as defined by the original culture of the family. Both factors are significant and constantly changing.

In a dynamic society the interaction of economy and physical environment upon the traditional family structure is a continuous process resulting in an ever-changing equilibrium of forces. In general, the more indispensable a role is to the system, the more status and authority the individual who plays this role will have. Many of the changes in family structure which result from economic forces are

¹¹ Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-292. Of course, the kinship or family structure and value orientation may give the whole of society, including all its organizations, its ethos. Some Chinese leaders see in the strong family the reason for weak national feeling. See Cheng Ch'eng-K'un, "Familism, the Foundation of Chinese Social Organization," *Social Forces*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, October 1944, pp. 50-59. Others see in the seeds of a weak nation a weakened family.

due to the changing importance of the roles and to the changing importance of the family as compared to occupational and other systems. For instance, girls are of little importance in the economic life of the family in Mexico and they have little chance of independent existence outside the family. In fact, their presence in the family usually results in an economic loss. In Detroit, on the other hand, Mexican girls who obtain work often declare their independence from fathers who had previously demanded the right to control their actions.¹²

Among the thousands of peasant families who came from Europe to take up farming in the United States, a similar structural change occurred. The sons were in demand as hired laborers on the farms of the older Americans and frequently escaped the patriarchal control of their own households. In the old country they would have remained under parental control or would have been compelled to turn back their wages to the father.

FAMILY STRUCTURE AS RELATED TO STRUCTURE OF OTHER SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Are the social structure and value orientation of a society, as described in Chapter 1, determined by the social systems which compose it? Do the social structure and value orientation of the prevailing family system of a society determine the social structure and value orientation of that society? Obviously these are not easy questions to answer. The data are not available for a definitive answer, and the authorities are not agreed.

The social structure of a totalitarian state is very different from that of a capitalistic democracy. The social structure of an industrial plant in which the workers are unionized and in which the union is a functional part of the productive system, is different from a plant of similar size which is not unionized. Does the farm family structure adapt the son particularly well to fit into union life or into army life? If we had the answers to these questions, those who counsel in the field of family living would have a more satisfactory basis for their work. At the present stage of knowledge, we have no real proof that the contributions of the farm family lead toward totalitarianism or industrial democracy. Migration statistics show that farmers' sons

¹² Norman D. Humphrey, "The Changing Structure of the Detroit Mexican Family: An Index of Acculturation," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. IX, No. 6, December 1944, pp. 622-626.

and daughters are working in systems ranging all the way from the familistic Gemeinschaft-like cooperative to the army-like bureaucracy. Although the authors believe farmers' sons and daughters have experience which makes it possible for them to adjust to a wider range of social structures than the children of typical urban dwellers, there is no proof.

The work and interactions of agricultural families vary by social class and type of farming area, but in most work situations the occupational and kinship systems overlap as in no other culture. The child learns to carry out orders as he works alone, and he learns to work in groups. In most cases in American agriculture, he learns to take over when the father is away. The same is true for the daughter and the mother. It is not infrequent that the mother must take over for the father. Where large-scale farm operations prevail, of course, the opportunity for a large part of the population to assume the responsibility of a significant position of leadership is very small. But wherever the agricultural family is important as a production unit, there is opportunity for the development of leadership and initiative. Mechanization and commercialization have changed this somewhat, but agriculture remains the enterprise that offers the greatest opportunities for the development of interaction patterns which permit members of the family to function in paired and set events as well as to work alone.

Experience may prove that the small, middle-class urban family, toward which all family types in the Western world seem to be evolving, fails most conspicuously in that it does not offer children the opportunity to learn to react in set events. For those who believe that the preservation of nations depends upon the ability of citizens to function effectively in the set events of such organizations as armies and other bureaucracies, this question should be important. Certainly the agricultural family does not fail in this respect.¹³ In a situation in which a national labor organization was attempting to unionize oil workers without previous union experience, Whyte¹⁴

¹³ Talcott Parsons has recommended that German industrialization be speeded up if necessary in order that the family, which he thinks furnishes the authoritarian and status patterns basic to militarism and nazism, lose its vitality, as happens when rural families become a part of the industrial population. See Talcott Parsons, "The Problem of Controlled Institutional Change—An Essay in Applied Social Science," *Psychiatry*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, Feb. 1945, pp. 79–101.

¹⁴ William F. Whyte, "Who Goes Union and Why," *Personnel Journal*, Vol.

found it easier to get urban boys to join than farm boys. The farm-reared boys tended to react obediently to their foremen, just as they had to their domineering fathers. Whyte attributed this to the fact that farm boys were accustomed from childhood to obey institutionalized authority and had little organization experience outside the family. On the other hand, the urban boys had gang experience and, since fewer had been members of authoritarian families, resented orders given by foremen and other oil company authorities. Their gang experience made them more susceptible to "joining up."

University of Chicago researchers found that a smaller percentage of those cliques which were attempting to restrict output in three Chicago factories were made up of rural rather than non-rural workers. Those who did not belong to the cliques were looked upon as "rate busters" and were accused of "slave driving" and "man killing." The researchers further state that management's denunciation of restriction of output by various formal and informal types of organization is the reflection of the philosophy of two American groups, the businessman and the farmer.¹⁵

Of course, life in the ranch or farm family, although furnishing socializing experience which enables one to play various roles in set and paired events, does not *per se* predispose one to capitalistic bureaucracy, fascism, communism, or democracy. Data have been amassed from studies of primitive peoples¹⁶ which indicate that only a small proportion of the pre-urban and pre-industrial agricultural peoples had social ranks of nobility. Relatively few had "powerful" governments. Sorokin and Zimmerman,¹⁷ after studying historical and contemporary societies, conclude that agricultural peoples are no more prone to want autocratic or dictatorial governments than are city peoples. Much research is needed to determine whether the

XXIII, No. 6, Dec. 1944, pp. 215-230. For a consideration of this general problem see Ronald Lippitt, "An Experimental Study of Authoritarian and Democratic Group Atmospheres," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, Vol. III, 1940, and K. Lewin, R. Lippitt, and R. K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created 'Social Climates,'" *The Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. X, No. 2, May 1939, pp. 271-299.

¹⁵ O. Collins, M. Dalton, and D. Roy, "Restriction of Output and Social Cleavage in Industry," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. V, No. 3, Summer 1946.

¹⁶ L. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and M. Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1915.

¹⁷ Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929, pp. 477-486.

child reared on the farm or ranch is predisposed to fit into specific systems of industry, government, and business.

In terms of the conceptual scheme of paired and set events, we need to know what influence the isolated homestead environments have upon personality structures as compared with those of the French- and Spanish-speaking villagers, Mormons, and others who live in villages. In villages and in many other areas, the play group may approach the importance that gangs assume in the city. But even here cultural factors must be taken into account, as anyone knows who has lived in the cool, restraining influences of the New England village and in the open, volatile social atmosphere of a Spanish-speaking village.

INDIVIDUAL SENTIMENTS AND THE FAMILY

The values of social systems are reflected in the sentiments of individuals. Not only is the agricultural family most effective in developing the interaction equilibrium of the individual, but in forming the sentiments concerning what is right and wrong, what is to be hated and loved, what is to arouse disgust and veneration. Although all too little research energy has been devoted to the rural family, it is not difficult to demonstrate that the family as a social system is the source of basic sentiments and norms which influence our ideals. The language carries many symbols which come to us from interaction in the family, such as brotherly love, fatherly advice, motherly care, and so forth. Talking to one "like a Dutch uncle" certainly does not derive from the modern, small, middle-class families in which uncles are thought of as rather distant relatives.

City families are effective in instilling sentiments of right and wrong, as the Hartshorne and May study has shown.¹⁸ They found the correlation between the knowledge of right and wrong on the part of children and other associates to be as follows: with parents, .55; with friends, .35; with club leaders, .14; with public school teachers, .03; and with Sunday school teachers, .002. Such indices of relation, of course, would vary from social class to social class in both city and country, but there seems little doubt that the agricultural family is more effective in molding the sentiments, personality, and character of its members than is the non-agricultural family. This is due to the child's greater participation in the occupations of farming

¹⁸ Hugh Hartshorne and M. S. May, "Testing the Knowledge of Right and Wrong," *Religious Education*, Vol. XXI, October 1926, pp. 539-554.

and ranching, which occurs within or under the control of the family during his formative years. The relatively great stability of the agricultural family also has its influence.

Sorokin and Zimmerman have summarized their comparison of rural and urban family systems as follows:

1. The rural family generally develops the stability, integrity, and responsibility in the personality of its children more successfully than the urban family. 2. The conspicuously patriarchal rural family checks, to a considerable degree, the development of initiative in its children. The less patriarchal family of an open farm is more free from this and is likely to develop a type of personality in its children in which sound stability is combined with well-developed initiative (particularist type of personality). This is still more probable on account of the nature of agricultural work and environment which requires the exercise of brains to a very great extent. 3. The city family and environment potentially favors greater development of initiative in its children and often, especially in the upper strata, develops such greatly, in fact. This is less true in regard to the city labor classes. In addition, the city family facilitates the development of the type of erratic and unstable personality, without integrity of character, sound consistency in conduct, and persistence in effort. Such appears to us the chief kinds of human flour ground in the mills of the urban and rural families.¹⁹

The Importance of Primary Groups. Because the concept of the primary group as used by Cooley and his followers is very much like that of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*, it is necessary to indicate the nature and importance of primary groups. A quotation will best place the concept before us:

Type examples of the primary group are the family, or household group, the old-fashioned neighborhood, and the spontaneous play-group of children. In such groups all children everywhere participate, and the intimate association there realized works upon them everywhere in much the same way. It tends to develop sympathetic insight into the moods and states of mind of other people and this in turn underlies the development of both the flexible type of behavior and the common attitudes and sentiments which we have mentioned . . .

The chief characteristics of a primary group are:

1. Face-to-face association.
2. The unspecialized character of that association.
3. Relative permanence.

¹⁹ Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

4. The small number of persons involved.
5. The relative intimacy among the participants.

Such groups are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a "we"; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which "we" is the natural expression. One lives in the feeling of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that feeling.²⁰

The importance of this thinking for this and the preceding section becomes evident with Cooley's world philosophy. He maintained that the major problems of civilization involved: (a) communication of primary group values, and (b) "organization to extend the area of unity and cooperation without at the same time sacrificing the chief values of face-to-face association; namely, the realization of primary ideals."²¹

MARRIAGE, FAMILY INSTITUTIONS, AND INTERACTION PATTERNS

Any administrator knows that it is not easy to get strong organizations to work together or to integrate their activities. Among the most difficult roles is that of liaison officer or integrator between systems. When marriage occurs, two social systems are united through the two individuals who become husband and wife. In the course of the life cycle, each normal individual is a member of not one but two immediate families; the family of orientation, or the one into which he is born, and the family of procreation, or the one established by the marriage.²² The incest taboo, which prohibits marriage between members of the same immediate family, makes it impossible for members of any one family system to intermarry. It also prevents the two social systems from being joined by more than one pair, unless pairs of brothers and sisters marry. Thus, the incest taboo requires that mar-

²⁰ C. H. Cooley, R. C. Angell, and L. J. Carr, *Introductory Sociology*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933, pp. 55-56.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

²² These concepts were invented by W. Lloyd Warner of the University of Chicago. See James H. S. Bossard, *The Sociology of Child Development*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, pp. 55 ff.

riage unite persons from two families of orientation in order to form a new family of procreation.

The Incest Taboo. The incest taboo is probably the most universal of the taboos. How can its universality be explained? Among the explanations given, the most plausible emphasizes the importance of the interaction system of the family. Just as any solidary organization has what Pareto describes as a "persistence of aggregates,"²³ the family system, to retain its integration, has developed this mechanism to prevent the destruction of the interaction system. It is supported by powerful sentiments. This is another way of saying that the incest taboo serves the function of preventing "wires from getting crossed" or the development of "wheels within wheels."

If a given family system has developed an interaction pattern of the patriarchal type in which the father possesses strong authoritarian powers over all other members, it is easy to see that the marriage of a brother and sister to form another patriarchal system would be comparable to the development of conflicting cliques in other systems. The marriage of brother and sister may disrupt the lines of authority between the father and the daughter. The daughter would then be responsible to two authorities, her father and brother, who was previously, and supposedly still would be, under the father's authority.²⁴ Such changes disrupt the expectancy pattern and are not unlike reversing or changing the peck order. They may be accompanied by tremendous frustration and emotional upheaval, especially for the person accustomed to authority or the one who may sense a loss of security when the authority pattern is disrupted.

In societies where fighting natural forces and wresting food, clothing, and shelter from a niggardly environment require the utmost in

²³ This is reflected in the individual who may identify his security with retaining the status quo. For other sentiments listed, see Vilfredo Pareto, *The Mind and Society*, Vol. II, "Analysis of Sentiments," New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935. For a general discussion of the incest taboo, see Leslie A. White, "The Definition and Prohibition of Incest," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. L, No. 3, Part 1, July-September 1948, pp. 416-435. Chapple and Coon have given the most plausible explanation of the incest taboo, as well as preferential mating, avoidance, and other similar practices. *Op. cit.*, Ch. 13.

²⁴ Among the Inca administrators, Egyptian Pharaohs, and the Azanda, brothers did marry sisters. The explanation is that the interaction patterns did not permit any one member a position of dominance (high origin-response ratio). Thus brothers and sisters were to one another as they were to outsiders. Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-303.

cooperation if the family is to subsist, one can understand how the incest taboo may have come into existence to prevent breaking up the cooperative or set activities. Since social status of family systems and their members is greatly dependent upon material possessions, a type of intra-familial alliance which might break up the cooperative set would bring sanctions down upon those engaging in activities most closely connected with the act of disruption. The reaction is comparable to the feelings aroused in the body politic under crises by elements that seem to be conniving against the general interest.

Transference of the Enterprise. It is this type of "persistence of aggregates," or resistance to change, in many patriarchal family systems that makes for difficulty and delay in turning the farm enterprise over to sons. The parents, especially the father, accustomed to a position of high status and authority, delay taking on a role which requires that the system of interaction be changed, giving them less importance. Various types of institutionalized procedures have evolved in peasant societies to cushion the shock occasioned by this transfer. Among Germanic peoples, the old couple may move into the "old part" of the house or into a new structure set up for them which is also called the "old part." They are accorded certain privileges and rights by law and custom. Various means of mitigating the loss of status and disruption of authority patterns have been worked out. Any one who has gone through the period in a patriarchal family when sons are maturing knows how difficult the adjustments may be. Any system that requires the offspring to take control of the parents, i.e., to reverse the peck order, will be fraught with tremendous difficulties.²⁵ Generally in the United States the farm enterprises are completely disrupted at transference from generation to generation. Property is sold and divided among the heirs. The tremendous waste involved in this process has been described by Kenneth Parsons.²⁶ It is an example of disruption of equilibrium that breaks up all cooperative structures, as far as the farm as a going enterprise is concerned.

²⁵ For a description of how such adjustments are worked out among the Irish, see Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. See especially Chapter VII. For a description of the situation in Germany, see Max Sering, *Deutsche Agrarpolitik auf Geschichtlicher und landeskundlicher Grundlage*, Leipzig: Hans Buske Verlag, 1934, pp. 43 ff.

²⁶ Kenneth H. Parsons and Eliot O. Waples, *Keeping the Farm in the Family*, Madison: Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 157, Sept. 1945.

Go-betweens and Negotiators in Marriage. Among peasant peoples who have a large portion of their interaction within the family, the sets become so strong that institutionalized means are often developed to bring social systems into relation so that marriage may take place. Often match-makers are sent to make economic and other arrangements within the norms of the culture so that the new family may be equipped to carry on. Arensberg's and Kimball's description of how this takes place in Ireland is well-nigh classic. The following quotation is given in the words of a countryman:

If I wanted to give my farm over to my son and I would be worth, say, two hundred pounds, I would know a fellow up the hill, for instance, that would be worth three hundred pounds. I would send up a neighbor fellow to him and ask him if he would like to join my family in marriage. If the fellow would send back word he would and the girl would say she was willing (and the usual courtesies were exchanged), then on a day they agreed on I and the fellow would meet in Ennistymon (the local market town) and talk over the whole thing as to terms, maybe sitting on it the whole day. Then, before, if it was land I didn't know or the fellow came from afar off, I would walk his land and look at it and the cattle there were on it to make sure of the farm. Then we would go to a solicitor that day and make up the writings in Ennistymon. The money, say three hundred pounds, would be paid in cash or in promissory notes, and it is usual here to divide it into two parts or sometimes more. One half is paid at the wedding, and the other is paid a year after.²⁷

When interaction is less confined to the family system, as in the United States at the present time, such roles as those of match-making or marriage negotiators never existed or have gone out of use because of their lack of utility.

Preferential Mating and Marriage of Cousins. When two family systems characterized by intense family interaction and strong authority patterns are united, there is danger of continual disturbance in the equilibrium of the two systems. Obviously, any two highly integrated social systems which have had previous interaction are less likely to be disrupted by the union of the two by wedlock. Also, in two systems which have had previous occasion to interact, there are some persons whose roles and interaction patterns are such that they could intermarry, with less disruption in the finely adjusted interaction pattern.

²⁷ Arensberg and Kimball, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

By way of analogy, if military personnel must be shifted from unit to unit, it is easier to keep up morale and efficiency if nonspecialized soldiers or sailors without authority are shifted than if specialized officers who have been in charge of their posts for considerable time are shifted. Other analogies are the greater ease with which administrators can integrate organizations that have similar objectives, or the relative ease with which cooperative arrangements can be worked out between nations that have the same cultural background. "Strong" families in various cultures have institutionalized marriage so that certain relatives, and only certain relatives, may marry. In determining why custom permits this relative and not that relative to marry, careful studies of the interaction patterns of the families must be made.

The most common linkage which unites family systems having great solidarity, strong lines of authority, and a high degree of integration is the marriage of cousins. Among the Arabs it is customary for parallel cousins to marry. Parallel cousins are children of siblings of the same sex, i.e., of two sisters or of two brothers.

Anthropologists²⁸ have undertaken to show how this type of linkage is least likely to disturb the peculiar equilibrium of the interaction pattern of these tribes. Among the Riffians, who have a different type of social structure in terms of the interaction pattern, first cousins are comparable to brothers and sisters in our system. The Riffians, therefore, look with scorn upon the Arabs, who practice parallel-cousin marriage. As long as two uncles are still living, their sons' children cannot intermarry. Instead, they must marry cousins one generation removed. When the uncles die, these restraints are removed and the first cousins can marry without upsetting the equilibrium of interaction.

In the Chinese family system, the parental and male lines of authority are very great, absorbing most of the interaction of the members. Here cross-cousin marriage has come to be the custom. The young man marries his father's sister's daughter. The two family systems are at the time of the linkage more or less in a state of interaction. Nevertheless, the daughter becomes engulfed in the authority pattern of the husband's family. It is interesting to note that the social structure of the Chinese family produces the greatest tension between the wife, who is "adopted" into the family, and the husband's mother, under whose immediate authority she must function.

²⁸ Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 303 ff.

Without explaining the reasons, we may note that the difference in authority and interaction pattern produces tension at a different place than in our own family system, where it is between the daughter and mother-in-law. In some cultures these tensions are so great that avoidance patterns develop. For instance, the Navajo husband is not supposed to see his mother-in-law. The social structure is so constituted that interaction between them would disturb the equilibrium of the system.

Although preferential mating does not exist in Western culture, assortative mating does result in the marriage of persons of approximately the same social, economic, and cultural backgrounds. Thus, of 885 marriages in Wright County, Minnesota, 68.2 percent were within the same nationality group. Protestant husbands were married to Protestant wives in 92.9 percent of the cases. Furthermore, Negroes seldom marry whites. Of course, the acculturation process is resulting in more and more mixed marriages involving different ethnic stocks. The more recent immigrants tend to marry more within their groups than those who have lived in the United States for some time.²⁹

To residents in most parts of the United States, even in the rural area, so little of the total interaction of individuals is confined to the family that various institutional structures, such as preferential mating, go-betweens, avoidances, and so forth, among other peoples, are relegated to the realm of the strange and ridiculous. Our own family system, particularly that in the urban areas, is now in such a state of flux that many tensions and conflicts arise for which there are no definite and specific institutionalized means of relief.

FAMILY TYPES

Unfortunately, not enough study of the interaction patterns of family systems has been made to permit classification according to objective criteria involving the various aspects of social systems, such as authority, roles, rights, duties, integration, status, norms, and symbols.

Le Play's Types of Families. The Le Play school, of which Zimmerman is the greatest American exponent, classifies families into: (1) the patriarchal; (2) the stem family or *famille-souche*; and (3) the

²⁹ Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1948, p. 298. See also Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, *Building a Successful Marriage*, New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948, Chapter 7.

unstable family.³⁰ The patriarchal type of family depends upon a stable occupation, almost always to be found in agricultural areas or in livestock grazing regions. It is "strong" and faithful to tradition, and it establishes its married children near the homestead in order to perpetuate the family, watch over them, and protect them. When necessary, they all migrate as a unit. Stability and simple prosperity characterize its economic base. The opposite or unstable type of family has no permanent attachment to the hearth and offers relatively little resistance to social change. It comes into existence with the marriage tie, increases in size as children are added, decreases as they leave home, and passes out of existence when the original pair dies. Traditional elements do not bolster the family in periods of economic depression. This type, according to Le Play, characterizes societies which are "suffering."

The *famille-souche* or stem family embodies some of the characteristics of the patriarchal and some of the unstable type. Systems operating under primogeniture may be of this type. This system permits the perpetuation of the stem in the form of property; the stem family adjusts well and may frequently have a high level of living. All those who do not inherit the stem property must find employment elsewhere, but they have temporary subsistence and aid from the stem in case of misfortune. This is exemplified in the bombing of German cities in World War II, when migrant mothers, old people, and children returned to the farm unit. In general, the unstable family is found more frequently in the city than in the country. However, the Jewish family is really of the *famille-souche*, or stem family type, and is found most frequently in the city. In fact, this family is one of the

³⁰ Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton, *Family and Society*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1936, pp. 97-99. Foster identified two types of farm families in New York State, *Xa* and *Ya*, and described the latter as democratic and the former as authoritarian. He expressed the belief that the democratic form is coming to be recognized as the normal and generally approved type in American society. The *Ya*, or authoritarian type, is characterized as follows: (1) male dominant; (2) labor divided; (3) attachment of children to parents divided; (4) individual and few activities within the home; (5) little ritual; and (6) inactive or infrequent participation outside the home. The *Xa*, or democratic type, is characterized as follows: (1) joint control; (2) labor divided; (3) attachment of children to parents jointly; (4) the family acting together within the home; (5) much ritual within the home; and (6) active participation in a few organized activities outside the home. Dwight Sanderson and Robert G. Foster, "Sociological Case Study of Farm Families," *The Family*, Vol. XI, 1930, p. 112, and Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

few which has been able to work out an urban adjustment through many generations.³¹

Consanguine and Conjugal Types. The Le Play types are more difficult to describe in terms of specific structural and interaction characteristics than Linton's³² conjugal and consanguine types, which result from cultural variations in the importance given to certain biological elements. Although the chief feature in the family system that differentiates it from other systems is the biological element, different features of the biological structure may be played up or down in different cultures.³³ The culture may put little or great stress on any one of five elements in the biological structure: (1) sex differentiation, (2) birth cycle or parent-child relationship, (3) sibling link or relation of children of the same parents, (4) birth order, and (5) procreative union.

One may produce a fairly satisfactory index of authority by taking the concept of the origin-response ratio mentioned above and expanding it to include not only the proportion of actions in which one gets others to respond to his bidding, but also the proportion of acts which one is in a position to negate or affirm. If one uses this index of authority and considers only authority and other interaction rates as the basis for what is played up or down, one can employ the typological dichotomy *consanguine* and *conjugal*.

In the consanguine family such as that prevalent in rural China, the parent-child relationship is played up and the most important nucleus is the grandfather, son, and grandson, following the male line. Here authority flows so that one may frequently ignore the spouses but can almost never ignore the male line. In the conjugal type, the solidarity resides in the conjugal pair. If one wishes to get cooperative family action, neither of the spouses may be ignored. In the conjugal family, however, the fringe elements such as grandparents and grandchildren, uncles and aunts, may be ignored. In the consanguine form, the family is a nucleus of blood relatives surrounded by a fringe of spouses and others who are of only incidental

³¹ Indications are that even the Jewish family is giving way to urban influences and failing to reproduce itself in the United States. T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 72.

³² Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, pp. 160-162.

³³ Kingsley Davis and W. Lloyd Warner, "Structural Analysis of Kinship," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 2, April-June 1937, pp. 291-313.

importance to the cooperative interaction pattern of the family unit. In the conjugal form, the family consists of a nucleus of spouses and their offspring surrounded by a fringe of relatives who are of only incidental importance to the functioning of the family unit as a cooperative system.

It is obvious that the consanguine family can be developed into a large, single, cooperative system more easily than can the conjugal family. In some instances, as many as 100 persons may be an organic part of such a cooperative family system in China. In care for the aged, protection, perpetuation of property, it is also superior. However, in the adjustment to the bureaucracy of modern industry and the contractual *Gesellschaft*, such units generally "crack up" because specialization and attained status demand high individual, geographical, and vertical mobility. Many consanguine families which have migrated to the United States have changed into the smaller conjugal type. In many industrialized cities the same change is being made.

The conjugal family, characteristic of the civilizations of the Western world, has varied considerably in size, but great individual mobility is always associated with decreasing size. As will be shown later, this type of family is perhaps more compatible with modern bureaucracy than is any other form. Max Weber, for example, attempted to show that ideological factors such as the Protestant ethic were closely related to the rise of modern bureaucratic capitalism. We could demonstrate that the phenomenon of modern bureaucratic capitalism appeared first in areas in which the conjugal family prevailed. Wherever this phenomenon spread, the existing family system was forced to change to the conjugal form.

Too little attention has been given the importance of social structure in initiating general movements. As the contractual *Gesellschaft* becomes the dominant force in the civilized world, the chief change brought about in the social structure of the family is the shedding of the fringe elements or blood relatives from the functional family. The importance of grandparents, cousins, aunts, and uncles in the interaction pattern of the family is as good an index as any of the extent to which the family is a cooperative productive unit. The shedding of these relatives is directly related to the extent of urbanization and its influences. In various parts of the United States the author has asked groups how many knew the names of their second cousins. In highly mobile groups few knew their second cousins. This stands

in sharp contrast to cultures such as the Spanish-speaking South West, the upper-upper class New England, or some parts of the South.

Types of Families in the United States. The various subcultures of the rural areas of the United States furnish examples of different types of the conjugal family. With the exception of the Negro family, the original rural family type was a large patriarchal system in the sense that action resulted only in obeying and petitioning the father. As the family ceased to be the chief cooperative system by which people produced the goods they consumed, this family type changed. The authoritarian pattern became less important and the family became smaller. The suburban and fringe³⁴ families and Negro families of the South³⁵ have been called matriarchal. Lower-class white families often have some matriarchal attributes associated with what Le Play would call the unstable type.³⁶ Most of the peasant groups from Europe that settled in the country and city were, or had come from, large patriarchal families. When isolated in "cultural islands,"³⁷ or tightly knit, religious village groups, they often retain their interaction patterns to a greater degree than those who live on isolated holdings, such as the old Americans. However, one factor making the American farm family a relatively important cooperative unit is the general prevalence of the isolated holding as opposed to the village form of land settlement. Eighty-eight percent of the farms have only one dwelling. Generally, outside the fringe areas around cities, families have considerable isolation.³⁸ In general, both on isolated holdings and in villages, the families have become smaller and the control of the father has declined. Among the French settlements

³⁴ Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. LV, No. 1, Jan.-Mar. 1943, pp. 22-38.

³⁵ E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939, Parts II and III.

³⁶ A. Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, *Deep South*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, Chapter 6; W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* and *The Status System of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941 and 1942; James West, *Plainville*, U. S. A., New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 57-69.

³⁷ Walter M. Kollmorgen, "A Reconnaissance of Some Cultural-Agricultural Islands in the South," *Economic Geography*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, October 1941, pp. 409-430, and A. B. Hollingshead, "The Life Cycle of Nebraska Rural Churches," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 2, June 1937, pp. 180-191.

³⁸ Margaret J. Hagood, "The Farm Home and Family," in Carl C. Taylor, et al., *Rural Life in the United States*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, p. 40.

and the Spanish-speaking villagers, the patriarchal type is retained.³⁹ They, like the families of the Appalachian and Ozark highlands, are of the patriarchal stem family type.⁴⁰

SUMMARY

Although kinship systems throughout the world have been subjected to great change, they remain the most important and most universal of all systems. They are of especial importance to personality formation. Since the family is a "community of fate" in which members owe unlimited responsibility to one another, the functions of the family differ greatly from those of a marketing or production organization, for example. The functions of the family include the following: (1) procreation; (2) sustenance; (3) transmission of the knowledge and culture of the past; (4) establishment of status for family members; (5) provision of a cooperative production and consumption organization, and an organization for entertainment, companionship, and worship.

Too little is yet known about the exact influence of the family upon the basic personality structure of the individual. We do know, however, that it is in the family setting that the child first learns to respond to authority, to play roles in the cooperative structure, and to obey the norms of the group. The child also learns the values and ends for which life is to be lived, as well as the standards by which status is attained.

Various cultures have developed means of minimizing the difficulties which may result from the union of two families of orientation. The incest taboo, the most universal of all, prevents the disruption of interaction patterns. Preferential mating is the rule in those societies in which interaction within the family system is great and in which authority patterns result in great differences among individuals as to their rights to influence others. Thus, in rural China only cross-cousins may marry. In other rural societies, "go-betweens," or negotiators, arrange marriage settlements. In some instances, avoidance patterns develop when the interaction and authority patterns lead to strains between persons in given roles. The Navajo husband, for example, is not supposed to see or to interact with his mother-in-law.

³⁹ Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, El Cerrito, N. M.* Reprinted in C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 265-338.

⁴⁰ Zimmerman and Frampton, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-194.

In both rural and urban parts of the Western world, such institutionalized structures are not necessary because the relative amount and intensity of interaction in the family as compared with other systems is not great. Our family system, however, is undergoing great strain. In order that it be stabilized effectively, it is well that social scientists understand family systems in all societies.

Families may be classified as conjugal and consanguine types. In the Western world the most characteristic family may be classified as the conjugal variety, in which the most important status and authority rests with the husband and wife. Although children of this pair may be considered part of the family core, other relatives are fringe elements. The conjugal type seems best adapted to the high mobility required by those who must work in bureaucracies or professions where individual competence is the determining factor in attaining status. In certain other cultures, such as rural China, the consanguine family type prevails. In this type, relationships between persons in the line of descent rather than the husband-wife core are most important. The relationship between grandfather, son, and grandson is most important in rural China; relationships between spouses, for instance, are considered fringe relationships. Although consanguine families have many advantages in the rural world, they would seem less effective than the small, more mobile conjugal family in adjusting to modern industrial conditions. In an industrial economy, the consanguine family tends to change into the conjugal type. The structure and value orientation of the small, isolated, middle-class conjugal family, however, is in a state of flux and exhibits considerable instability at present.

CHAPTER 3

THE RURAL FAMILY: VARIATIONS IN VALUE ORIENTATION

AS INDICATED in Chapter 1, the fundamental elements of social systems are the status, role, and authority patterns which make up the social structure. Other fundamental elements are the ends, norms, and value orientations. How these are related and integrated determines the ethos, *leit motiv*, or key configuration of the system. Type concepts of familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft* furnish a basis for comparing various systems in both time and space.

NATURE OF CHANGES IN THE AMERICAN FAMILY

So long as farming and ranching were the dominant occupations of the Western world, the predominant type of family was the patriarchal, conjugal, stem family. The importance of the family was tremendous. In fact, the whole society then was of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* type. However, as soon as large-scale industry, business, and government organized on bureaucratic principles and the free professions began to employ more people than worked on farms, this family form lost much of its influence, and its solidarity was subjected to bombardment from many sides. The contractual *Gesellschaft* was on its way in. The family as a cooperative system ceased to be a productive enterprise. High mobility either tore away the young, the aged, and distant relatives or made them nonfunctional. A value orientation which placed great emphasis on rationality, coupled with the fact that children were no longer assets in the productive enterprise but rather liabilities, put the use of contraception and other means of limiting family size on an almost universal basis.

The number of families that had passed through the life cycle without having children increased, and small families became the rule. Figure 1 shows a gradual decline in fertility since 1800. Since the father was away from home much of the time and the family was not tied into a cooperative system which he directed, he lost much of the authority he formerly held. As society in general began to emphasize

the importance of what the individual could do in the occupational structure as a determinant of his status rather than relying on his family status, and particularly as the professions achieved importance as status givers, women began to work more and more away from home.

The Urban Middle Class and Contractual Bureaucracy. When the *leit motiv* of Western culture became the contractual *Gesellschaft*, and the influence of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* remained important only in out-of-the-way places, the small, isolated, multilineal, middle-class family of the conjugal type became the prevailing form. Its functions were little more than those of stabilizing sexual relations, procreation, and companionship. All other family types in the Western world, and even in those places in the Eastern world where bureaucracy and the contractual *Gesellschaft*-like ideology have

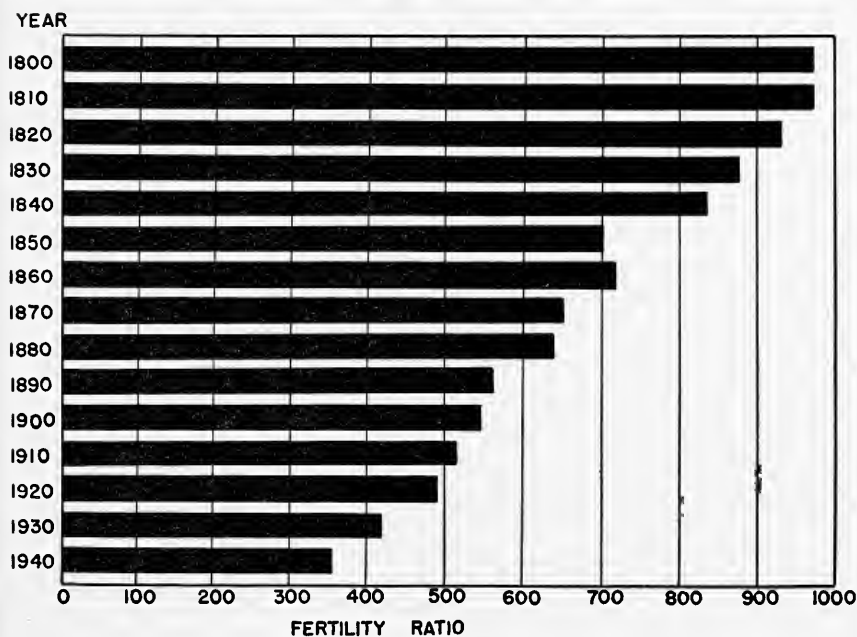


FIG. 1. Trends in the number of children under 5 per 1,000 women 15-44 in the United States, 1800 to 1940. (Reproduced from J. Allan Beegle and T. Lynn Smith, *Differential Fertility in Louisiana*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana AES Bulletin 403, June 1946, p. 43.)

made inroads, seem to be evolving in the direction of this middle-class type. This type has been characterized as open and multilineal.¹

Since this family seems to be the family of the future, it is briefly described here. The child of married persons in this family regards both his family of orientation and his in-law family, including parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles in both lines, as equally important. It is, therefore, multilineal. The interaction rate of children will usually be equal with the relatives of both lines, unless distance or other factors interfere. Actually, large segments of the population have little or no day-to-day interaction with either line, because geographical and social distance separates them. This results from the great mobility of the members. There is no preferential mating, and the kinship groups are not extended as in the consanguine Chinese family. It is exogamic only in that close relatives do not marry. Typically, the small, multilineal conjugal family is isolated socially. Each unit attempts to live in a separate home where the status is determined not by particularistic familial relationships but by the husband's occupation. In support of the multilineal principle, all children, regardless of birth order or sex, have an equal share in the property when it is transferred.

The basic pattern of the family forms what Parsons calls the "onion" principle. The outer layers or fringe elements are of little importance to the "core," which prevails over any tendency to give special importance to either line in the conjugal pair and the children. The attempt to apply the multilineal principle may often result in psychological as well as physical isolation. Some have seriously maintained that married pairs and their children were happier when the parents of the couples were dead. Marriage drastically segregates the new pair from the family of orientation.

The kinship ties supporting the marriage are very weak and minimize the equity the parents have in the marriage. For this reason, and because sets within the family systems are weak, there is little justification for the arranging of marriages. As indicated in the previous chapter, this is required only when interaction within the family is great and marriage may upset the equilibrium of the interaction. In the small, isolated urban family older people are actually pitied and

¹ Talcott Parsons, "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. LV, No. 1, Jan.-Mar. 1943, pp. 22-38.

are often thought a nuisance.² Because such facts minimize the importance of obligations to kin, and because of high mobility, the so-called "romantic love complex" is important.³ Parsons observes that in this complex the obligation is not to the kin or other institutionalized relationships but "to be in love." This puts great importance on "looks" and lies at the root of the "glamour girl" role, which many married and unmarried women in the urban middle class attempt to play.

Strains in the Isolated Conjugal Family. Since every child needs at least a minimum of security—the opportunity of growing up without too much anxiety, fear of injury, and continuous competitive strain—he must have the loyalty or affection of older persons. With the father away from home much of the time, it is obvious that in the small, isolated middle-class family the chief burden is placed upon the mother. Thus, a relatively high and intense interaction rate grows up between mother and child. This makes for tension unless, as he comes of age, he decreases this interaction rate. Isolated, insecure, and semi-neurotic mothers are not always willing or able to free their children. Furthermore, children sometimes are not willing to compete as adults for status for themselves. Fixations develop which, especially for the boy who continues to associate the mother with other women, may inhibit normal sex life.

Since status is not ascribed, children must compete for position, making stability in the home all the more important. The irresponsibility of the present-day youth culture may be due in large measure to emotional strain, tension, and insecurity. The situation may be due both to the insecurity of the parents and the insecurity which is foreseen by the child as a consequence of drastically emancipating himself from parents, brothers, and sisters. The key to the insecurity of wife and children is to be found in the separation of the family system from the occupational system. This catches the woman "in between," so to speak. Because status is no longer determined by family

² James West, *Plainville, U. S. A.*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, p. 59.

³ See Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1945, pp. 142–143, for an explanation of the fact that the romantic complex is associated only with small family systems. In larger units "the average individual is incapable of strong or lasting attachments or hatreds toward particular persons." This is attributed to the unconscious attitude that prevails: "Oh, well, another will be along presently!"

connections, and since the culture places tremendous emphasis upon one's relation to an occupation, the woman tends to view the household duties as menial drudgery. As a wife she may find it difficult to have a career, but being dissatisfied with the wife-mother role, she frequently takes a job. In view of the great need of children for emotional security, outside work does not improve family adjustment. Women may find other outlets to compensate for their lack of status as homemakers. They may be super-serious participants in bridge and "causes." Many others become neurotic, and the constant anxiety to be sure that the spouse is true and still in love with them is always present. The husband also feels the importance of having his wife's love, as differentiated from the respect, loyalty, and confidence required in other family types.

This situation is a far cry from the farm and ranch family in which all can engage in harvesting, herding, and preparing the soil, and in which the success of the whole enterprise determines the status of the family. Most of the frustrations come from tensions in the small, isolated urban family for which compensating mechanisms have not as yet had time to evolve. Adjustments will be evolved, but the rate of change in the contractual *Gesellschaft* is so rapid that maladjustments continue to pile up. Since 1940 there has been at least one divorce for every six marriages. The rate in 1945 was nearly double that in 1940.⁴ Partly a war and postwar phenomenon, this too is the product of the contractual *Gesellschaft* and its bureaucratic structure and value orientation.

DOMINANT FEATURES OF AMERICAN FARM AND URBAN FAMILIES

Studies of American class structure have shown that the social structure and value orientation of families in any one place vary greatly from class to class.⁵ Data on the familistic *Gemeinschaft* characteristics of the family as discussed in the previous chapter are not available for the different classes in the various cultural regions. However, some broad generalizations can be made about the prevail-

⁴ See Vital Statistics—Special Reports, *Marriage and Divorce in the United States, 1937 to 1945*, Vol. XXIII, No. 9, Sept. 10, 1946, p. 203.

⁵ A. Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, *Deep South*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, Part I; W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* and *The Status System of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941 and 1942; also West, *op. cit.*

ing forms in certain type situations. Since the familistic Gemeinschaft-like culture depends in large measure upon the type of family and its position among the other social systems, it will be important to consider the family systems prevailing in several typical situations on

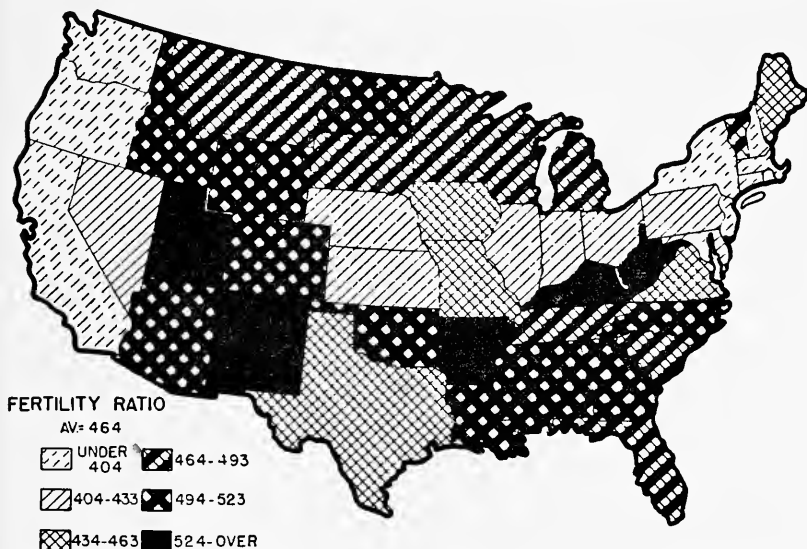


FIG. 2. Fertility ratios among rural-farm white residents of the United States, by states, 1940. (Reproduced from J. Allan Beegle, *Differential Birth Rates in Michigan*, Michigan AES Special Bulletin 346, February 1948, p. 28.)

the farms of the United States and to relate these to the small, isolated, urban middle-class family toward which all family systems seem to be evolving. Rural-farm, rural-nonfarm, and urban comparisons will be made.

Types of Families Considered.⁶ In general, the farms in the United

⁶ One of the best attempts to type rural families is to be found in J. H. Locke, "Contemporary American Farm Families," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. X, No. 2, June 1945, pp. 142-151. For an entirely different classification, see W. A. Anderson, "Types of Participating Families," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XI, No. 4, December 1946, pp. 355-361. Also see W. A. Anderson and H. Plambeck, *The Social Participation of Farm Families*, Ithaca: Cornell University AES Bul. 8, 1943. These writers consider formal participation a great virtue. Locke used the six U.S.D.A. studies in the series "Culture of Contemporary Rural Communities" to compare family systems. These studies, directed by Carl C. Taylor and supervised by the senior author, included a Spanish-American village, an Amish community in Pennsylvania, a community in New England, and communities in Georgia, Iowa, and Kansas.

States which have a relatively high material level of living have low fertility ratios (the number of children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women of child-bearing age, 15-44). Areas which have a relatively low material level of living have the highest birth rates. The prevalence of this relationship is demonstrated by Figure 2, which shows rural-farm fertility rates by states. Only in one extended area is high material level of living associated with a high birth rate. This is in the Mormon culture of Utah and Idaho.⁷

Norms of a sacred and traditional nature account for this variation. Only in one sizeable area, the Mississippi Delta, is a low material level of living associated with a low birth rate. This condition is related to disease,⁸ and therefore will not receive special treatment here. The family structure and value orientation of the families with high birth rates, whether they have low or high levels of living, are least like the small, isolated, urban middle-class family. Families with high levels of living and low birth rates are most like the small, isolated, urban middle-class family. It is in the areas of high material levels of living that the influences of the contractual *Gesellschaft* have made their greatest inroads. High-birth-rate and low-level-of-living areas, in general, have retained many of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* features. Certain cultural islands, such as the Spanish-speaking culture and areas of Louisiana, and Maine, where the French influence is dominant, fit the pattern. The high-level-of-living Mormon areas may also be included.

Solidary versus Antagonistic Features. As good an index as any of solidary relations in the family is the extent to which the family is broken by divorce, desertion, or factors other than death. The evidence indicates that farm families have the lowest rates of family disruption due to other than physical causes. The city family has the highest rates, and the rural-nonfarm families fall between these extremes.

If size of family is used as a basis for placing families on the solidary versus antagonistic continuum, almost the same pattern would be obtained that was outlined for disruption. Although specific data are not available in all cases, the farm families of Spanish or French background would probably be largest, followed in order by the Mormon

⁷ Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1948, pp. 56-60.

⁸ C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 236.

farm families, the other high-birth-rate white farm families, the high-birth-rate Negro farm families, the low-birth-rate white farm families, and finally, the small, isolated, middle-class city families.

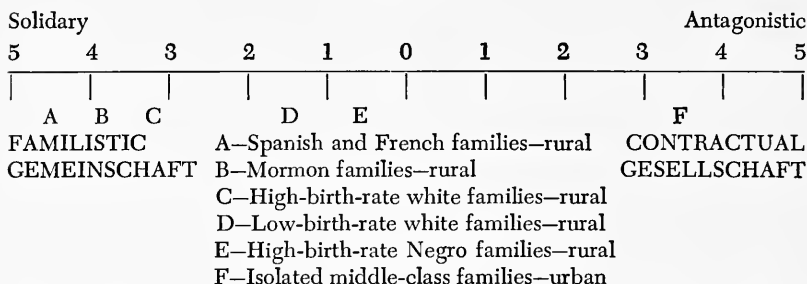
The fact that size of family is closely related to this solidary versus antagonistic continuum has been demonstrated in a study by McKain and Whetten. In an analysis of data from 1,237 families in Connecticut, it was found that size of family is highly related to homogeneity as measured by the likeness of husband and wife in respect to five criteria: place of birth, national origin, age difference, religious affiliation, and educational status.⁹ For all occupational groups, families having the most children were most homogeneous with respect to these traits. This relationship was higher for farm operators than for any other group. Farm operators who had more than three of these traits in common had, on the average, 3.64 children as compared with 2.41 children for those having only three or less traits in common. Several studies have shown that divorce and various other types of family disruption are less common among large than among small families.

Unfortunately, statistical indices of disruption resulting from divorce, separation, and abandonment for the farm-family types we wish to compare are not available. We do not know the differences for the colored and white families with high birth rates, the low-birth-rate families, the Mormon, or the Spanish and French families. With the exception of the matriarchal Negro family of the South, all rates of disruption are no doubt lower among farm families than for the small, isolated, middle-class family toward which all these groups are evolving. The authors, relying upon their personal knowledge and judgment, have rated the six family types on the solidary-antagonistic continuum based on the disruption indices discussed. (See Diagram I.) On a continuum of integration versus disorganization with the extremes of interaction confined to the family system and interaction distributed to many other systems, the family types rated above would rate somewhat the same as on the solidary versus antagonistic continuum. In the small, isolated, middle-class family, the father, and in some cases even the mother, may be at home relatively little. The family seldom operates as a set when engaging in its activities. On the other hand, in the Spanish or French family most members are

⁹ Walter C. McKain and N. L. Whetten, "Size of Family in Relation to Homogeneity of Parental Traits," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 1, March 1936, pp. 20-28.

at home most of the time; the family often works cooperatively or migrates as a unit. Among the low-birth-rate whites, the schools and

DIAGRAM I



colleges take the maximum time of the children, and the father is required to be away more than in the other types of farm families. The family is becoming less and less a cooperative, productive enterprise.

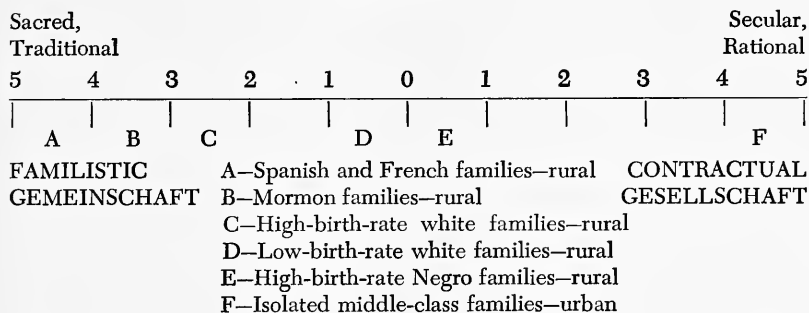
Sacred and Traditional versus Secular and Rational Features. In discussing family systems, the sacred and traditional elements are so intertwined that it seems unnecessary to attempt to separate them. For purposes of empirical procedure, the family systems considered here may be rated on this continuum according to the time given over to family celebrations and festivities such as family reunions, marriages, wedding anniversaries, and the like. Also, the greater part religion plays in such ceremonies, the more sacred and traditional they are. In rating the systems, this criterion was used. It is also believed that the extent of the use of birth control as a rational method of family limitation would have yielded somewhat the same ranking. In the case of the high-birth-rate, matriarchal Negro family, various kinds of family ceremonies in the South were never prevalent. For the other family systems, the two indices would rank the families in the same order on a continuum of sacred-traditional versus secular-rational. See Diagram II.

Emotional versus Rational Features. There are, of course, many emotions of both the associative and dissociative types.¹⁰ Although

¹⁰ MacIver classifies associative, dissociative, and restrictive attitudes into three groups. These are: (1) those implying a sense of inferiority in the subject with respect to the object; (2) those implying a sense of superiority in the subject; and (3) those implying neither plane nor status. As examples of associative attitudes of these three types, he lists respectively the following three: (1) emulation, (2) pity, and (3) love. R. M. MacIver, *Society, a Textbook of Sociology*, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1937, p. 24.

the various schools of psychology differ greatly in their treatments of emotion, none denies the importance of what the layman is thinking when he speaks of emotion. When parents admonish their children by precept, by pointing out that they should "not wear their hearts on their sleeves," or when they speak disparagingly of a boy

DIAGRAM II



being "tied to his mother's apron strings," they are comparing emotional and rational aspects of behavior. If a mother talks to her daughter about the "domestic type" as compared with the "Casanova type," she is comparing the person who has a sense of responsibility for, and attachment to, others, with the individual who is rational in the pursuit of his own self-interests.

Many explanations have been given for the decline of the birth rate in the Western world and in the industrialized areas of the Eastern world. The most common is the invention and diffusion of effective birth control devices. The authors concede the importance of birth control techniques in explaining the decline of the population-replacement rates. However, birth control, like any other technique, may or may not be used according to the value orientation or attitude of the people.

The older-order Amish, for example, will not own automobiles or tractors for draft power. Their sacred and traditional norms inhibit the rational norms of efficiency. The Amish also do not use birth control. Their rejection of birth control undoubtedly is related to traditional and sacred features of their society. But it is also related to their unwillingness to plan and rationalize the emotional urge to sex activity within the family. The extent of birth control is used here as an index to rank the family systems on the continuum: activity in-

fluenced by emotion versus rational, planned activity. Theoretically, the rationalization or planning of emotional activity carried out by the autonomic nervous system is impossible. On the positive side, a practiced laugh, a pretended love, a dutiful sexual act are deprived of their emotional content because they are planned. Toennies¹¹ would say such activities were influenced by rational will. Actually, planned emotions are a contradiction in terms. There is really no proof that attempting to plan emotions does not eliminate them. Reasoning in the same vein, there is no proof that birth control may not reduce the total amount of sexual activity among married couples, just as other attempts to rationalize emotions may destroy them.

That the decline in the birth rate is the result of the growth of rationality is evidenced by the fact that those classes which are most influenced by the rationality of the contractual *Gesellschaft* have the lowest rates.¹² The middle class is most influenced by rational action, since larger proportions of this than of other classes have had to plan their lives in order to climb the social scale and to fit into specialized places in bureaucracy or society. Furthermore, this class manages people according to the rational norms described in the previous chapter. Actually, the birth rate of rural-farm New England, the first part of the United States to be subjected to the inroads of industrialization and commercialization and the accompanying mentality of the contractual *Gesellschaft*, began to fall shortly after the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹³ Birth-control techniques as known today were not widely in use. The fact that some primitive and most civilized peoples in the past have known and used birth control in one form or another without affecting the birth rate as it has been affected in this era lends support to the proposition that the culture of the Western world, with the rational aspects of its contractual *Gesellschaft* mentality, is the fundamental factor in the decreasing birth rate.

Urban industrial and commercial bureaucracy and the free professions did not place emphasis upon cooperation in a family enterprise

¹¹ C. P. Loomis, *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology* (*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, by Ferdinand Toennies), New York: American Book Company, 1940.

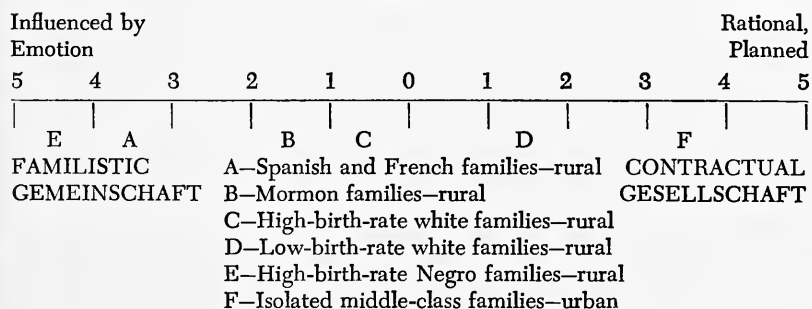
¹² A very strong case for the argument advanced here may be found in R. von Ungern-Sternberg, *The Causes of the Decline in Birth Rate Within the European Sphere of Civilization*, Cold Spring Harbor, N.Y.: Eugenics Research Association, Monograph Series IV, August 1931.

¹³ National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. 123 ff.

and status derived from the class of the family, but upon individual competence and efficiency. The family and the occupation were segregated so that an increased family labor force was not necessary for success. In fact, having children became a liability, since the individual had to be mobile and educated to fit into the contractual *Gesellschaft*. He also had to be rational. He therefore created what became the small, isolated, multilinear, rational family described above.

On the continuum showing the extent to which action is influenced by rationality, it is obvious that the birth rates of the small, isolated, middle-class family reflect greatest rationality, if prevalence of birth control is used as a basis for ranking. Next to this extreme comes the high-level-of-living, rural white family. These families are more influenced by the contractual *Gesellschaft* than are other farm families. Among them the ideal for the children is high status in the professions.¹⁴ To this end the cooperative enterprise of the family farm is oriented. The cost of placing children in the professions is great, and children who are in school most of the time do not add to the labor force of the farm as a productive enterprise. The high-birth-rate Negroes are placed at the other extreme of this particular continuum, followed by the Spanish and French family systems. The Mormons are ranked third, although their birth rates are falling, partly because of the introduction of birth control. See Diagram III.

DIAGRAM III



In a similar manner, the family systems may be rated on the basis of the continua used in Chapter 1 and Appendix A. It is obvious, of

¹⁴ E. A. Schuler, *Social Status and Farm Tenure—Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers*, Social Research Report No. IV, Washington: U.S.D.A., F.S.A. and B.A.E. Cooperating, April 1938, pp. 84 ff.

course, that until the family structures have been subjected to careful analysis, such ratings must rely upon personal judgment and speculation.

Size of Families. Farm and ranch families are larger than city families.¹⁵ Many factors responsible for this condition explain why the size of the rural-nonfarm family is intermediate between the farm and urban family. It has also been suggested that the small, isolated, middle-class family of the city does not provide members much experience in set or group activities and enterprises. When it is pointed out that farm and rural-nonfarm families do not have the recreational facilities which urban families have, it should be emphasized that since urban families lack the opportunity of interacting in sets, the urban family may need more recreation. How else can the small, isolated, middle-class urban family and other urban families get experience in team activity? There are many advantages in the larger, more stable farm family, such as greater effectiveness in caring for its aged members and other relatives.

Cooperation between Generations. Farm owners frequently establish sons and daughters as tenants on their own farms. This places them on a high rung of the tenure ladder, very near to farm ownership itself. The proportion of tenants who are related to landlords is given in Chapter 9, Figure 106. Areas dominated by the family-owned and -operated farm contain the largest proportion of tenants related to landlords.

The proportion of paid hired hands related to farm operators is also relatively high. Of all the paid laborers working for landlords in September 1945, 10 percent were related to the farm operator for whom they were working. The following proportions of paid workers on farms are reported as being relatives of their bosses in 1945: Northeast, 14 percent; North Central, 20 percent; South, 8 percent; and West, 5 percent. The proportions are highest in the dairy areas and the Corn Belt, regions in which the contractual *Gesellschaft* mentality is strong and where there are many family farms. Elsewhere, on family farms, sons and daughters work without wages. On 27 percent of all the farms which used hired labor during the survey week in 1945, one or more of the hired laborers were related to the operator. These relatives accounted for 10 percent of all farm laborers working

¹⁵ Sorokin and Zimmerman have shown that these differences prevail throughout the world. See Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929, pp. 205-220.

for pay at that time.¹⁶ In the South, sons and daughters of sharecroppers or wage laborers typically work for their parents without wages, both parents and children working, ultimately, for a landlord who is unrelated to them.

LIFE CYCLE OF FAMILY SYSTEMS

Social systems, like individuals, pass through life cycles. Family systems are no exception, although the consanguine type of family, like the tribe or nation, has a much longer life span than the conjugal family, because replacement of members in the latter does not provide for the perpetuation of separate interaction systems. The conjugal family begins its life cycle at marriage, at which time the family of procreation of the united couple is initiated. With the addition of children, the family grows in size until children begin to leave home for employment or marriage. From the period that the last child is born to the time the first leaves home, the family is usually constant in size. As the children leave the parental home, the unit decreases, and with the death of the last parent it passes out of existence.

Figure 3 describes the life cycle of urban, rural-nonfarm, and farm families of the United States as derived from 1940 census figures.¹⁷ Farm and rural-nonfarm wives marry for the first time at earlier ages than urban wives, their respective average marriage ages being 21.1, 21.4, and 22.1 years. Farm and rural-nonfarm mothers also bear their first children earlier than do city mothers. The ages are estimated at 22.0 years for the farm and rural-nonfarm mother and at 24.3 for the urban mother. Age at completion of childbearing for the average farm, rural-nonfarm, and urban mother does not vary greatly, being 28.5, 26.8, and 27.9. But at this time the urban mother has borne an average of 2.77 children as compared with 3.33 and 4.22 for the rural-nonfarm and rural-farm wives, respectively. The ages at which persons marry, have children, see them leave home, and die, of course

¹⁶ Louis J. Ducoff and Barbara B. Reagan, *Wages and Wage Rates of Hired Workers, U.S. and Major Regions*, Washington: U.S.D.A., B.A.E., Report No. 16, September 1945; and Margaret J. Hagood, "The Farm Home and Family," in Carl Taylor *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, p. 42.

¹⁷ For the details of calculation see J. A. Beegle and C. P. Loomis, "Life Cycles of Farm, Rural-Nonfarm, and Urban Families in the United States as Derived from Census Materials," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, March 1948, pp. 70-74.

differ from occupational group to occupational group and from region to region.¹⁸

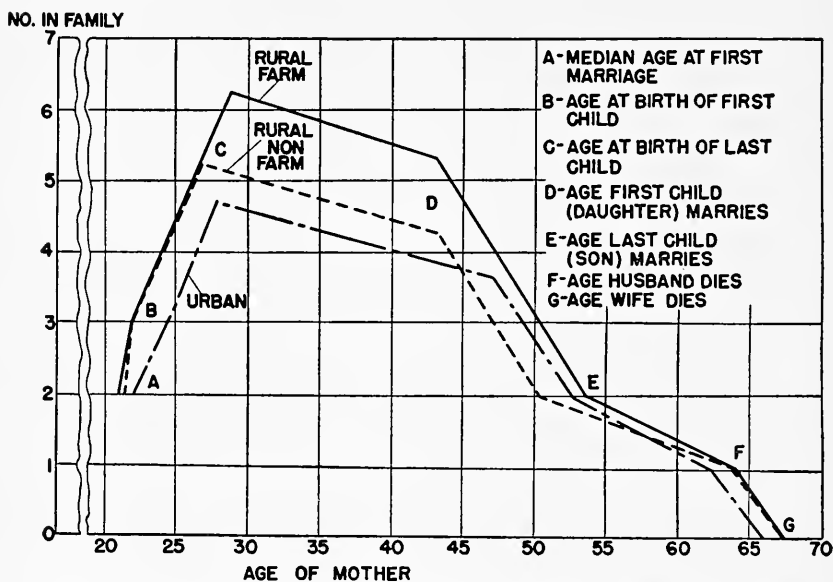


FIG. 3. Life cycles of urban, rural-nonfarm, and farm families in the United States. Note that the age of the mother is plotted against family size. (Reproduced from Allan Beegle and C. P. Loomis, "Life Cycles of Farm, Rural-Nonfarm, and Urban Families in the United States as Derived From Census Materials," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, March 1948, p. 74.)

Interaction Patterns and the Farm Family Cycle. As suggested previously, the greater part of the interaction in the family is made

¹⁸ Glick has described the average family's life cycle as it appeared from census data in 1940 and 1890 without differentiating places of residence. On the average, husbands and wives of the United States marry first at the ages of 24 and 22 respectively, and one year later the first child is born, and 5.6 years later the last child is born. When the first child marries, the husband is 48 years of age and the wife 46; when the last child marries the husband and wife are 53 and 50, respectively. Fifty years previously, on the average, men reported having married at about one year later than they do at present. Comparable ages for women did not change during this period. See Paul C. Glick, "The Family Cycle," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XII, No. 2, April 1947, pp. 164-174. See Harold T. Christensen, "Rural-Urban Differences in the Time Interval Between the Marriage of Parents and the Birth of Their First Child, Utah County, Utah," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 2, June 1938, pp. 172-176, and Otis Dudley Duncan, "Rural-Urban Variations in the Age of Parents at the Birth of the First Child," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, March 1943, pp. 62-68.

up of paired events. On the farm in the United States and in most parts of the world the wife customarily helps the husband. She may make a general practice of helping him or may help him only in cases of emergency. Whether or not she does general field work will depend upon class and regional variations. In general, the wives of the more well-to-do families work less in the fields than wives of lower-class status.¹⁹ The wife generally helps the husband in the field and about the homestead, doing men's chores during that part of the life cycle in which the children are too young to work. During this period few wives fail to work under the direction of the husband. On the other hand, most husbands help their wives, on occasion, in the house. They may also assist with the garden and chickens, both of which are usually women's work.

However, since the farmer and farmer's wife roles are specific, it should not be surprising that because of the farm operation the husband is usually the more dominant of the pair in terms of the criteria used previously. But even though the men usually have more authority than the wives in the conduct of successful farming operations, the importance of a cooperative, thrifty, intelligent, and strong wife has been stressed by economists and sociologists alike.²⁰

At an early age children begin to fit into the interaction pattern of the enterprise. As indicated previously, children are frequently required to interact in sets or units larger than pairs. When this period is attained under familistic *Gemeinschaft* conditions, the farm unit as an enterprise is at its peak income level and operates the largest amount of land. In fact, one test of whether a culture is of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* nature is the extent to which the operational aspects of the enterprise adjust to the family's size and interaction pat-

¹⁹ C. P. Loomis, *The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to its Activities*, Raleigh: North Carolina AES Bulletin 289, June 1934, p. 38.

²⁰ W. W. Wilcox, A. Boss, and G. A. Pond, *Relation of Variations in the Human Factor to Financial Returns in Farming*, St. Paul: Minnesota AES Research Bulletin No. 288, 1932. It is interesting to note that the farmers interviewed in this study rated the cooperation of the wife second in importance only to farm experience of the operator. The study shows that farmers whose wives cooperated were more successful, measured by the farm management and other indices used. (See pp. 8, 15, 16, and 33.) In an investigation of successful and unsuccessful subsistence homestead settlements established by the Federal Government during the New Deal, conducted under the direction of the senior author, it was found that the attitude and effort of the wife was of utmost importance for success. See Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, p. 137.

tern. Although studies in industry²¹ have demonstrated that the interaction pattern of the workers and supervisors and their morale is vital to the effectiveness of the organization, farm management specialists have paid very little attention to these very important factors in farming. Relief agencies have shown singular ignorance and lack of appreciation of the importance of the life cycle in relation to the needs of the farm family.

Blackwell's²² study of farm families on relief indicated that relief agencies gave relatively little assistance to families when there were many young children. These families felt the "pinch" of hard times more than families in other stages of the life cycle which received relatively more. For his North Carolina families, the "pinch" came between the period when the oldest child was ten and lasted until he reached the age of twenty-four. During this period the interaction system of the family begins to attain its maximum solidarity. Even the young children help to bear the brunt of added mouths to feed, and the production of food and fuel for home consumption increases. As Blackwell indicates, "There is evidence that certain psycho-social advantages are accruing to the families during this period of increasing family size."²³ Many studies of divorce have shown that during this period the family is much less likely to disintegrate.²⁴ The enterprise at this time is a "going concern" based upon an interaction pattern which under optimum conditions is in many respects the very embodiment of what has been described as the familistic *Gemeinschaft*.²⁵ This holds true for the farm and peasant enterprise as well as for suburban gardeners.

In his study of successful and unsuccessful suburban subsistence homesteads, Loomis found on those that produced the most food, 87 percent of the wives and 68 percent of the children liked to work in the garden. For low producers of food, these percentages were

²¹ For a brief bibliography of these studies, see Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, pp. 151-152.

²² G. W. Blackwell, "Correlates of Stage of Family Development Among Farm Families on Relief," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VII, No. 2, June 1942, pp. 161-174.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 171.

²⁴ M. F. Nimkoff, *The Family*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, p. 445. Approximately two-thirds of the divorces occur before the couples have been married ten years. Over half of the divorces involve no children.

²⁵ The importance of children to the enterprise is discussed in Lucy A. Studley, *Relationship of the Farm Home to the Farm Business*, St. Paul, Minnesota: AES Bulletin 279, 1931, pp. 13-21.

62 and 29 percent respectively. Among the high producers, 80 percent of the wives actually worked in the garden, as compared with 51 percent of the low producers.²⁶ Thus, the farm family, with wife and children willing and able to work for the good of the unit, has more resistance to the disrupting influence of depression. Zimmerman and Whetten found, in those areas where familistic Gemeinschaft-like families were most prevalent, the family was "more likely to cling together in a large cohesive aggregate; and finally, because of the loss of economic support or even the injury or death of the male provider, the whole aggregation is forced on relief."²⁷ Elsewhere the depression was more likely to "crack" the family so that individual members went on relief. On the basis of the authors' experiences, particularly in the Appalachian-Ozark area, the conclusion was reached that families with strong interaction patterns resisted going on relief in the early days of the New Deal, but as it became the normal procedure to accept relief, the strong family insisted on its share. All these facts tend to support the view that the more solidary the interaction pattern of the family, the more power it has to overcome adverse conditions. Peasant, farm, and urban families have considerably different patterns of adjustment as they pass through the life cycle.

Adaptations of Farm and Urban Families. Few studies have been made of the city family's life cycle. Practically all these studies, the most important of which have been made by Rowntree,²⁸ have dealt with the poorer families in the urban environment. This student of the poorer workers in England has plotted the life cycle of the individual laborer, showing its deviation above and below the poverty line, a measure developed from requirement standards. According to Rowntree's description, the period before and during the first years of marriage is characterized by relative plenty. This period of "comparative prosperity" may continue until the worker has two or three children. Then poverty again overtakes the worker and his family, and this period will last for about ten years, or until the first child is fourteen years old and begins to earn wages. However, if there are more than three children, the period of poverty will last longer. While

²⁶ Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, p. 137.

²⁷ C. C. Zimmerman and N. L. Whetten, *Rural Families on Relief*, Research Monograph XVII, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938, p. 51.

²⁸ B. S. Rowntree, *Poverty, a Study of Town Life*, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1922, pp. 160 ff.

the children are earning and before they leave home, the laborer and his family may enjoy another period of prosperity; possibly, however, only to sink back again into poverty when his children have married and moved away. The family unit, therefore, may be said to sink below Rowntree's poverty line when there are many consumers and few workers, rise above this line when there are more workers than consumers, and again fall below the poverty line when the aging couple is left alone and is too old to earn.

From the works of Chaïanov²⁹ and from his summary of Russian and other works, it is evident that, although the life cycles of the peasant and of the urban family are somewhat comparable biologically, the adjustment made to obtain a livelihood during the various phases of the life cycle differs in the two instances. When the ratio of mere consumers to workers is great, the peasant family is not restricted by an inflexible wage, but may increase its income per worker by increased exertion. This is actually done, since more land is cultivated and the return per worker increases during the period when the family is burdened by unproductive individuals. Thus the family stands a better chance of securing for its members the necessities of life and is relatively able to avoid falling below the poverty line. Furthermore, as the proportion of family workers over fifteen years of age grows, the size of the holding tends to increase but the income per worker decreases because there is not the drive which want and unsatisfied desires produce. In areas such as rural China and Japan, where the consanguine family and great population pressure on natural resources prevail, the size of family is determined in large measure by the size of the holding.³⁰

The life cycle of the family of the Western world falls into four periods,³¹ and studies have been made to demonstrate the application of this classification.³² Agricultural economists have stated the theoretical implications of the life cycle and family size as a factor

²⁹ A. Chaïanov, *Die Lehre von der bauerlichen Wirtschaft*, Berlin: P. Parey, 1923, p. 10.

³⁰ See J. L. Buck, *Chinese Farm Economy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930, pp. 334-335.

³¹ Pitirim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and Charles J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. II, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 27-33.

³² Carle C. Zimmerman and Merle E. Frampton, *Family and Society*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1935, pp. 59-60.

in agricultural economics,³³ and a number of American sociologists have shown interest in this problem.³⁴

In the study of the life cycle of white owner and tenant farm families in Wake County in North Carolina, Loomis³⁵ found that the agricultural base was largely commercial, in the sense that the two cash crops, cotton and tobacco, predominated. However, the farming in this area, and in the Cotton Belt and tobacco areas generally, is not yet highly rationalized or mechanized. The fact that there is much hand labor for the members of the families studied is important in family life-cycle analyses.

Four successive stages were delimited. The first includes only childless couples of child-bearing age. The second consists of families with children, the eldest of whom is under fourteen. It is during this stage that the family has the greatest proportion of young, unproductive units. The third consists of families in which the oldest child is past his fourteenth year and under thirty-six. In this stage the family has the most working units. The last stage includes only old families. Blackwell³⁶ used practically the same categories in his study of the life cycle of dependents based upon 1,653 North Carolina farm families on relief.

The more working units there are in the farm family, the more land it is likely to farm. This causes the actual amount of land farmed by the family to fluctuate with the life cycle of the family. The amount farmed per adult unit remains fairly constant during the life cycle—a sharp contrast to the great fluctuation insofar as the average holding

³³ Henry C. Taylor, *Outlines of Agricultural Economics*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925, pp. 173–175. For a discussion of the principle of the family-sized farm, see John D. Black, *Agricultural Reform in the United States*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1929, pp. 368 ff. Also see Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin, Vol. II, *op. cit.*, pp. 114–118; L. C. Gray, *Introduction to Agricultural Economics*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, pp. 100–103; and G. F. Warren, *Farm Management*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924, pp. 239–243.

³⁴ C. E. Lively, "The Growth Cycle of the Farm Family," Mimeographed Bulletin No. 51, Wooster: Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station, 1932; E. L. Kirkpatrick, *The Farmer's Standard of Living*, New York: The Century Company, 1929, pp. 202–241; and E. L. Kirkpatrick, *The Life Cycle of the Farm Family*, Madison: Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 121, 1934.

³⁵ Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, Chapters 9 and 10. The difficulties involved in using cross-section data as compared with the historical method are considered.

³⁶ Blackwell, *op. cit.*

per household is concerned. Such fluctuations emphasize the fact that the farm family forms the basis of an integrated, productive enterprise which is fairly efficient in adjusting labor to land. On the whole, the larger the family, the more land it will try to till.

It should be recognized that there are many factors other than the increase of crop acreage which might affect an adjustment of the labor force. In the North Carolina area studied, the family might farm more intensively by shifting from cotton to tobacco or in various other ways. Therefore, the increase in the acreage as the family grows (and its decrease as the family becomes smaller) must be significant, because, without a doubt, the other forces are also working. Since the large family spends a smaller proportion of the budget on the farm enterprise than does the small family, and since the acreage is greater in the case of the large family, the conclusion naturally follows that the third factor, family labor, is playing a more important role in the large family than in the small. As land is increased, capital is decreased in its relative proportion, while the expenditure for labor in the form of food for the family is increased. Not only is the cash expenditure for food increased, but more food and fuel are grown on the farm.³⁷

In general, families in the first stage earn a larger net income per unit of consumption than do families in other stages. However, it is concluded that young families in this stage are more mobile, less solidary, and less familistic. This explains their relatively greater dependency.³⁸

The income accruing to the family from the farm enterprise follows approximately the same pattern as does the number of crop acres farmed in the different stages of its life cycle. The income per adult unit³⁹ does not fluctuate so greatly as the total income. The large family tends to earn a larger income than the small family.

One of the most important contributions of the concept of the family cycle is implicit in its relation to the so-called agricultural lad-

³⁷ Kirkpatrick, *The Life Cycle of the Farm Family*, *op. cit.* Kirkpatrick found that the Wisconsin families which contained older (high school) children were able to reduce their cash expenditures for the farm enterprise by using more unpaid family labor.

³⁸ Blackwell, *op. cit.*

³⁹ Here it is immaterial which of the various scales, such as the adult-equivalent scale, the adult-male-equivalent, or the cost-consumption unit, is used. These scales are all designed to give some common measure of size and age for families of different composition.

der. There is a larger proportion of owners in the later than in the earlier stages of the life cycle.⁴⁰ In areas such as the Great Plains, where the class structure is less static than in the South, this type of vertical mobility throughout the life cycle is greater. Also, tenant families become more stable, manifesting less geographical mobility as they add children to the unit.⁴¹

As would be expected, the farm family with many small children and the family made up of elderly parents alone are most burdened with sickness.⁴²

As the family grows, it does not increase the size of the home as it does the farm land acreage.⁴³ Studies of farm family life cycles in the dairy areas and Corn Belt in Wisconsin and Ohio in some respects corroborate the study by Loomis in North Carolina. This is not the case in all instances, however. An example is the amount of land farmed. Loomis found the amount of land farmed in the Cotton Belt to be related to the life cycle of the farm family, while the Wisconsin and Ohio studies showed little or no relationship between the factors.⁴⁴ The farms studied in Wisconsin and Ohio were more highly mechanized than those studied in North Carolina. However, the fluctuation of cash income from crops in the Wisconsin study is comparable to the results of the North Carolina study. In both cases, cash income increases with the working force of the family but decreases in the group of older adults. Since the acreage does not increase in the Wisconsin study, there is indication that intensification of cultivation results from the growth of the family.⁴⁵

A study made in Minnesota maintains that family labor plays a rather unimportant role in determining whether or not a farm enterprise is successful.⁴⁶ Farmers themselves rated this factor last in relative importance as compared with fifteen other factors. The study it-

⁴⁰ Blackwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-166.

⁴¹ W. F. Kumlein, *The Standard of Living of Farm and Village Families in Six South Dakota Counties*, Brookings: South Dakota AES Bulletin 320, 1938, p. 46; Blackwell, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁴² Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, p. 193.

⁴³ Kirkpatrick found that in Wisconsin farm families, although the size of the house did not change greatly in the different stages of the family cycle, the larger families used a larger proportion of the dwelling than did the smaller. *The Life Cycle of the Farm Family*, p. 5.

⁴⁴ Lively, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21; Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴⁵ Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-20.

⁴⁶ Wilcox, Boss, and Pond, *op. cit.*

self shows that families with large forces of hired help and less family labor were more successful according to several criteria, as, for example, the size of the operator's labor earnings.

The Wisconsin study shows that the family with many children of the adolescent and courting ages greatly increases its expenditures for clothing and other "advancement goods." Fathers and mothers may deprive themselves in order that their children may be dressed fashionably. Other family needs are slighted in order to satisfy this need on the part of the older, unmarried children.⁴⁷ However, the more commercialized and urbanized the rural culture, the more people will sacrifice to keep pace with the city styles. The North Carolina study shows that the group of families with the most workers spent more for clothing, but the increased expenditure was no more pronounced than for food. In some respects, the North Carolina farmers were less influenced by the city culture.⁴⁸ Clothing expenditures are strongly influenced by social pressures. Families in some income groups take food off their tables, so to speak, to make sure that their eligible offspring are dressed according to the customs and standards of the group. In this respect, the period before marriage in humans suggests the period of florescence in plants.

Aging Farm Families. It has been indicated that stem or patriarchal-type families have developed means of transferring the property to the younger members of the family system. In family systems which have developed strong interaction patterns, the process of farm transfer is never easy. A father who has been dependent upon the enterprise for his status and who is accustomed to having others obey usually finds it difficult to relinquish control.

As indicated in the previous chapter, many peasant cultures have developed means whereby the parents may relinquish control, retain status, and perform useful roles. The best-known system in which the aged retain functions is that of Germanic peoples.⁴⁹ In the United States there is tremendous economic wastage because there is no

⁴⁷ Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁴⁸ See Chaianov, *op. cit.*, p. 37. Chaianov states that the influence of city culture upon the desires of peasants might have the same influence as an increase in the size of the family. Other things being equal, there would be a tendency toward greater exertion on the part of the family members as the peasant family comes in contact with city culture.

⁴⁹ H. W. Spiegel, "The Altenteil: German Farmers' Old Age Security," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. IV, No. 2, June 1939, pp. 203-218.

general, uniform, institutionalized practice whereby a child may take over at least a part of the farm operation when the father's ability and strength are declining. From Figure 3 it is easy to calculate that the average father is between 50 and 55 years of age when the last child marries. If the last child must leave the family unit, the chances are good that he will establish himself elsewhere and never return. Large savings are made by certain families with the custom of transferring the farm as a going concern, thus avoiding the wastage involved in selling and settling the estate.⁵⁰ In view of the importance of passing the unit on as an operation of sufficient size to support a family, it is obvious that this aspect of the family life cycle should be given attention by farm management and other specialists.

The father-son partnership arrangements provide a means of sharing the farm with the son who wishes to operate it. Nearly one-third (31.6 percent) of the adult farm males (20 years old and over) in Michigan are at least 55 years of age. For the nation, the figure is over one-fourth (26.4 percent). For most of these families, all the children will have married and most will have left home.

SUMMARY

The growing industrialization and commercialization have weakened the importance of the family as a producing and consuming unit. The modern middle-class family, which has been characterized as small, isolated, conjugal, and mobile, seems to be the pace-setter in all urban areas and in the progressive rural sections. The elements of the contractual *Gesellschaft* which have been treated in Chapter 1 and Appendix A seem to be at work everywhere to make this family type universal. The declining birth rate in the Western world is related to this development. Birth-control techniques are important factors, but it is the value orientation of the systems of which the individual is a part that is chiefly responsible.

The small, isolated, conjugal family seems particularly well adapted to modern life, in which status comes primarily from one's occupation, a status that is typically achieved, not inherited or ascribed. In rural and urban areas alike, the strains that result from the decreasing importance of the family as a status-giving agency and as a production and consumption unit, have resulted in frustrations

⁵⁰ Kenneth H. Parsons and Eliot O. Waples, *Keeping the Farm in the Family*, Madison: Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 157, September 1945.

for wives, mothers, and maturing children. Other stresses existed in the larger farm families several generations earlier. Extreme father-child domination may well have been a much more serious problem than in the farm family of today.

Individuals passing through the life cycle in urban families of various social classes face adjustments that are quite different from those in rural families of various social levels. Among farm families in general, it has been easier in the past to adjust the enterprise to take care of increased family members than it has been in the case of the city family. Farm management experts and social and relief workers make a serious mistake in failing to consider the stage of the family life cycle before planning for it. To understand the difference in the adjustments which families must make at different periods, it is essential to know the nature of life cycles under rural and urban conditions.

THE RURAL FAMILY: SIZE AND COMPOSITION

IT WAS THE THESIS of the preceding chapter that the basic nature of the farm family has been changing under the impact of urbanization and the concomitant industrialization, commercialization, and bureaucratization. It was shown that the American rural family is not the solidary, patriarchal system that it once was. Basic to this thesis, however, is the notion that the rural family has preserved relatively more of the elements expressed in the term familistic *Gemeinschaft*. The urban family, on the other hand, has been influenced much more by contractual *Gesellschaft* relationships.

In the pages to follow, we propose to attempt a documentation of our thesis. Indications and indices of varying value orientations of farm and city families may be found at every hand. Among the most dramatic are those centering around family size, household composition, prevalence of divorce, and consumption patterns.

FAMILY SIZE

It has already been indicated that birth rates have been declining for a number of years, a trend equally true of farm and city families. The explanations are numerous, but nearly all reflect changes in the value orientations of populations. One of the most succinct statements of this point of view is expressed by von Ungern-Sternberg:

Whatever other causes may be quoted in connection with the declining birth-rate, like urbanization of the population, prosperity, popularization of contraceptive methods, emancipation from church, competition of pleasures, housing problem, unfavorable economic situation, etc., they cannot be called independent causes for declining birth-rate since all these manifestations can finally be traced to the main cause—they are but enhancing and favoring factors.

Therefore, the *causa causans* of the declining birth-rate within the western European sphere of civilization is the striving spirit, a derivation of capitalistic mentality.¹

¹ Roderich von Ungern-Sternberg, *The Causes of the Decline in Birth-Rate Within the European Sphere of Civilization*, Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island: Eugenics Research Association, Monograph Series No. IV, 1931, p. 202.

Heberle attributes the decline in fertility to changes in the social structure of industrial societies which develop in the later stages. According to Heberle, ". . . the decline of fertility appears to be con-

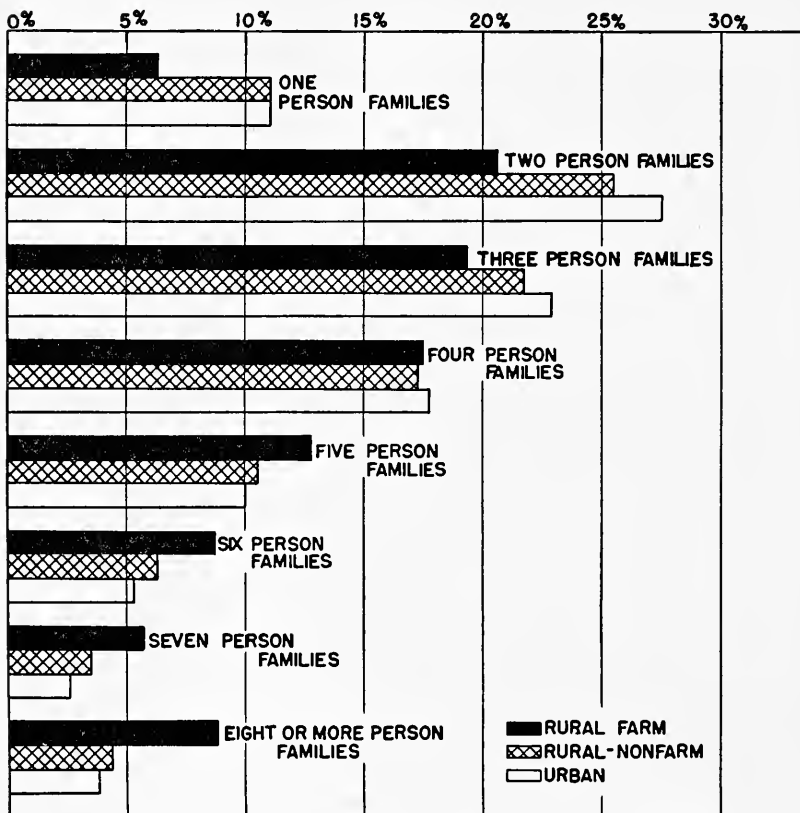


FIG. 4. Percentages of urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm families containing specified numbers of persons, United States, 1940. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, *Types of Families*, Table 3.)

ditioned by a complex of factors all of which may be considered phenomena of the period of 'late capitalism'. . . ."² Regardless of the explanations, the decline in the birth rate has been singled out as

² Rudolf Heberle, "Social Factors in Birth Control," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VI, No. 6, December 1941, p. 805.

one of the most significant social changes in Western civilization.³ The authors believed it to be closely related to the processes which have led to the decreasing importance of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and the increasing importance of the contractual *Gesellschaft*.

One of the earliest observations of the differential birth rate indicated that the agricultural groups were more fertile than the urban groups. Even prior to the collection of birth data in many countries, this condition was described by shrewd observers.⁴ In most of the Western countries, rural populations still have relatively higher birth rates. The explanation suggested by Heberle is that agricultural classes are less well integrated into the bureaucratic or capitalistic system than are the urban classes.⁵ Data for the United States support this position.

The proportions of farm, rural-nonfarm, and urban families of specified sizes in the United States in 1940 are indicated in Figure 4. In general, it will be noted that rural-farm families are largest, rural-nonfarm families intermediate, and urban families smallest. The proportions of farm families containing five, six, seven, and eight or more persons are much greater than for any of the other residence groups.

State variations in the fertility rate of the farm and urban populations are indicated in Figures 5 and 6, respectively. The proportion of Negroes is indicated by the segment of the circle beginning at nine o'clock and moving clockwise to the heavy line. The proportion of "other races" is shown by the segment starting at nine o'clock and moving counterclockwise. In states where either racial group constitutes less than one percent of the total population, its proportion is not shown. The size of the circles, it will be noted, is in relation to the total population.

The rate at which the farm population is reproducing is nearly twice that of the urban population. One of the most useful of the measures of the rate of reproduction, the fertility ratio, expresses the relationship between the number of young children in a population

³ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, p. 153; and Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1942, pp. 153-158.

⁴ See Polybius, *The Histories of Polybius*, translated by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, London: Macmillan & Co., 1899, Vol. II, pp. 510-511; David Hume, *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1875, Vol. I, p. 398; and John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations made upon the Bills of Mortality*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1939, pp. 54-56.

⁵ Heberle, *op. cit.*, p. 796.

and the number of women in the productive ages. As computed here, the following formula is used:

$$\text{Fertility ratio} = \frac{\text{Number of children under 5}}{\text{Females aged 15 to 44}} \times 1,000$$

The fertility ratios for the rural-farm and the urban population are 484 and 257, respectively. Careful inspection of Figures 5 and 6

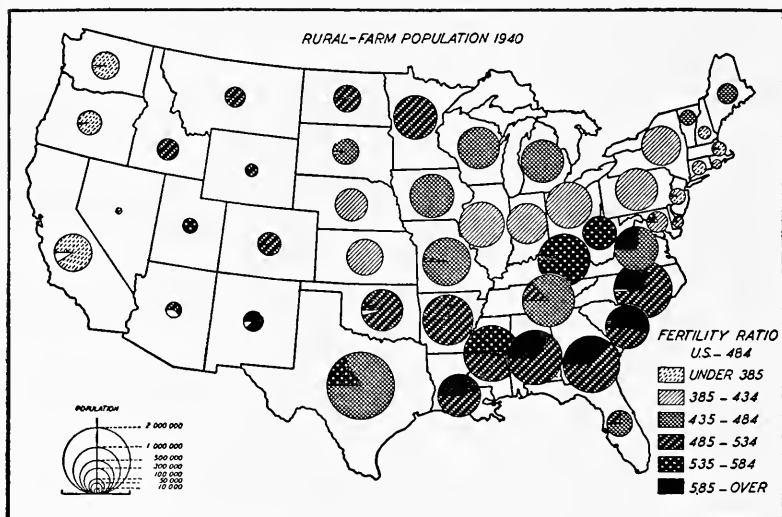


FIG. 5. Fertility ratios of the rural-farm population of the United States, by race and state, 1940. The proportion of Negroes is indicated by the segment starting at nine o'clock and moving clockwise to the heavy line; the proportion of "other races," by the segment starting at nine o'clock and moving counter-clockwise to the heavy line. Where either racial group constitutes less than one percent of the total farm population, its proportion is not shown. (Reproduced from J. Allan Beegle and T. Lynn Smith, *Differential Fertility in Louisiana*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana AES Bulletin 403, June 1946, p. 35.)

reveals that the farm fertility rate rarely falls as low as the highest urban rates. Regional variations, as indicated in Figure 5, are interesting. In the Cotton Belt and General and Self-Sufficient areas of the South, the most rural part of the country, the highest rural fertility rates prevail. Similarly, in the mountain states, in the Range-Livestock areas and Mormon areas of the Western Specialty-Crop section, fertility rates are extremely high. On the other hand, the farm rates of reproduction in the New England part of the dairy areas, in the Middle West Corn Belt and dairy areas, and in the Pacific Coast

states with Western Specialty-Crops, are extremely low. Such differences suggest that even within the farming population, birth rates remain highest in those areas least affected by urban attitudes and values. Stated in terms of our frame of reference, it appears that birth rates remain highest in those areas into which the contractual *Gesellschaft* has least extended.

Regional variations in the rates at which urban populations are

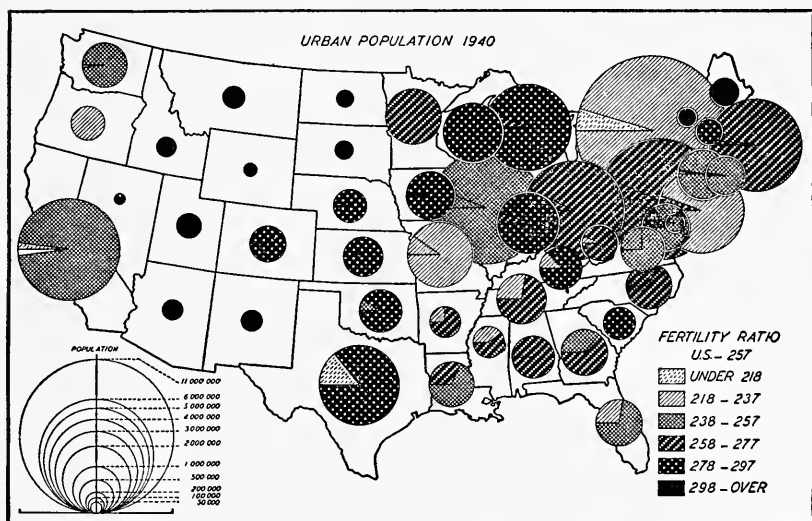


FIG. 6. Fertility ratios of the urban population of the United States, by race and state, 1940. The proportion of Negroes is indicated by the segment starting at nine o'clock and moving clockwise to the heavy line; the proportion of "other races" by the segment starting at nine o'clock and moving counterclockwise to the heavy line. Where either racial group constitutes less than one percent of the total urban population, its proportion is not shown. (Reproduced from J. Allan Beegle and T. Lynn Smith, *Differential Fertility in Louisiana*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana AES Bulletin 403, June 1946, p. 39.)

reproducing are shown in Figure 6. Although there are some exceptions, those states containing extremely large urban aggregates ordinarily have the lowest reproduction rates.

Two observations concerning Negro and white rates of reproduction seem worthy of mention. Fertility rates among the rural-farm Negroes are ordinarily higher than those for the rural-farm whites. This observation suggests that while the Negroes and whites are both classed as rural-farm, there is differential participation in urban, industrial values. In other words, farm Negroes have more of the

familistic Gemeinschaft in their value orientations than do farm whites. The second observation is that urban Negroes frequently fall below the urban whites in fertility. This is particularly true in some of the northern states. In New York City, for example, the fertility ratio for the native white population is 271 as compared with only 191 for the Negro population. In Chicago and Detroit the situation is similar. The fertility ratio for native whites and Negroes in Chicago is 271 and 231; in Detroit, 334 and 257, respectively. The reasons for the extremely low fertility of Negroes in urban areas have

TABLE 1

Rank in Fertility as Related to Rank in Urbanity for the Ten Most Rural and Ten Most Urban States, 1940

State	Percent Urban	Rank in Urbanity	Rank in Fertility ^a			
			Total	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm
<i>Most Urban</i>						
Rhode Island	91.6	1	45	31	46	46
Massachusetts	89.4	2	44	30	44	45
New York	82.8	3	48	48	45	40
New Jersey	81.6	4	47	46	47	47
Illinois	73.6	5	42	41	38	35
California	71.0	6	43	43	37	42
Connecticut	67.8	7	46	42	48	48
Ohio	66.8	8	38	28	23	37
Pennsylvania	66.5	9	41	32	30	36
Michigan	65.7	10	30	11	8	27
<i>Least Urban</i>						
New Mexico	33.2	39	1	2	1	2
Alabama	30.2	40	11	25	11	5
Kentucky	29.8	41	7	23	5	7
West Virginia	28.1	42	8	27	3	11
North Carolina	27.3	43	12	26	18	8
South Dakota	24.6	44	13	8	31	23
South Carolina	24.5	45	4	16	15	3
Arkansas	22.2	46	10	37	22	12
North Dakota	20.6	47	9	9	21	13
Mississippi	19.8	48	6	40	35	9

^a Ranking based upon the number of children under 5 per 1,000 women aged 15 to 44.

SOURCE: *Sixteenth Census of the United States.*

not been adequately studied, but it would seem that the process of adjustment to a completely alien environment must play an important role.⁶

The extent to which fertility is related to the degree of urbanity is indicated in Table 1. Of the ten most urban states, only Michigan and Ohio rank somewhat high in fertility. Eight of the ten most urban states, it will be noted, rank from forty-first to forty-eighth, or the very lowest among the states. The most rural states, on the other hand, rank among the highest in fertility. The only high-ranking states which do not appear in the most rural list shown in Table 1 are Utah, Arizona, and Idaho, which rank second, third, and fifth, respectively. Of these states, Utah is 55.5 percent urban, while both Arizona and Idaho are less than 35 percent urban.

It has been suggested that the farm family assumes different characteristics throughout the United States. Depending upon its location and other factors, the farm family has been unequally influenced by the familistic Gemeinschaft-like orientation of sentiments, values, and patterns of action originating in urban areas. In order to show how the birth-rate pattern varies, Figure 7 indicates variations in the fertility of rural-farm white populations by county. Particularly striking are the extremely high fertility rates among the Spanish-American and Mormon groups in the mountain states and in the Southwest, as well as among southern residents, especially those in the Appalachian area. With the exception of the Mormon population, all these groups are relatively isolated, of low economic status, and relatively unaffected by urban values. The great Middle West, containing the Corn Belt and the western dairy areas, among the most commercialized agricultural sections of the country, is characterized by low birth rates. Also in the low-fertility group are the Western Specialty-Crop area and the Northeast.

Little has been said up to this point about the rural-nonfarm fertility rate, chiefly because we have been interested in contrasting extremes in residence. It is well known that the rural-nonfarm resi-

⁶ Some suggest that their differences may be due to the nature of the fertility ratio in computing rates of reproduction. They suggest that southern Negroes may migrate to northern cities, leaving their young children behind. This would serve to elevate rural fertility ratios in the South but would depress them in northern cities. See Louise Kemp, "A Note on the Use of the Fertility Ratio in the Study of Rural-Urban Differences in Fertility," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. X, No. 3, September 1945, pp. 312-313.

RURAL-FARM WHITE POPULATION 1940

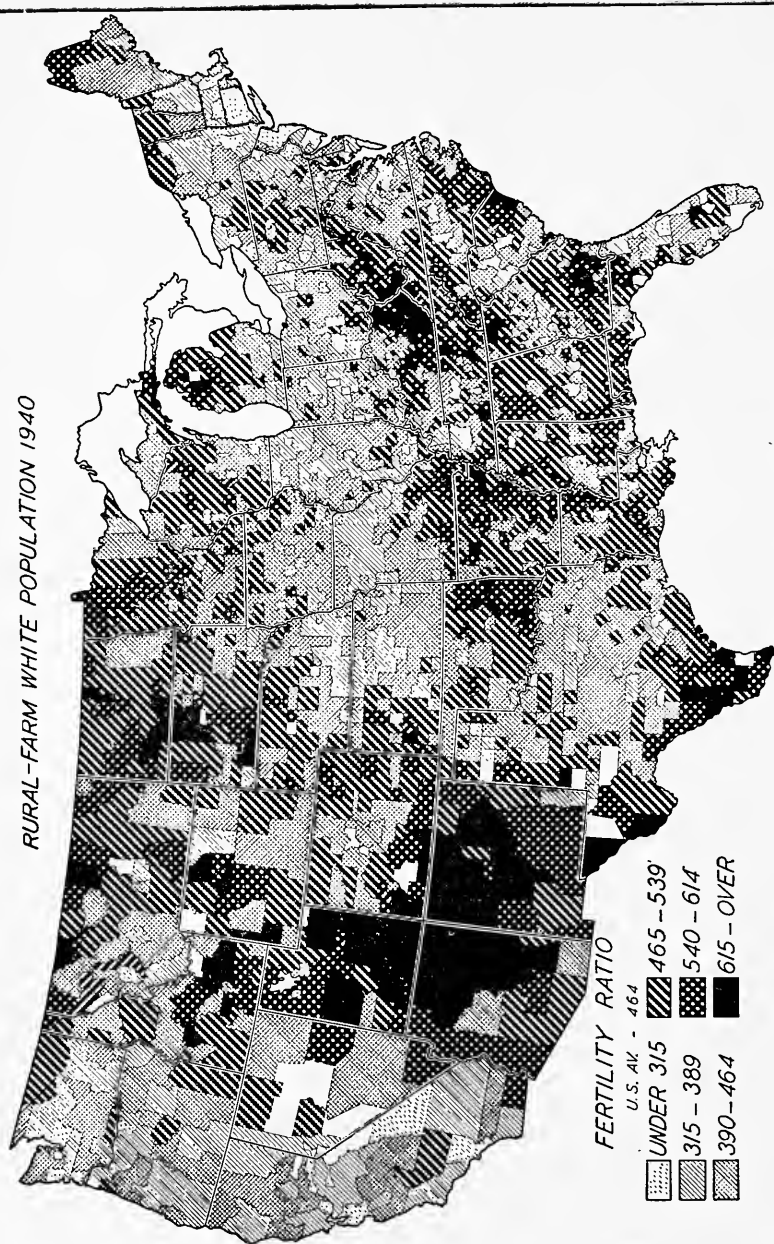


FIG. 7. Fertility ratios of the rural-farm white population in the United States, by counties, 1940. Counties having less than 100 rural-farm white women between the ages of 15 and 45 are left blank. (Reproduced from J. Allan Beegle and T. Lynn Smith, *Differential Fertility in Louisiana*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana AES Bulletin 403, June 1946, p. 40.)

dence group is not homogeneous, and that basically distinct kinds of residence are lumped together in this "catch-all" category.⁷ In general, however, studies of birth rates have shown that rural-nonfarm populations rank between the high farm rates and the low urban rates. In 1940, for example, the fertility ratio for the rural-farm population of the country was 484; for the rural-nonfarm population of the nation, 400; and for the urban population, 257. The intermediate position of the rural-nonfarm population holds true in 1930 and 1920 as well.

One segment of the rural-nonfarm population which appears to be extremely fertile is the fringe segment. A study of the fringe population in Michigan⁸ indicates that the fertility of the fringe populations surrounding the state's ten major cities is nearly as high as that of the adjacent farm population. (See Figure 8.) The fertility ratio for the combined fringe populations is 451, as compared with 470 for the adjacent farm population. In three of the ten areas, the fringe population was reproducing considerably more rapidly than the nearby farming population. In the Detroit area, the ratios were practically equal, 435 among fringe residents and 444 among the nearby farm residents. Table 2 shows correspondingly high rates of fertility in fringe populations for selected large cities throughout the United States. In the areas of two cities, namely, Denver and Minneapolis-St. Paul, fertility rates in the fringe areas are actually higher than in the farming districts nearby. In all cases, it may be observed, the fringe birth rates are much higher than in the incorporated cities.

Size of Family by Age, Residence, and Color. The relative importance of children in the value system of farm, nonfarm, and urban families is suggested in Figure 9. This shows the proportions of married women, by age, who have had varying numbers of children, according to their residence classification.

An examination of the segment of Figure 9 which shows the percentage of married women who have no children reveals that larger proportions of urban women of all ages are childless. In the age group

⁷ It must be remembered that this residence category includes: (1) the incorporated village having less than 2,500 population; (2) the unincorporated village having less than 2,500 population; (3) open-country residents who do not farm; and (4) fringe residents, or those who live at the periphery of cities but outside the incorporated limits. See T. Lynn Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-50.

⁸ J. Allan Beegle, "Characteristics of Michigan's Fringe Population," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 3, September 1947, pp. 254-263.

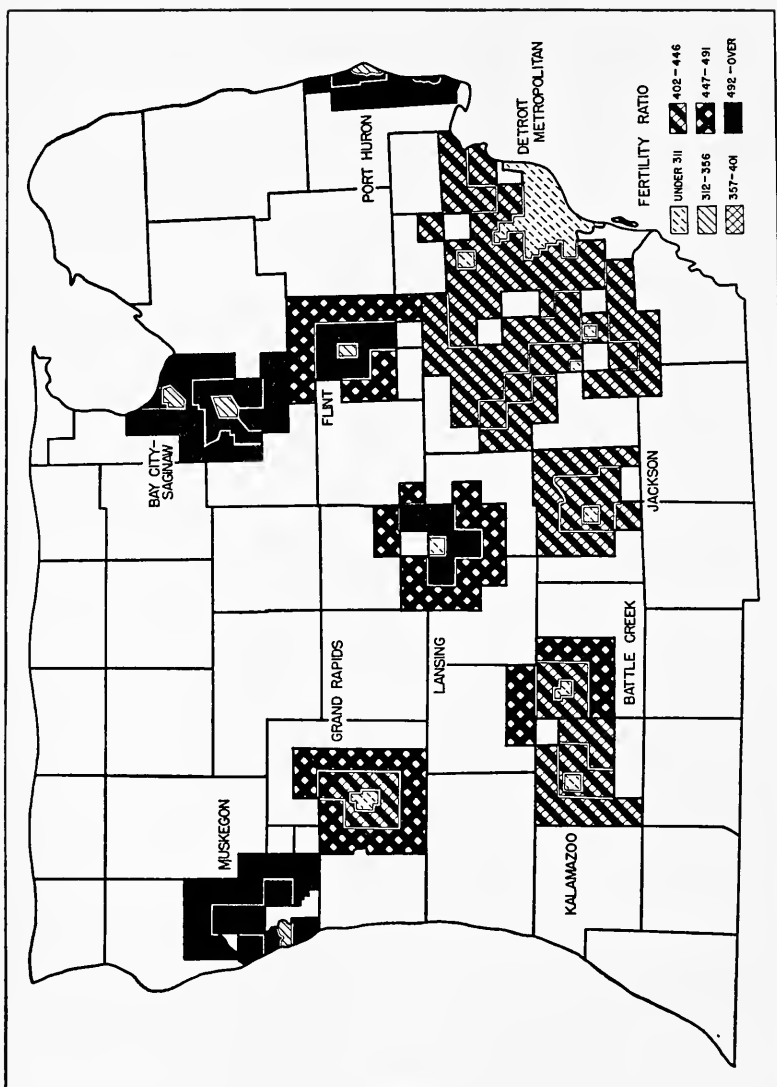


FIG. 8. Fertility ratios in the urban center, fringe, and adjacent rural-farm of ten urbanized areas in Michigan, 1940. The "fringe" townships include all those which contain 50 percent or more of nonurban, non-village, and nonfarm residents. (Reproduced from J. Allan Beegle, "Characteristics of Michigan's Fringe Population," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 3, September 1947, p. 263.)

50-74, at which time childbearing has been completed, less than 10 percent of the farm women are childless. Nearly twice as large a proportion of the urban women in this particular age group are childless. Interesting differences are revealed in the other segments of this figure. In the one showing the proportion of married women having one child, the farm mothers aged 15-19 have the largest percentage of one-child families. This indicates that childbearing begins earlier in the case of farm women. It is interesting to note that one-, two-, and three-child urban families are most prevalent, as indicated by the percentages of women 50-74 who report these numbers of children. In the segment showing proportions of women having eight or more children, the prevalence of very large farm families is dramatized. Approximately 10 percent of the married farm women aged 35-39

TABLE 2

*Fertility Ratios for Selected Large Cities, Outlying Fringes,
and Adjacent Rural-Farm Townships, 1940*

City	Fertility Ratio by Residence ^a		
	Incorporated City	Outlying Fringe ^b	Adjacent Rural-Farm
Atlanta	224	342	456
Baltimore	251	324	453
Birmingham	244	445	511
Chicago	234	284	361
Denver	258	413	392
Detroit	277	435	444
Indianapolis	258	331	359
Los Angeles	220	353	393
New Orleans	239	437	578
San Antonio	313	374	484
St. Paul-Minneapolis	246	384	373

^a Fertility is computed on the basis of the number of children under 5 per 1,000 women aged 15-44.

^b These cities were selected in order to get regional representation. Fertility ratios were computed for the urban center itself, for the outlying fringe, and for the rural-farm population adjacent to the fringe. The "outlying fringe" consists of all contiguous townships surrounding a city which contain 50 percent or more non-village, rural-nonfarm population. Townships having 50 percent or more rural-farm population which were adjacent to the fringe were grouped to form the "adjacent rural-farm."

SOURCE: *Sixteenth Census of the United States.*

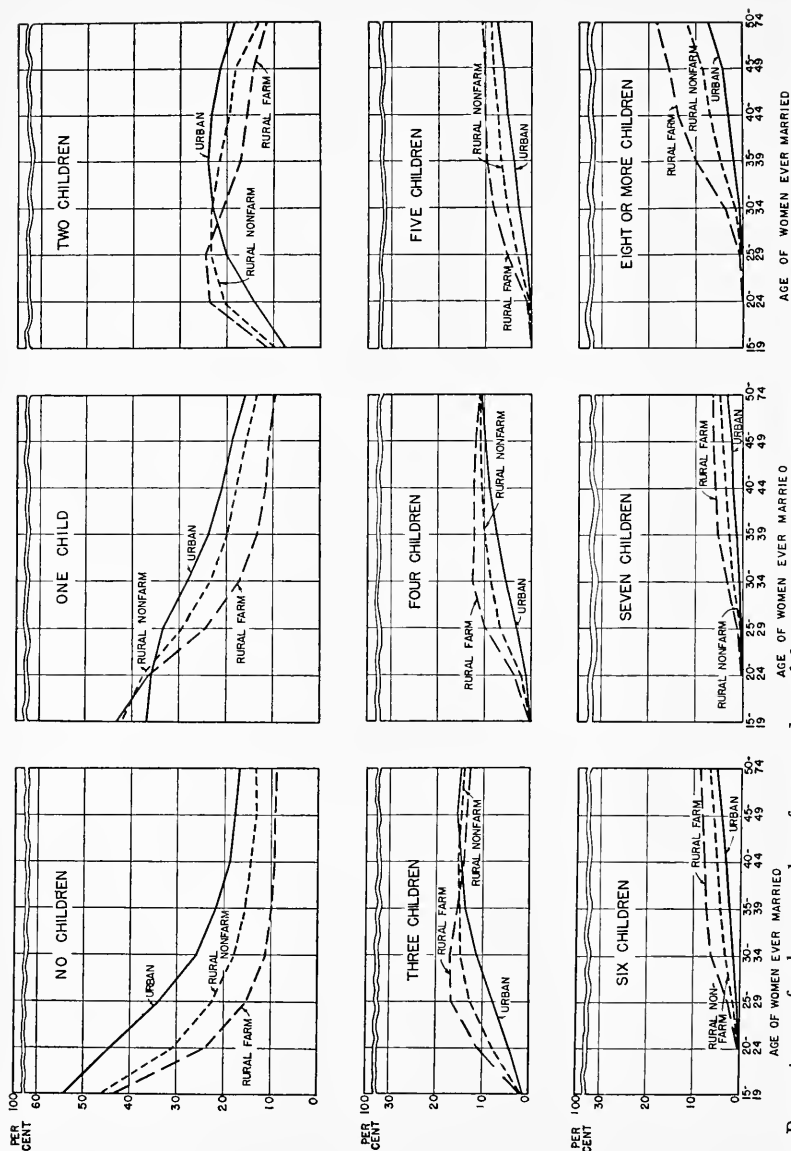


FIG. 9. Percentages of urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm married women reporting specified numbers of children ever born by age, United States, 1940. (Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States, *Differential Fertility 1940 and 1910*, Table 1.)

have borne at least eight children. In older age groups, the proportion increases to somewhat less than 20 percent. Considerably less than 10 percent of the urban women ever bear eight or more children.

A similar chart affords comparisons for farm and urban whites and non-whites. (See Figure 10.) While the same farm and urban differ-

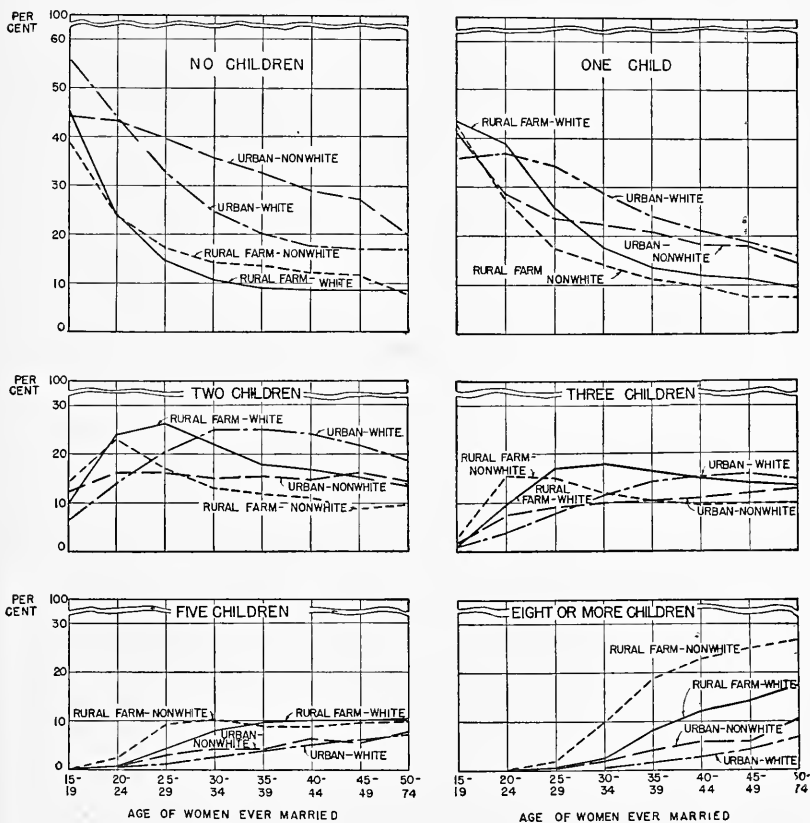


FIG. 10. Percentages of urban and farm, white and non-white married women reporting specified numbers of children ever born, by age, United States, 1940. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, *Differential Fertility 1940 and 1910*, Table 1.)

ences noted in Figure 9 may be noted in Figure 10, there are some interesting white and non-white comparisons. The relatively large proportion of urban non-white women who go through the child-bearing period without bearing a child is notable. Also of significance is the extremely large proportion of non-white farm women who have

borne eight or more children. At least two striking differences between farm and urban families may be cited on the basis of the two figures discussed. First, farm families are much larger than urban families, especially where extremely large numbers of children are concerned; and, second, children become a part of the rural family system much earlier than they do in the urban family.

Size of Farm Family as Correlated with Tenure Status and Other Factors. Although a great deal of emphasis has been given to place of residence as a factor in fertility, other factors are also influential. One of the most significant is the differential existing between farm owners and non-owners. In their study of fertility in North Carolina, Hamilton and York⁹ found that owners' families were significantly smaller than non-owners' families. Croppers with large families have greater economic value, and as Hamilton and York report, "landlords prefer croppers with large families."¹⁰

Figure 11 shows the size of families for owners and tenants in the various states. The size of the circle in this figure indicates the total number of farmers in the respective states, and the "cut" in the circle indicates the proportion of owners and tenants. Starting at nine o'clock and moving clockwise in each circle, the proportion of owners is shown. The remainder of the circle represents the proportion of tenants. It will be noted that in most of the states the percentage of tenants having six or more children under twenty-one years of age is larger than that for owners. Although this figure shows regional variations as to size, the tenants' families are almost invariably larger. Differences in life-cycle stage may account for some of the differences, since owners are older, on the average, than tenants.

In the United States as a whole, 8.2 percent of the tenant families contain six or more children under twenty-one years of age. Only 5 percent of the owner families contain this number. In only four states are owner families larger than tenant families, as measured by this index. Those states are Connecticut, New Mexico, Utah, and Wisconsin. In a number of states (California, Delaware, Georgia, Maryland, Nevada, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Texas), the proportion of tenants having six or more children under

⁹ C. Horace Hamilton and Marguerite York, "Trends in the Fertility of Married Women of Different Social Groups in Certain Rural Areas of North Carolina," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 2, June 1937, pp. 192-203.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

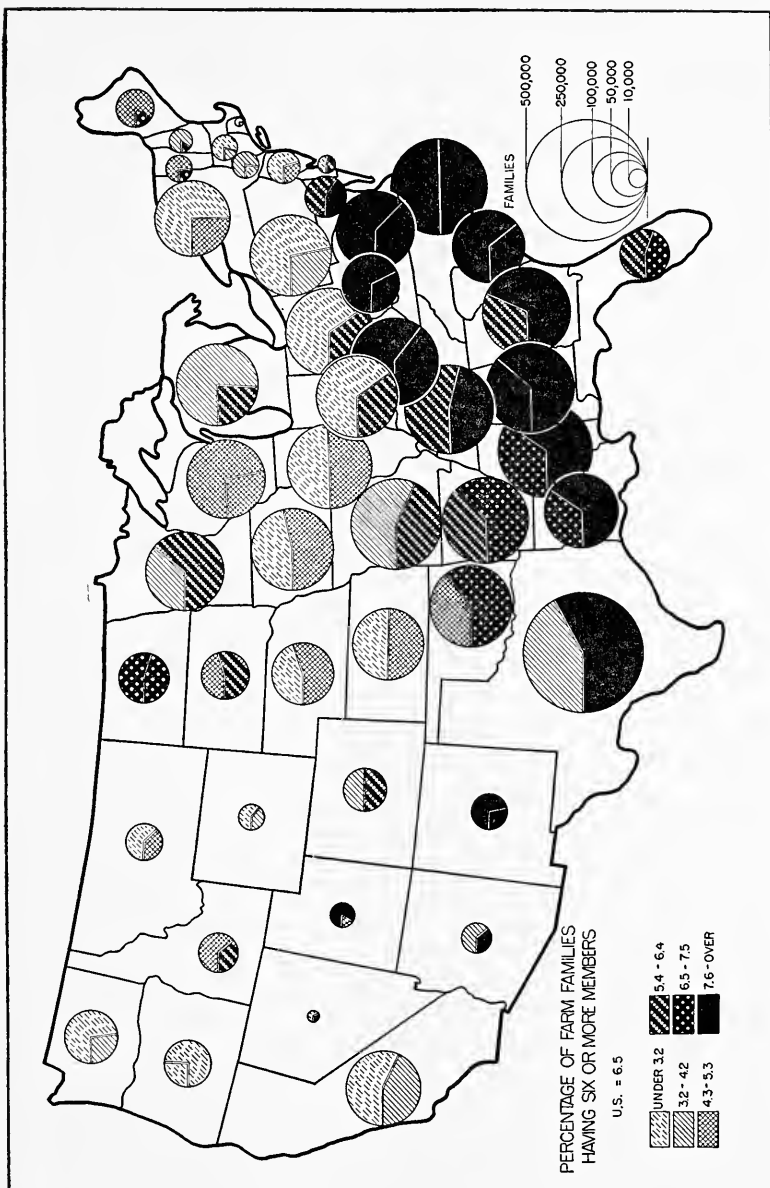


FIG. 11. Percentage of farm families containing six or more members, by tenure and state, 1940. The size of the circles is in relation to the total farm population of each state. The proportion of owners is shown beginning at nine o'clock and proceeding clockwise to the cut in the circle; the remaining segment represents the tenants. (Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States, *Families, General Characteristics*, Table 27.)

twenty-one is more than twice as great as the percentage of owners having families of this size.

Study of factors related to farm fertility in Michigan¹¹ indicates that a series of indices reflecting level of living are negatively associated with the fertility ratio. In Michigan the percentage of homes having electric lights is negatively related to fertility. The correlation coefficient expressing this relationship is $-.66$. Similarly, the larger the percentage of homes with central heat, the larger the percentage of homes with running water, and the larger the percentage of homes with radios, the lower the fertility ratio. For Michigan, the correlation coefficients expressing these relationships are $-.57$, $-.58$, and $-.27$. Such indices as educational level and amount of non-agricultural employment are also negatively associated with farm birth rates. In Michigan, the correlation coefficients are $-.43$ and $-.57$ between these indices and the fertility ratio. As one might expect, the larger the proportion of poor land in this state, the higher the fertility ratio. The coefficient expressing this relationship is $-.32$.

That the factors related to fertility vary from state to state is suggested by work done in Texas by Rosenquist and Schafft.¹² While education was negatively correlated with fertility, no relationship existed between per capita income or tenancy and the rate of reproduction among farmers. The most unusual finding of this study, perhaps, is the positive correlation between tractor density and fertility, a coefficient of $+.21$, which is sufficiently high to be statistically significant. "Perhaps the use of tractors," the authors comment, "is not equivalent to the factory system, but if it is, it apparently is not having the anticipated effect in Texas."¹³

Trends in the Birth Rate. The general downward trend in the birth rate in Western civilization has already been noted. Many demog-

¹¹ J. Allan Beegle, *Differential Birth Rates in Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 346, February 1947, pp. 23-25. Recent studies of levels of living show exceptions to the general inverse relationship between living levels and fertility. See Warren S. Thompson, "Differentials in Fertility and Levels of Living in the Rural Population of the United States," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 5, October 1948, pp. 516-534, and Margaret Jarman Hagood, "Changing Fertility Differentials Among Farm-Operator Families in Relation to Economic Size of Farm," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, December 1948, pp. 363-373.

¹² Carl M. Rosenquist and Alvin H. Schafft, "Differential Fertility in Texas," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 1, March 1947, pp. 21-26.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

raphers have systematically recorded and documented this decline. The recent upsurge in the birth rate, however, deserves some attention; the nature of the birth-rate fluctuations since 1930, therefore, requires examination. (See Figure 12.) This figure shows that the

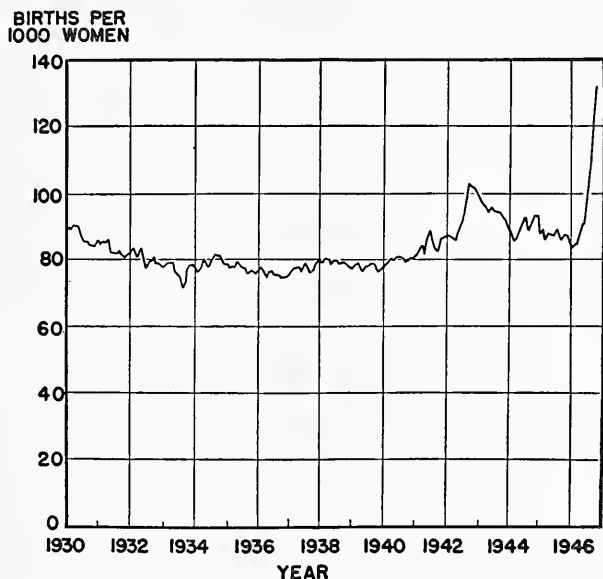


FIG. 12. Births per 1,000 women 15 to 44 years old in the United States, January 1930, to November 1946. (Reproduced from *Population — Special Reports*, Series P-47, No. 2, p. 4.)

number of births per 1,000 women aged 15 to 44 reached a minimum at the height of the depression. The following years were marked by a slight increase in the birth rate, but until 1941 the increase was not sharp. An early peak in the birth rate was attained in 1942, after which the rate declined slightly. Finally in 1946, it rose again very markedly. Grabill and Shryock, in their interpretation of these fluctuations, indicate that: "The high reproduction rates of recent years are at least in part a result of more marriages. Sample surveys indicate that, age for age, proportionately more people are now married than at any previous date for which data are available. The situation may be temporary. The effect of demobilizations from the armed forces is obviously temporary. Also, it is likely that recent births to some of the women who were married in the thirties represent births postponed during the depression. Furthermore, many recent births may constitute bor-

rowings from the future, so that the current high fertility may not lead to much net increase in the size of completed families. . . . Although the wartime resurgence in fertility began with a marked rise in first births, this rise has been followed in later years by rises in births of second and higher orders."¹⁴

The increase in the birth rate between 1940 and 1946 was most noticeable among urban populations in the United States. In this period the over-all increase in the number of children under five years old per 1,000 women aged 15 to 49 was 23 percent. For the urban population, the increase was 34 percent, and for the rural-farm population only 17 percent. The largest percentage increase among urban residents was for women in the ages between 30 and 39; for farm residents the increase was greatest among women between ages 25 and 29.¹⁵

Whether or not the current increase in fertility will continue is debatable. Nevertheless, coming after a steady decline in fertility in this country for many decades, this development bears careful consideration.

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

A considerable number of persons in this country live outside or detached from any family grouping. According to 1940 census returns, 3,242,206 persons, or 2.5 percent of the total population, were living apart from private households in the nation. This group includes those living in institutions, schools, labor camps, at military or naval posts, or in hotels as transients. As used in the 1940 census returns, a private household includes the related family members, the unrelated lodgers, and servants or hired hands who live in the same dwelling unit and share common housekeeping arrangements. A person living alone or a small group of unrelated persons sharing the same living accommodations as "partners" is also counted as a private household. The same holds true for a family residing permanently or for an indefinite period in an apartment hotel.

The extent to which persons in urban and rural areas are integral parts of private households reveals something of the nature of family systems in these areas. As might be expected, a much larger propor-

¹⁴ Bureau of the Census, *Recent Trends in Population Replacement*, Series P-47, No. 2, March 27, 1947, p. 5.

¹⁵ Bureau of the Census, *Differential Fertility*, 1946, Series P-20, No. 8, December 31, 1947, pp. 2-3.

tion of farm than of nonfarm or urban persons live in private households. In the farm population, 99.4 percent reside in private family groups. In the urban population, 97.3 percent reside in private households, while the percentage for the rural-nonfarm population is 96.2. Although other explanations may be offered, these data would seem to support the relatively greater familistic *Gemeinschaft* nature of the farm family.

MARITAL STATUS

One of the most significant indications of the relative prevalence of familistic *Gemeinschaft* relationships is to be found in the marital status of rural and urban populations. Of special importance is the prevalence of persons who have been married and divorced in the major residence groups. Unfortunately, the available data are somewhat clouded by selective migration and by the characteristic sex composition in urban and farm areas.¹⁶

Table 3 summarizes the proportion of urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm residents who are single, married, widowed, and divorced.

TABLE 3

Marital Status of the Population 15 Years Old and Over in the United States, by Sex and Residence, 1940

Marital Status	Total		Percentage Distribution by Residence and Sex					
			Urban		Rural-Nonfarm		Rural-Farm	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Single	33.2	25.8	32.6	27.4	31.4	22.6	36.4	24.3
Married	61.2	61.0	61.8	58.1	52.7	64.5	58.3	66.3
Widowed	4.3	11.5	4.2	12.4	4.6	11.6	4.5	8.8
Divorced	1.3	1.7	1.4	2.1	1.3	1.3	.8	.6

SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, *Characteristics by Age* Vol. IV, United States Summary, Table 6.

¹⁶ In 1940 the sex ratio for the urban population of the United States was 95.5, while the ratios for the rural-nonfarm and rural-farm populations were 103.7 and 111.7, respectively. This reduces the chances of the farm male to marry and similarly reduces the chances of the urban female to marry.

Chiefly because of the unfavorable sex balance, smaller proportions of rural-farm than of urban males are found to be married. On the other hand, a much larger proportion of rural-farm than of urban females are married. Large proportions of widowed and divorced women are found in the urban places. Other significant differences are shown in this table.

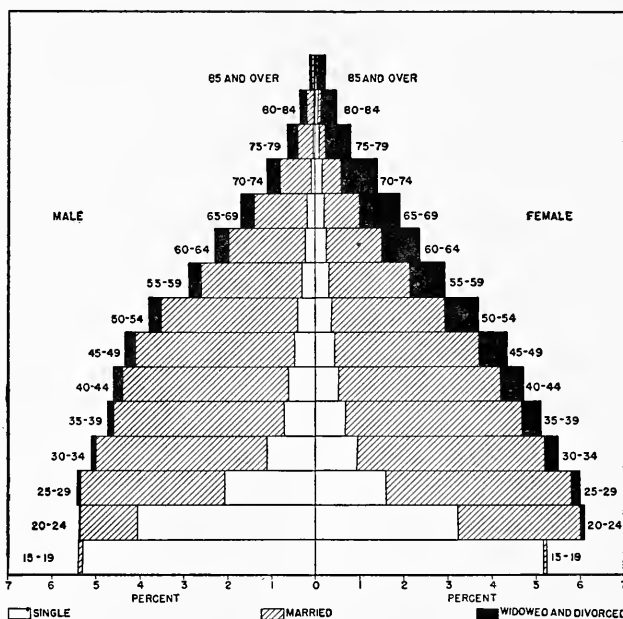


FIG. 13. Urban population by age, sex, and marital status for the United States, 1940. Percentages are based upon population of all ages. (Reproduced from Sixteenth Census of the United States, Volume IV, *Characteristics by Age*, United States Summary, Diagram 2.)

Marital status pyramids for the urban and the farm populations reveal striking differences. Figure 13 shows the percentages of urban males and females of various ages who are single, married, and widowed or divorced. Figure 14 is a comparable graphic representation of the farm population.

Although the marital status pyramids apply only to the population fifteen years old and over, the characteristic age-sex structure of urban and farm groups is revealed. Note especially the large proportion of farm youth aged 15-19. A comparison of Figures 13 and 14 reveals that a larger proportion of farm youth between fifteen and

twenty-four is married than is true for urban persons of the same ages. Furthermore, larger proportions of farm than urban persons 50 and over are married. Only during the ages between 25 and 50 are the proportions married greater for the urbanites.

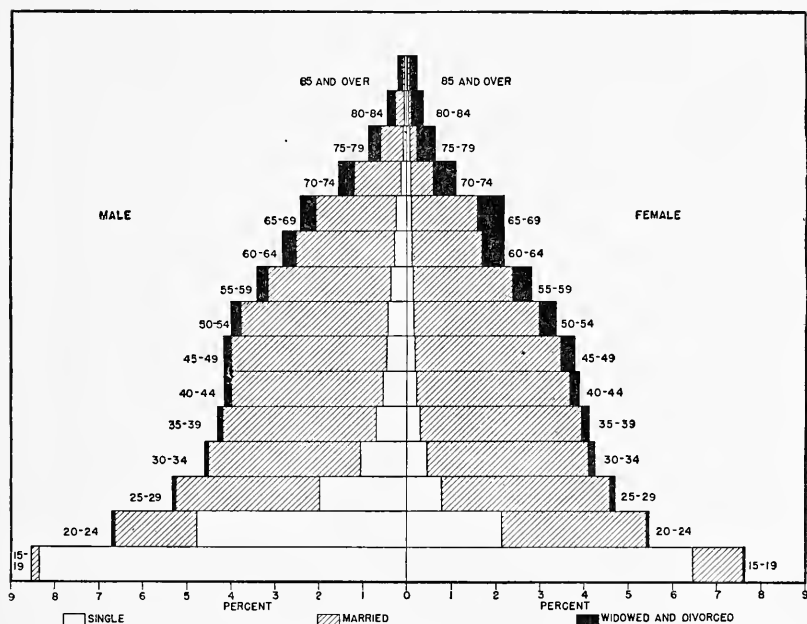


FIG. 14. Rural-farm population by age, sex, and marital status for the United States, 1940. Percentages are based upon population of all ages. (Reproduced from Sixteenth Census of the United States, Volume IV, *Characteristics by Age*, United States Summary, Diagram 2.)

It will be noted from Figures 13 and 14 that throughout the life span the urban populations contain large proportions of widowed and divorced women. Divorced females of all ages are much more prevalent in the urban population than in the farm. While divorced males of nearly every age are more prevalent in urban than rural areas, widowed males at most ages are more prevalent in the farm population. In discussing marital status, Smith observes that "the farmer is no more likely to remain a bachelor and quite a little less likely to live out his life as a widower than the city man."¹⁷ This

¹⁷ T. Lynn Smith, *Population Analysis*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948, p. 146.

leads Smith to conclude that the "family sized farm system of agriculture in the United States is a way of life and not merely a business enterprise."¹⁸

A more precise notion of the relative proportion of married urbanites and farmers may be obtained from Figure 15. Index numbers

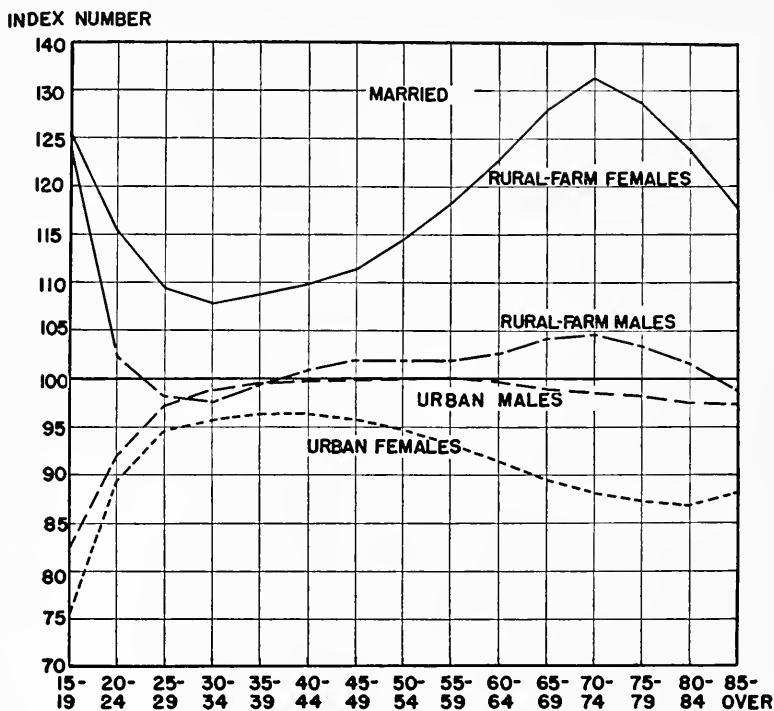


FIG. 15. Relative proportions of married males and females, by residence and age, United States, 1940. All married males at each age is taken as 100. The index numbers for urban and rural-farm married males indicate high or low proportions in relation to this base. Index numbers for females are computed in a similar way. (Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Volume IV, *Characteristics by Age*, United States Summary.)

showing the proportions of urban males and urban females in the married state were computed, with all married males at each age level in the United States taken as 100. A comparable index was computed for urban and farm females. This figure indicates dramatically that larger proportions of farm than urban women are married. Only

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

for those aged 30-34 are relatively more urban males than farm males married.

Figure 16 shows index numbers which indicate the relative prevalence of divorced persons among farmers and urban residents of vari-

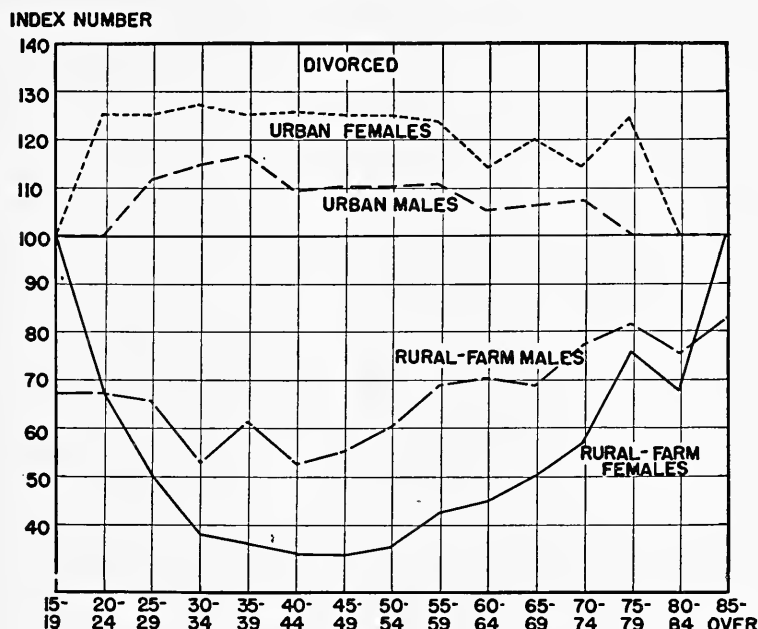


FIG. 16. Relative proportions of divorced males and females, by residence and age, United States, 1940. All divorced males at each age is taken as 100. The index numbers for urban and rural-farm divorced males indicate high or low proportions in relation to this base. Index numbers for females are computed in a similar way. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Volume IV, *Characteristics by Age*, United States Summary.)

ous ages. Divorced persons, both males and females, are far more prevalent in urban than rural areas.

On the basis of the data presented, it would appear certain that the married state is more prevalent and preferred in rural than in urban areas, both in terms of relative proportions married and in terms of relative proportions divorced. Such indices point to the greater familistic character of farm than of urban areas.

Rural and Urban Household Composition. An examination of the persons included in rural and urban households illuminates the basic

TABLE 4

Composition of Households and the Sex Ratio in the United States, by Residence, 1940

Relationship to Head	Percentage by Residence				Sex Ratio by Residence			
	Total	Urban	Rural- Nonfarm	Rural- Farm	Total	Urban	Rural- Nonfarm	Rural- Farm
All persons in private households	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.5	94.5	100.7	111.3
Head	27.2	28.5	27.8	23.6	563.3	453.2	627.0	1,203.7
Wife	20.7	21.0	21.4	19.3	—	—	—	—
Child	39.9	37.1	40.8	46.2	109.6	105.0	110.2	118.6
Grandchild	1.9	1.6	1.8	2.6	106.2	103.0	106.1	111.3
Parent	1.7	1.9	1.5	1.6	38.9	35.2	43.3	46.6
Other relative	4.3	4.6	3.5	4.1	97.7	93.9	105.5	102.9
Lodger	3.5	4.6	2.6	1.6	144.6	136.6	148.2	212.8
Servant or hired hand	.8	.7	.6	1.2	46.3	8.1	17.3	283.8

Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, *Characteristics by Age*, Vol. IV, United States Summary, Table 10.

nature of the family system in each of the residence areas. With the data made available in 1940, it is possible to determine the relative importance of grandchildren, parents, other relatives, lodgers, and servants or hired hands in rural and urban households. The presence of these groups in households is a strong indication of the character of the prevalent relationships. To what extent are contractual *Gesellschaft* relationships dominant in urban and rural family systems? The following data should throw some light on this question.

Table 4 indicates the percentage composition of households by residence, as well as the sex ratio in 1940 in the United States. Note that those persons constituting the central family core (i.e., head, wife, and children) account for a much larger part of all persons in private households in rural than in urban areas. Likewise, grandchildren are relatively more important in the farm households. The greater representation of servants and hired hands in farm households may be attributed to the willingness on the part of many farmers to provide a room for farm workers. The exact data are not available, but probably most lodgers contribute in an economic sense to the household in which they reside. It is not surprising, if this is the case, that they are overrepresented in the urban households.

Grandchildren. Since it is our thesis that the presence of grandchildren in a household is an index of the degree to which familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like relationships prevail, more detailed attention will be given them. Farm, nonfarm, and urban comparisons are interesting in this regard. Grandchildren account for 2.6 percent of all persons in rural-farm private households, but only 1.6 percent of all persons in urban households. For rural-nonfarm households, the percentage is 1.8.

Figure 17 shows graphically the relative importance of grandchildren in the households of family heads for the three major residence groups. The comparison is in terms of index numbers computed for grandchildren of various ages. The proportion of grandchildren in households at each age level for the total population is taken to be 100. Residence differences at each age level, therefore, are expressed in relation to the total population as a base. This figure shows that grandchildren are relatively underrepresented in urban households at all ages. In comparison, grandchildren in farm households are relatively overrepresented at all ages. At several age levels, it will be noted that grandchildren are relatively more important in rural-nonfarm than in farm households.

Figure 18 shows the proportion of grandchildren, by sex, in rural-farm and urban households, and in white and non-white households. This figure shows clearly that the proportions of grandchildren of all

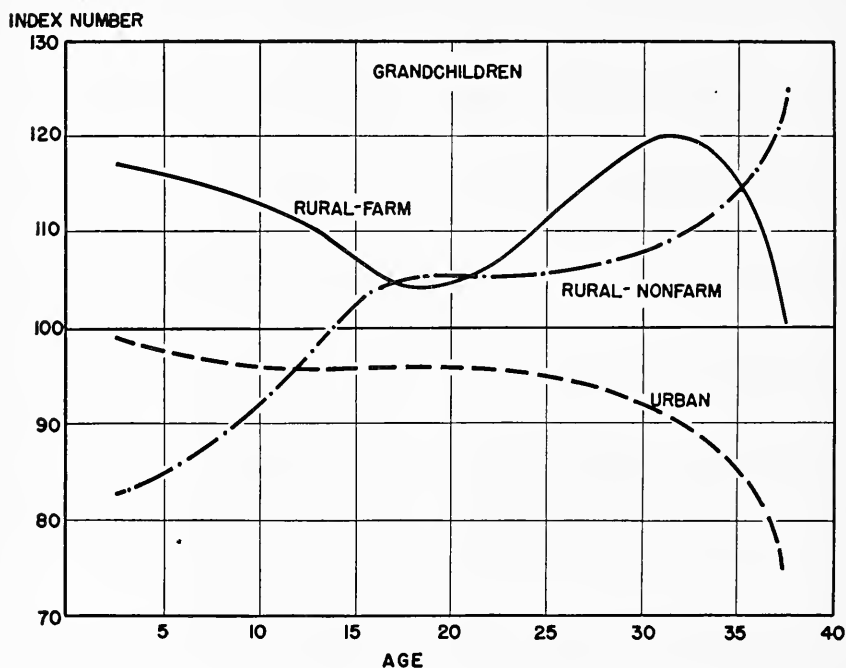


FIG. 17. Relative importance of grandchildren in private households, by residence and age, United States, 1940. All grandchildren in private households at each age is taken as 100. The index numbers indicate high or low proportions in relation to this base. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Volume IV, *Characteristics by Age*, United States Summary.)

ages in rural-farm households is larger than in urban households. Differences by sex are not significant. The extremely large proportions of grandchildren in non-white households is worthy of note. At nearly every age level the proportion of non-white grandchildren is twice as great as the proportion of grandchildren in white households. Writers in the field of the family¹⁹ have observed the extended character of the Negro family in America.

¹⁹ See E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939, pp. 125-146.

Parents and Other Relatives. In 1940, 2,226,755 parents and 5,485,672 other relatives were living in private households other than their own in the United States. The parents (i.e., the fathers, mothers, or

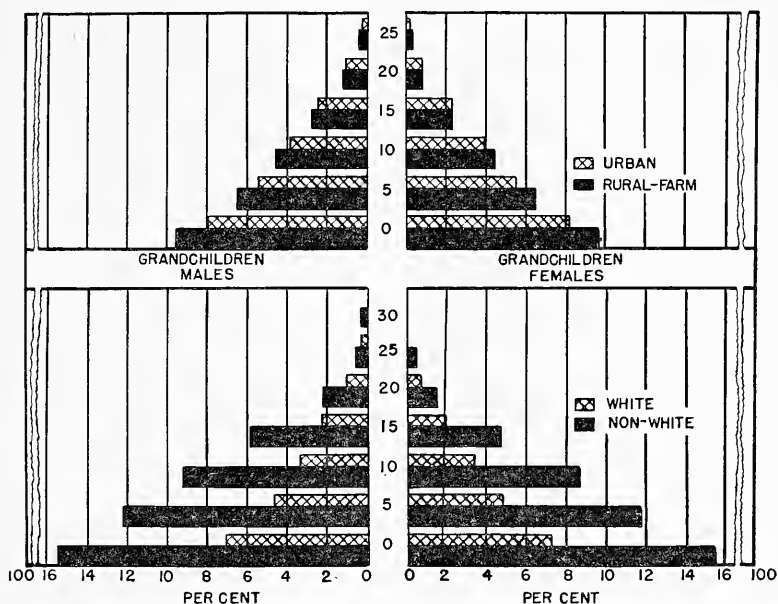


FIG. 18. Percentage grandchildren among all males and among all females in private households at each age, by residence and color, United States, 1940. Note that this is not designed as the classic age-sex pyramid. It would be read, for example, as follows: Of all males under 5 years of age in private households in farm areas, nearly 10 percent are grandchildren; in comparison, male grandchildren of this age in urban households form only 8 percent. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Volume IV, *Characteristics by Age*, United States Summary.)

parents-in-law of the family head) accounted for 1.7 percent of the total number of persons residing in private households. The percentages of parents were 1.9, 1.5, and 1.6 for the urban, rural-non-farm, and rural-farm populations. Other relatives, including such relatives of the head as sons-in-law, brothers-in-law, nephews, brothers, uncles, grandparents, cousins, and great-grandchildren, accounted for 4.3 percent of those residing in private households. Other relatives accounted for 4.6 percent of urban households, 3.5 percent of the rural-nonfarm households, and 4.1 percent of the rural-farm households.

The question of interest for us here is the meaning of the presence of both parents and other relatives in the household. Are they con-

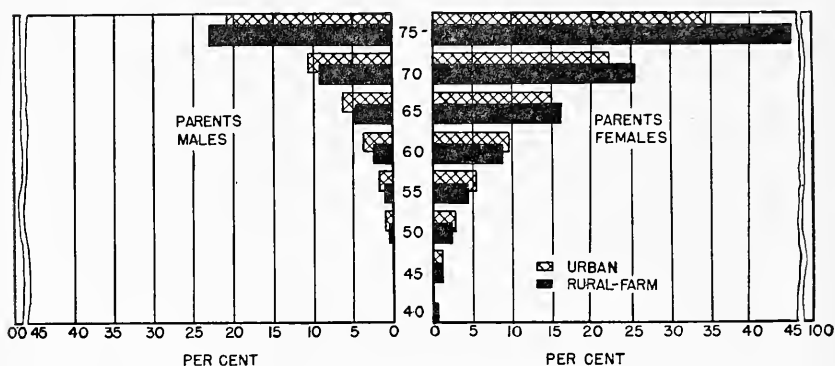


FIG. 19. Percentage parents (father, mother, or parents-in-law of the head of the household) among all males and among all females, by age and residence, United States, 1940. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Volume IV, *Characteristics by Age*, United States Summary.)

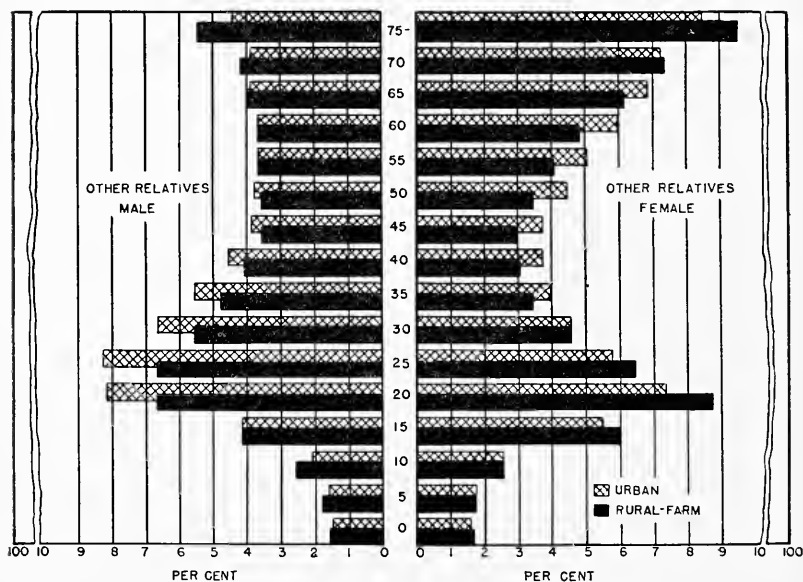


FIG. 20. Percentage other relatives (sons-in-law, brothers-in-law, nephews, brothers, uncles, grandparents, cousins, and great-grandchildren of the head of the household) among all males and among all females, by age and residence, United States, 1940. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Volume IV, *Characteristics by Age*, United States Summary.)

tributing to the support of the family unit, or have they been taken into the family unit out of kinship feeling and sentiment? Unfortunately, data are not at hand to answer such questions. Urban and rural comparisons, according to age, however, are suggestive.

Figure 19 shows the proportions of parents of household heads in rural and urban areas at various ages. At all ages, it will be noted that there are larger proportions of mothers than fathers. It will also be observed that the fathers of household heads are relatively more important in urban than in farm households, up to age 75. On the other hand, mothers of household heads are relatively more important in urban households, up to age 65 only. These facts suggest a somewhat greater reluctance on the part of urbanites to incorporate older, more dependent parents into the family group.

The relative proportions of other relatives at various ages in urban and farm households are shown in Figure 20. Although urban and rural differences are frequently slight, other relatives in the extremely young and extremely old ages appear to be more important in the farm population. Note, for example, that males between 20 and 50

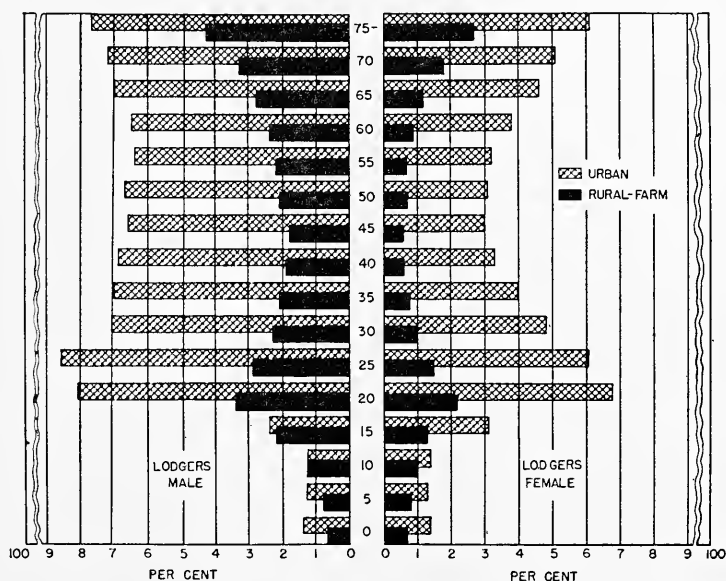


FIG. 21. Percentage lodgers among all males and among all females, by age and residence, United States, 1940. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Volume IV, *Characteristics by Age*, United States Summary.)

are relatively more important in the urban population. Since these persons are in the economically productive ages and are outside the central family core, they are probably contributing in one way or another to the family support.

Lodgers, Servants or Hired Hands. Nearly four and one-half million lodgers and slightly over one million servants or hired hands were living in private households in the United States in 1940. In the urban households, lodgers accounted for 4.6 percent; in the farm households, 1.6 percent. Servants or hired hands accounted for only 0.7 percent of the persons in urban households but 1.2 percent of the persons in farm households. Lodgers include persons unrelated to the head of the household but do not, of course, include servants and hired hands. The servant and hired hand group consists of all the employees of the heads of private households who usually reside with their employers. Cooks, maids, nurses, and hired farm hands are the main types.

Figure 21 shows the relative proportions of lodgers at various ages who are residing in private households either in cities or on farms.

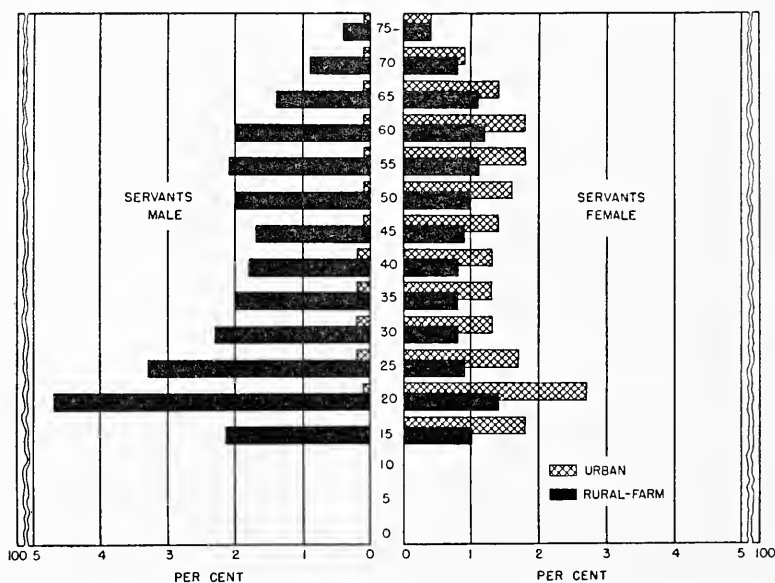


FIG. 22. Percentage servants or hired hands among all males and among all females, by age and residence, United States, 1940. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Volume IV, *Characteristics by Age*, United States Summary.)

According to expectation, lodgers are relatively more important at all ages in urban households than in rural households. Figure 22 indicates the proportions of servants and hired hands in urban and rural-farm households. Since the urban group consists mainly of cooks, maids, and nurses, whereas the farm group consists chiefly of farm hands, a rural-urban comparison is of little value. It is interesting to note, however, that large proportions of agricultural workers were living with their employers in the same households at the time of the regular census in 1940. To what extent they become an integral part of the farm family system, we cannot say. The fact that they often live with the farm family and otherwise participate in the same events, however, is important and points to familistic Gemeinschaft qualities in rural life.

RURAL FAMILY ENTERPRISES

One of the significant differences between rural and urban families is the degree to which all family members are absorbed in the activities of the family unit. The enterprise of farming is such that all family members may have important roles and functions to perform. In contrast, the roles and functions of the individual members of an urban family are much more likely to be segmented.

Sorokin and Zimmerman have indicated this difference when they say, "Economically the rural family has represented a real organism in which the individuals have been . . . melted."²⁰ Except where the contractual Gesellschaft has entered rural areas, the rural family is much more of a collectivistic group than the urban family. In the words of Sorokin and Zimmerman, "The rural family still is much less free for the economic individualism of its members than the urban family."²¹

Unfortunately, data regarding the extent of urban family enterprises are not available. Small urban groceries, fruit stands, restaurants, and other urban enterprises are sometimes family owned and operated. But, on the other hand, the wife and children of the urban professional, factory, and clerical worker, for example, have little or no connection with the occupation of the family head.

Interesting data on the extent to which family labor is contributed to the farming enterprise are made available in the 1945 Census of

²⁰ P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929, p. 340.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

Agriculture. Although numerous difficulties were encountered in securing data concerning hired labor,²² they are nevertheless suggestive.

In general, those parts of the country which are least commercialized contain the largest number of unpaid family workers. The mountain states and the Cotton Belt contain large numbers of unpaid family workers, whereas the Pacific Coast and the East North Central states contain relatively few unpaid family workers. These state variations may be observed in Figure 23. Mississippi and New Mexico, both of which average 1.53 or more unpaid family workers per farm, lie at one extreme. At the other extreme are Tennessee, Indiana, California, and Missouri, all of which average 1.28 or fewer un-

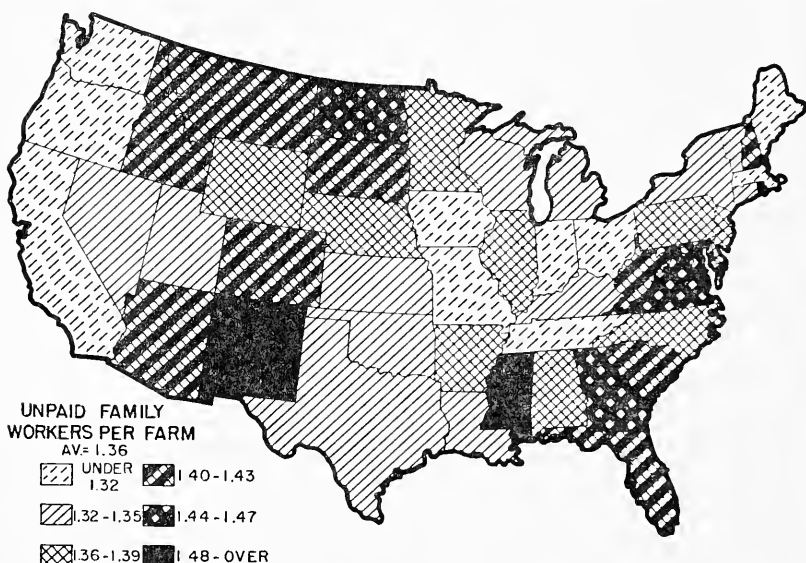


FIG. 23. Average number of unpaid family workers over 14 per farm, by state, 1945. (SOURCE: United States Census of Agriculture, 1945, Chapter V, *Farm Population and Farm Labor*.)

²² The 1945 inquiry called for the number of persons 14 years old and over working on farms the equivalent of two or more days during the week ending January 6, 1945. Although enumerators were instructed to report the number of persons working at farm work, including farm chores, the first week of January represents a low period of agricultural employment. Two sources of error were the inclusion of the operator with family workers and the enumeration of persons working at the time of visitation instead of the first week in January.

paid family workers per farm. An examination of similar data on a county basis for Michigan reveals that more unpaid family workers per farm are located in the poorer, more self-sufficient areas of the Upper Peninsula than in the more commercialized areas in southern Michigan.

THE FAMILY AS A CONSUMPTION UNIT

Varying patterns of living have attracted the attention of scholars, reformers, and others for a great number of years. Malthus, for instance, called attention to the depravity of material conditions, and subsequent controversies dealing with population and the food supply precipitated great interest in levels of living.²³ That consumption patterns reflect variations in cultural patterns and value systems of groups, however, is of more recent origin. In analyzing certain regional, racial, rural-urban, and tenure groups with respect to their consumption of selected level of living items, Schuler concludes that "some expenditure items are reported so infrequently . . . that they appear entirely outside the culture pattern. . . ."²⁴

This being the case, the terms "level of living" and "standard of living" must be defined in a more limited sense than is customary in much of the literature in this field. According to Schuler, level of living means "the content of goods and services utilized by a particular population sample limited with regard to space, time, and income."²⁵ He defines standard of living as "those elements in the value pattern of a similarly limited population sample which are reflected, and to some extent measured, by data on expenditures."²⁶

As one travels throughout rural America, the variability in material levels is impressive. One cannot avoid contrasting the Corn Belt

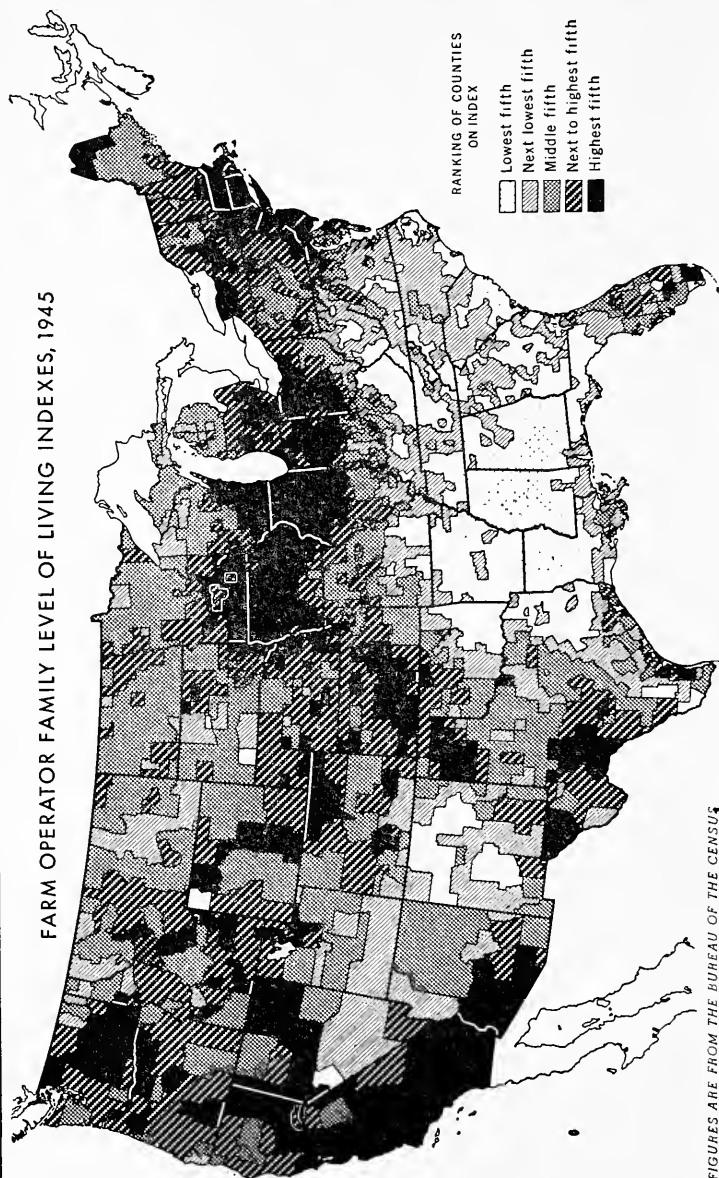
²³ See the discussion of Malthus in this connection in Carle C. Zimmerman, *Consumption and Standards of Living*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1936, pp. 13-15; also T. R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909.

²⁴ Edgar A. Schuler, "Some Regional Variations in Levels and Standards of Living," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. IX, No. 2, June 1944, p. 139. In his chapter dealing with levels and standards of living, written in collaboration with Walter C. McKain, Jr., Schuler lists the following factors accounting for variations in rural living levels: (1) income differentials; (2) variations in needs and desires; and (3) locality differences. See Carl C. Taylor *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, p. 306.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

FARM OPERATOR FAMILY LEVEL OF LIVING INDEXES, 1945



RANKING OF COUNTIES
ON INDEX

- Lowest fifth
- Next lowest fifth
- Middle fifth
- Next to highest fifth
- Highest fifth

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FIG. 24. Farm operator family level of living indexes in the United States, by county, 1945.

farmer of Illinois and Iowa with the cotton farmer of the Deep South. (See Chapter 8.) In an effort to quantify these differences for the entire country, Hagood has computed what she calls "farm operator family level of living indexes" for all counties in 1940 and 1945.²⁷ The items on which these indexes were based include: (1) the percentage of farms with electricity in the farm dwelling; (2) the percentage of farms with telephones in farm dwelling; (3) the percentage of farms with automobiles; and (4) the average value of products sold or traded in the preceding year per farm reporting. Although only four items enter this index, Hagood says that "the various goods, services, and other satisfactions that make up the 'level of living,' as the term is generally used, are usually highly intercorrelated."²⁸

Figure 24 shows the county variations in family level of living as of 1945. As this figure indicates, counties in the highest fifth are situated in the Corn Belt, in the Dairy and General and Self-Sufficing areas of the industrial Northeast, in the Western Specialty-Crop areas of California and Washington, and in Wheat areas of Washington. Iowa contains the largest number of counties falling into the top group. Nearly all the counties in the lowest fifth are in the Cotton Belt and the Appalachian Mountain General and Self-Sufficing areas. A number of counties in New Mexico, however, fall into the lowest category.

The proportion of farm operators reporting specified family living items²⁹ is shown in Figure 25. Growing proportions of American farmers report the ownership of all these items, except for telephones. The percentage of farmers having telephones declined between 1920 and 1940, but increased by 1945.

Radios. Nearly three-fourths of the farmers in the United States reported owning radios in 1945. Eighty-five percent of the northern farmers and 60 percent of the southern farmers were radio owners. Nearly as large a proportion of the western farmers (84 percent) as northern farmers owned radios. As Monroe points out, "Technology has brought new goods and services to the market and thus enlarged

²⁷ See Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Farm Operator Family Level of Living Indexes for Counties of the United States, 1940 and 1945*, Washington: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, May 1947.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁹ Edgar A. Schuler and Rachel Rowe Swiger, *Trends in Farm Family Levels and Standards of Living*, Washington: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, August 1947.

the list of human wants. . . . Consumption patterns of farm families have changed more than those of urban families, lessening the differences that existed between the two groups 40 years ago.”³⁰ Figure 25

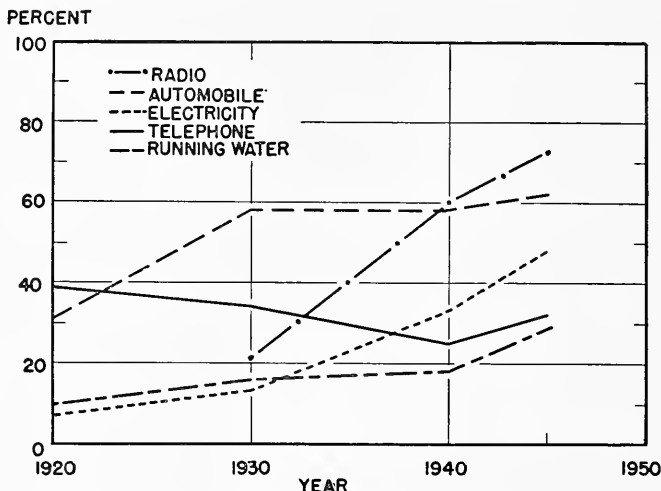


FIG. 25. Percentage of farm operators reporting specified family living items, United States, 1920–1945. (SOURCE: Edgar A. Schuler and Rachel R. Swiger, *Trends in Farm Family Levels and Standards of Living*, Washington: U.S.D.A., August 1947.)

indicates the rapid change in radio ownership since 1930. While 21 percent of all farm operators owned radios in 1930, only 5 percent of the southern farmers reported having radios.

Automobiles. Sixty-two percent of the nation's farmers reported owning automobiles in 1945. Percentages of northern and western farmers owning cars were relatively close, 82 and 77 percent, respectively. At the same time, about half as large a percentage of southern farmers, 42 percent, reported having cars. Among all farmers, the percentage owning cars has increased from 31 percent in 1920 to 62 percent in 1945. (See Figure 25.) Monroe observes that the automobile appears to be one of the products of technological advance most appreciated in rural areas. She feels that the automobile possibly ranks higher in the scale of desires of farm people than of urban residents.³¹

³⁰ Day Monroe, "Patterns of Living of Farm Families," *Farmers in a Changing World*, Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940, pp. 848–849.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 857.

Electricity. Less than half (48 percent) of the farm operators reported dwellings lighted by electricity in 1945. Only one-third (32 percent) of the southern farmers, but nearly three-fourths (72 percent) of the western farmers reported having electricity. The northern farmers were intermediate in this respect, with 61 percent having electric lights. As shown in Figure 25, only 7 percent of all farmers, but only 3 percent of the southern farmers had electric lights in 1920. As indicated in Chapter 20, the Rural Electrification Administration stimulated the extension of electric service into the rural areas.

Telephones. A larger proportion of farmers had telephones in 1920 than in 1945, a condition true of all parts of the country except the West. Thirty-nine percent of all farmers reported having telephones in 1920, as compared with only 32 percent in 1945. Only 12 percent of southern farmers had telephones in 1945. (See Figure 25.)

Running Water. Less than one-third (29 percent) of all farmers in the United States reported having running water in 1945. The regional variations are exceptionally great in connection with this particular level-of-living item. Whereas 64 percent of the western farmers had running water in their houses, only 17 percent of the southern farmers and 35 percent of the northern farmers reported this item. As indicated in Figure 25, more and more farm operators throughout the nation are adding this item.

Rural-Urban Differences in Consumption. Although rural and urban consumption patterns are tending to become more and more alike, agricultural and industrial economies differ so fundamentally that differences in consumption habits will probably exist for many years.³² "In the farm community," according to Landis, "one achieves status primarily by what he acquires in the way of flocks and herds, land and buildings. . . . In urban society status is achieved only in part by production; more important is the front maintained by conspicuous consumption in clothes, food, home, furniture, automobiles, distinctive amusements, philanthropy. . . ." ³³

The data shown in Table 5 provide indirect measures of income and expenditures in 1944 for farm and nonfarm families in the several broad regions. Proportions paying income tax, per capita bank deposits, and per capita E Bond purchases are consistently lowest in the South. These indices are lower for the rural-farm than for the non-

³² *Ibid.*, p. 867, and Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940, pp. 409-410.

³³ Landis, *ibid.*, p. 410.

TABLE 5

Proportion of Persons 21 Years of Age and Over Who Paid Income Taxes in 1940, per Capita E Bond Purchases in 1944, and per Capita Savings Deposits (Time) in 1944^a

Residence and Region	Proportion of Persons 21 and Over Paying Income Tax	Per Capita Bank Deposits	Per Capita E Bond Purchases
	Per cent	Dollars	Dollars
Total	18	323	90
North	21	434	101
South	10	112	61
West	21	346	115
Rural-Farm	11	143	61
North	15	257	83
South	6	55	41
West	17	203	91
Nonfarm (Rural-nonfarm plus Urban)	19	376	98
North	21	466	104
South	12	148	74
West	22	375	120
Counties: 0-24.9% rural-farm	22	459	111
North	23	521	110
South	17	234	102
West	24	453	132
Counties: 25-49.9% rural-farm	11	132	64
North	13	205	74
South	7	50	46
West	13	111	79
Counties: 50-74.9% rural-farm	6	60	47
North	9	103	72
South	4	39	35
West	10	43	50
Counties: 75-100% rural-farm	2	21	22
North	4	23	50
South	2	20	21
West	—	—	—

^a Based on county information prepared by Walter C. McKain and Grace L. Flagg in *Differences between Rural and Urban Levels of Living, Part II. Regional Differences*, Washington: U.S.D.A., June 1948. Sources include *Number of Individual Income Tax Returns for 1940*, United States Treasury Department, June 1942; and *County Data Book*, Bureau of the Census, 1947, House Doc. No. 340, 80th Congress, 1st Session.

farm population. Furthermore, in the most rural counties, these indices are lowest. Figure 26 is interesting in this connection. Per capita

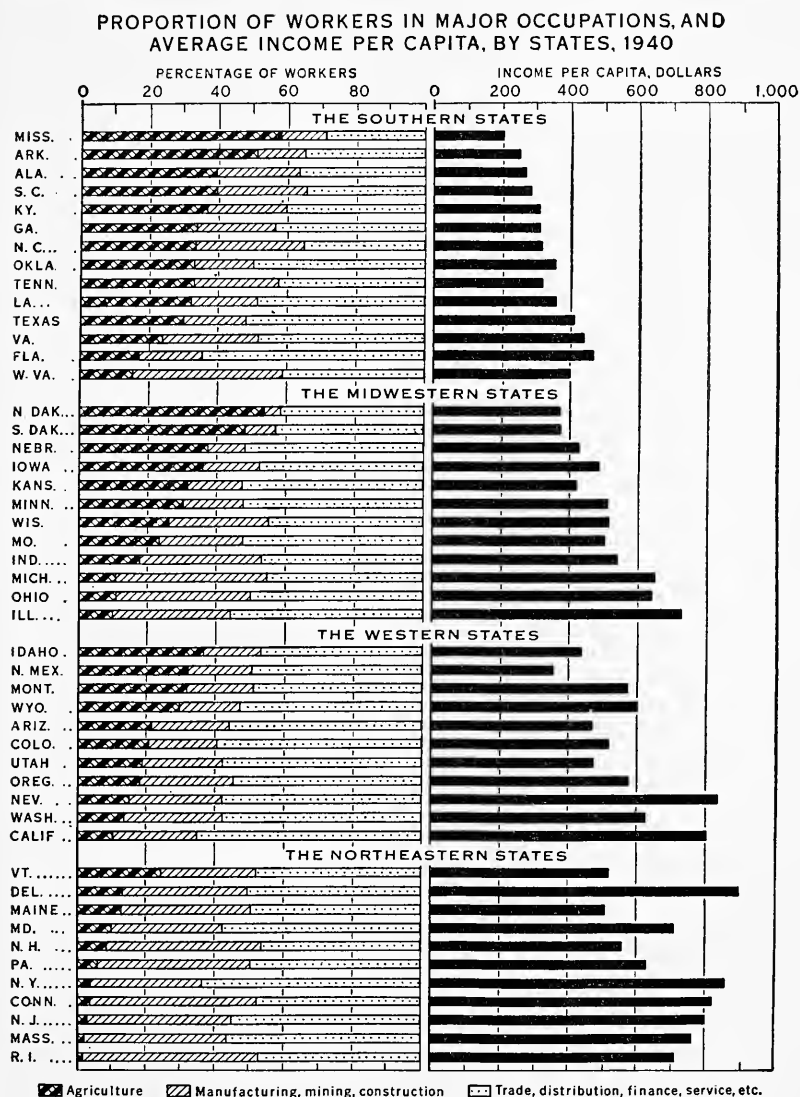


FIG. 26. The proportion of workers in major occupational groups as related to average income per capita, by states, 1940. Note that, in general, per capita income increases with a decreasing proportion of workers in agriculture.

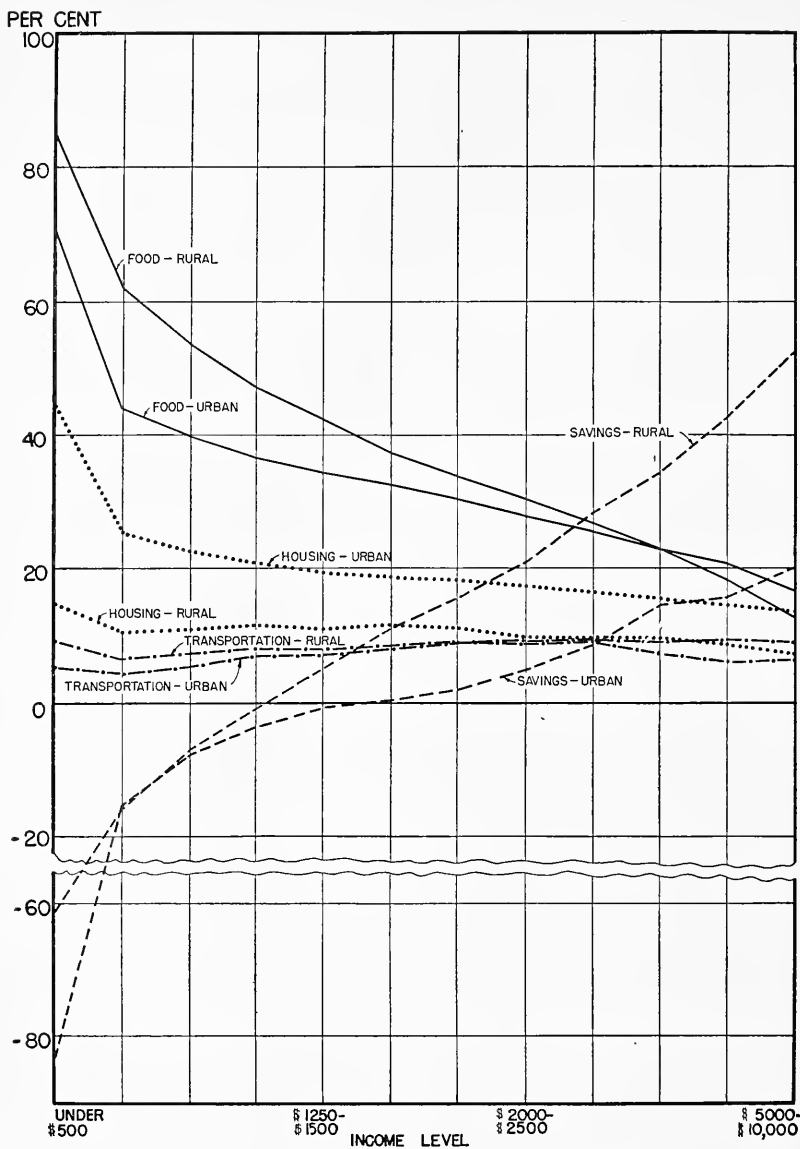


FIG. 27. Percentage of income of farm and urban families spent for food, housing, transportation, and savings, by income level, United States, 1935-1936. (SOURCE: National Resources Planning Board, *Family Expenditures in the United States*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941, Tables 145 and 179.)

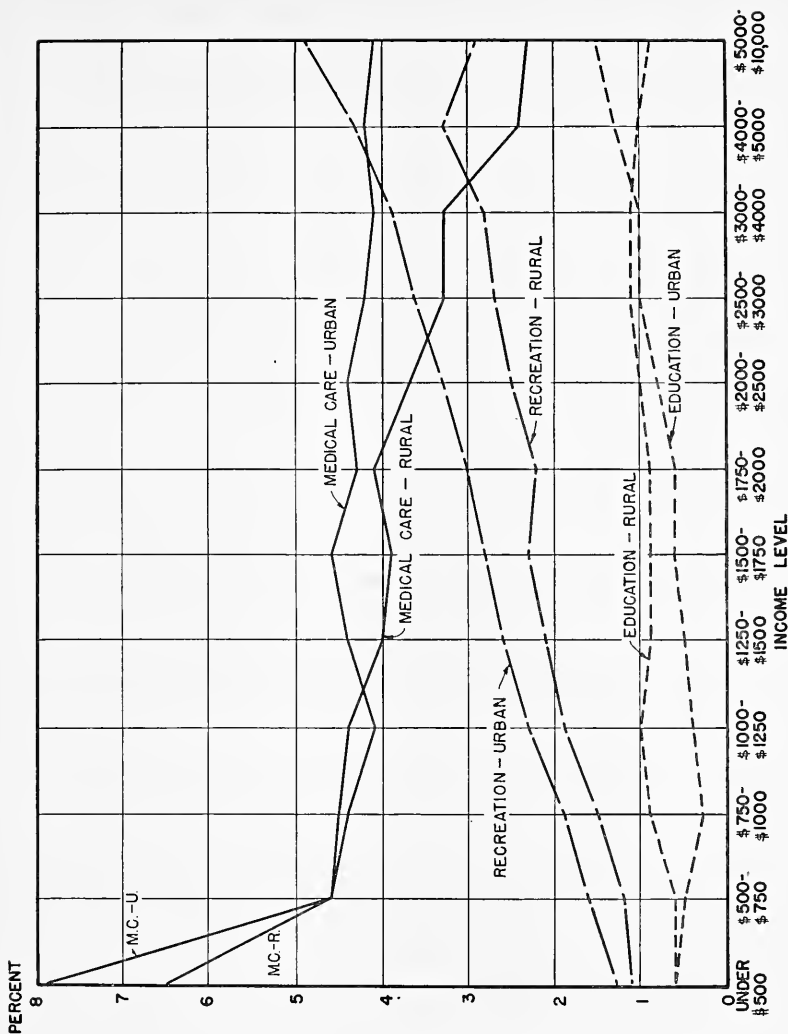


FIG. 28. Percentage of income of farm and urban families spent for medical care, education, and recreation, by income level, United States, 1935-1936. (SOURCE: National Resources Planning Board, *Family Expenditures in the United States*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941, Tables 145 and 179.)

incomes in the forty-eight states may be compared with the percentages of agricultural workers. In general, the states having the largest proportions of agricultural workers are those having the lowest per capita incomes.

Important rural-urban differences in expenditure patterns have been revealed by the Family Expenditure Survey,³⁴ a study which sampled all income groups in the different regions of the country. Some of the differences in rural and urban expenditures are demonstrated in Figures 27 and 28.

A larger percentage of the farm family's income goes for food than is true of the urban family. This is true of all income groups except for those whose incomes are \$4,000 or more. That is, urban families whose incomes are at least \$4,000 spend a larger percentage of their incomes for food than do rural families having equivalent incomes. (See Figure 27.) In this study, the farm family is charged for the food it produces on the farm.

The urban family at all income levels, however, spends a larger percentage of its income for housing than does the farm family. A "computed rent equivalent" usually equals 9 percent of the value of the dwelling. The contrast between the two groups is emphasized in Figure 27. That part of the expenditure which goes into transportation costs is greater for the lower-income farm families than for comparable urban families, but for income groups above \$1,750, urban families spend a larger part of their incomes for transportation than do farm families. While farm families fail to save, as shown in Figure 27, unless their incomes are above \$1,250, urban families fail to save unless their incomes are at least \$1,500. The rate of savings, it will be noted, is greater for all farm income groups.

Figure 28 indicates that a larger percentage of the urban than of the farm budget is spent for medical care and recreation. With the exception of income groups above \$4,000, farm families spend a larger percentage of their incomes for education than do urban families.

The Family Expenditure study also reveals that a larger proportion of the urban budget, particularly at the higher-income levels, is spent for clothing. In all groups under \$1,500, however, a larger percentage of the income of the farm family is spent for clothing. This

³⁴ *Family Expenditures in the United States*, National Resources Planning Board, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941.

study also indicates that larger proportions of urban than rural expenditures go into tobacco, reading matter, gifts, and personal taxes.³⁵

The major differences between rural and urban patterns of consumption are very well summarized by Monroe. Portions of the conclusions follow:

Desire for financial security is characteristic of all population groups—urban as well as rural. Farm families seek such security through ownership of land and through acquiring herds, equipment and other working capital. Building up the farm business, either by decreasing debts or increasing assets, competes with family living for use of income and with recreation for use of time. . . . A considerable degree of self-sufficiency is another characteristic of the patterns of living of farm families; they still perform many of the tasks that urban groups have turned over to workers outside the home. Food and fuel are produced. Laundry work and canning and preserving of foods are more usual undertakings of farm than of urban households. . . . Diets, while not universally good even for the more well-to-do, tend to be better than those of families in cities at comparable income levels. . . . Houses of farm families are more likely to provide adequate space than are those of families in cities, especially those in metropolitan areas. But the farm group has fewer of the comforts provided by modern facilities . . . the farm family has less money to spend than the family in the city. In stretching funds, personal appearance is sacrificed to other needs and wants. Dress tends to be simpler and services of barber and beauty shops fewer than is the case with city groups. . . . The automobile holds a more important place in the standard of living of the farm than of the large-city family.³⁶

SUMMARY

A great variety of statistical measures support the contention that the rural family possesses more of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like attributes than does the urban family. Data dealing with family size,

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 51 and 61. Although no attempt was made to outline rural and urban differences in expenditures, Ernst Engel formulated the following principles regarding the distribution of family budgets: (1) as the family income increases, a smaller proportion is spent for food; (2) the proportion for clothing remains approximately the same; (3) the proportion of expenditures for rent, fuel, and light remains invariably the same; and (4) the proportion of expenditures for cultural wants rises constantly. See Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–80.

³⁶ Monroe, *op. cit.*, pp. 867–868.

household composition, marital status, and consumption patterns all point to this conclusion.

Although the size of the family has been declining in Western society generally, rural families are universally larger than urban families. The farm population of the United States in 1940 contained 484 children under five years of age for each 1,000 women between the ages of 15 and 44. The comparable figure for the urban population was 257 children in these ages per 1,000 women aged 15 to 44. The birth rate in the United States is inversely related to the degree of urbanity.

Not only do larger proportions of farm than urban people reside in private households, but larger proportions of the farm residents are married. They marry earlier and remain married longer than urban people. As is well known, divorced persons are more likely to reside in the city than in the country. The analysis of household composition shows that farm families are more likely than urban families to incorporate fringe elements into the household. This is especially true of grandchildren and older parents who are economically unproductive.

A great deal of self-sufficiency characterizes the consumption patterns of farm families. Food and fuel often are produced on the farm. Typically, the urban family spends a larger proportion of its income for such items as tobacco and reading matter. The farm family's savings are spent largely for land, herds, and working capital, while the urban family's savings often take the form of stocks, bonds, and insurance.

CHAPTER 5

THE INFORMAL GROUP: FRIENDSHIP, CLIQUE, AND MUTUAL-AID TYPES

IN ALL SOCIETIES, the group of greatest importance next to the family is the small clique, informal friendship¹ or mutual-aid group. In societies of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* type, the kinship system and the friendship or mutual-aid type of social system tend to merge. Elsewhere the groupings are more likely to be based on friendships developed at work, play, or other types of interaction. In case of misfortune, the members of such groups are the first to offer assistance or consolation; in case of attainment or good fortune, they offer congratulations and praise. Whether or not the bonds that hold such groups together are kinship, friendship, or both, they have familistic *Gemeinschaft* characteristics. The most important of the characteristics are the unlimited responsibility of one for all and all for one, and the solidarity which results from converging sentiments and interests. The death of a member or a member's grief will be the cause of real sorrow in the informal congeniality or mutual-aid group. The happiness of one becomes the happiness of all. If one asks himself, "If calamity befalls me or my family, to whom would I turn for help and

¹ Although there are variations, we do not distinguish between friendship groups, congeniality groups, cliques, informal groups, and autonomous groups. Helen H. Jennings has made the important discovery that people frequently choose different associates under different conditions. Thus, if the situation permits ignoring the socially and culturally imposed considerations, a psyche-group may result. If not, a socio-group may result. See "Leadership and Sociometric Choice," *Sociometry*, Vol. X, No. 1, February, 1947, pp. 32 ff. For a statement of the importance of these groups, see Jacob L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?*, New York: Beacon House, 1934. See also the following series of articles under the general heading of "autonomous groups" in the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. XX, No. 3, November 1946, pp. 154-188: Sophia M. Robison, Natha Cohen, and Murray Sachs, "An Unsolved Problem in Group Loyalties and Conflicts," pp. 154-162; Carleton S. Coon, "The Universality of Natural Groupings in Human Societies," pp. 168-175; R. J. Pulling, "A Public-School Service for Autonomous Groups," pp. 176-180; and Maria Rogers, "United Nations and Local Groups," pp. 181-188.

consolation?" he will probably think of the names of some of the members of his friendship and mutual-aid group.

The grouping, as we shall use it, is the same as that designated by Warner and his co-workers² as the clique. In the pages to follow, the terms *clique*, *friendship*, *informal*, and *mutual-aid groups* are used interchangeably. As Warner and his workers use the term, a clique is a non-kin group, "membership in which may vary in numbers from two to thirty or more people. . . . When it approaches the latter figure in size, it ordinarily breaks up into several smaller cliques. It is an informal association because it has no explicit rules of entrance, of membership, or of exit, and membership behavior. . . . The clique does have very exacting rules of custom which govern the relations of its members. . . . Members speak of others in the community as outsiders. . . . Feelings of unity may even reach such a pitch of intensity that a clique member can and does act in ways contrary to the best interests of his own family. . . . The clique may or may not be age-graded . . . unisexual or bisexual. . . . Its activities vary according to the social position and relative wealth of its members."³

THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF FRIENDSHIP AND NEIGHBORHOOD GROUPS

In view of the tremendous importance of clique or friendship groups in our comprehension of the supporting structure and sentiments for class and caste and for all formal bureaucratic organizations, it is difficult to understand why so little attention has been given to them by rural sociologists. Perhaps part of the explanation for the neglect is the great variety of these groups and the many terms by which they are known. In some places one speaks of his "crowd"; in other places one may speak of one's "set," "neighbors," "group," "friends," and so forth. Such groups act in so many ways that they

² W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111. The importance of the small clique or friendship group was demonstrated by a cross section study of 6,789 representing 10th- and 12th-grade high-school students of Michigan. The following categories were chosen by the respective percentage of students in answer to the question "If I were employed by a concern I would prefer to work: With a small group of workers (under 25), 58%; mostly by myself but with a few contacts with other employees, 26%; as a member of a large group of workers, 8%; entirely by myself, 4%; and no response, 4%. See *Youth and the World of Work*, Social Research Service, Michigan State College, p. 14.

almost defy classification. They may turn into a lynching party, or, in an Amish farming community, they may meet to pray for a member who is being "shunned" for having violated a taboo. They may be teen-age boys whose chief satisfaction is gained from frightening adults by dangerous and dare-devil acts, or they may be the old men's groups such as the cuaird which meet for congeniality's sake but perform important deliberative, judicial, and other functions, as described by Arensberg.⁴

Another reason why rural sociologists have ignored them is, no doubt, because of their omnipresence. Like the air, one takes them for granted. On the other hand, as in the case of class differences, the strong note of equalitarianism in the American culture may lead one to consider "cliques" as something bad. Those who participate in clique activity may be thought of as "connivers" or "politicians," terms that are often disparaging.

The "blind spot" that rural sociologists have had for the clique or friendship group has been partly due to the great reliance they have put on the categorical questionnaire or field schedule. A similar criticism may be made of the various agencies which are making polling or attitude and opinion surveys.⁵

Almost all American rural sociologists place great stress upon what they call the neighborhood. Most of them consider it a locality group bounded in space but also having the nature of the friendship or clique group. Neighborhood and community groups will be discussed in Chapter 6, but it should be stated here that rural sociologists of the past have been very unrealistic in considering neighborhoods as synonymous with mutual-aid and clique groups. If only people who "neighbor" were considered as belonging to a neighborhood, and if

⁴ Conrad M. Arensberg, *The Irish Countryman, An Anthropological Study*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937, pp. 130 ff.

⁵ See Charles P. Loomis, "Political and Occupational Cleavages in a Hanoverian Village, Germany," *Sociometry*, Vol. IX, No. 4, November 1946, pp. 316-333. Here the author attempts to relate the morale of people as revealed by the Morale Division of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey to the interaction patterns of the people. The statistical sampling devices used by public opinion specialists do not weigh the position of the individual in the network of human relations in accordance with ability to influence the thinking and action of the people. Obviously an isolated individual's morale is not as important as a "star" to whom all in his own clique or in the community may look for advice. Statistically there are as many stars as there are isolates in many communities. See also Herbert Blumer, "Public Opinion and Public Opinion Polling," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 5, October 1948, pp. 549-554.

each neighbor neighbored with all the others, forming a single system, the clique and the neighborhood would be one and the same. Anyone who has lived in rural areas knows that geographical neighborhoods are seldom single social systems in this sense. Actually, most rural neighborhoods and communities in which there is a great deal of interaction among families and individuals are made up of several systems of interaction. Very frequently in most rural villages or neighborhoods, there are bitter feuds and cleavages between several systems. Farm village cultures such as one finds in Latin America, the Orient, and in eastern and western Europe are often torn by family and other feuds. Sometimes these systems, although existing in the same small area, occupy different places in the class scale and have few social relationships with one another. It is ridiculous to group systems in different classes—systems that are solidary within but antagonistic with one another—into a unit called a neighborhood and to consider this unit the same as the clique, friendship, or mutual-aid group.⁶

We do not deny the importance of locality groups, which are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. On occasion, a clique or friendship group may have the same membership as a neighborhood. In such cases, "the most elemental social group beyond the family in the dispersed type of settlement is the neighborhood."⁷ However, throughout the world, in village and isolated farming areas alike, locality groupings are not as important in personality formation and individual orientation as the

⁶ Rural sociologists have recognized that southern neighborhoods include two caste groups which may be separated by various barriers, but Smith says: "The neighborhood has been well defined as the next group beyond the family which has sociological significance. . . . In all parts of the nation, the families tributary to a local institution such as an open-country church, a crossroads store, a one-room school, or an organization such as grange, club, etc., constitute genuine neighborhoods. Thus, for example, thirty to forty families in an area of about five square miles may maintain a public school; and about this institution enough other activities may be polarized to make it a real neighborhood." T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, pp. 331-332.

Smith, however, recognizes the importance of the clique group, as proved by his description of the informal cooperative arrangements among friendly families who distribute meat at a butchering. See T. Lynn Smith and Lauren C. Post, "The Country Butchery: A Cooperative Institution," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 3, September 1937, pp. 335-337.

⁷ Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948, p. 22. See also Charles P. Loomis, "The Most Frequently Chosen Sociogram, or the Seduction of the Rural Sociologists by Neighborhood Theory," *Sociometry*, Vol. XI, No. 3, August 1948, pp. 230 ff.

smaller friendship groups. Nor is it common for locality and congeniality groups to overlap in the sense that, as social systems, they have the same membership and interaction pattern. This should become evident in the paragraphs to follow.

THE FORMATION OF FRIENDSHIP AND MUTUAL-AID GROUPS

As the American frontier was settled, farmers depended upon their neighbors for many things, including protection, social interaction, and mutual aid of all kinds. Groups of neighbors participated in husking, logging, house-raising, threshing, and many other types of "bees" and "socials." These affairs, if of any size, usually included members from several groups such as those we designate as clique groups, which furnished the every-day cooperation needed to live on the frontier. Although most students of rural sociology or their parents have lived on this frontier and know the true meaning of the mutual-aid groups, we must look elsewhere in the United States to study the evolution of clique groups, because the frontier has gone. One of the authors undertook to do this in the resettlement and subsistence homestead communities established during the Roosevelt administration.⁸

METHODS USED IN DISCOVERING CLIQUES IN DYESS COLONY

One of the colonies studied intensively was the Dyess Colony, located in the rich delta section in Mississippi County, Arkansas. This colony, established by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, embraced about 600 families selected mainly from the low-income groups of owners and tenant farmers. These farmers were relocated on farm units varying in size from twenty to forty acres of tillable land.

Operational methods were attempted in the study of the clique groupings in the resettlement and subsistence homestead communities. As stated in Chapter 1, a social system is a system of interpersonal relationships. If clique or mutual-aid groups exist in reality, observation of the interaction of the people should reveal them. If one had a large number of concealed motion-picture cameras trained on all parts of an inhabited area at all times, one could, by assigning

⁸ Part of the results of these studies is printed in C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, Chs. 1-4.

each person a number, calculate the time each pair spent together. One could then study the groupings and arbitrarily choose a minimum of a given type of voluntary interaction which one person must have with another in order to be considered as belonging in his clique. By studying relations of a given pair with others, one could determine each person's clique group. Thus, one might find that in a given unit of time, number 4 spent three hours with numbers 6, 7, 8, and 9; two hours with number 5; and one hour with number 10. When all the observations had been made, and the time each person spent with others had been calculated, one might decide that all these persons belonged to a clique.

Although machines have been devised to study interaction in this manner,⁹ the interaction patterns that follow were constructed from observation or from interviews with the people, who were asked with whom they visited, exchanged work, and borrowed or loaned farm implements. Of course, the activity which one would choose to reveal the clique groupings would depend upon the culture. In the cultures in which the authors have worked, informal visiting, exchanging work, or borrowing have revealed what various tests proved to be significant relationships.¹⁰ Since intensive studies have proved that any one of these three indices resembles the others very closely, but that visiting is the most significant indicator of social status,¹¹ visiting will be used in the description of the Dyess community.

As Figure 29, a sociogram of Oxapampa, Peru indicates, many clique groups such as the five-family clique to the extreme right were revealed from visiting patterns. Although all live in a neighborhood or community, it would certainly be wrong to say that beyond the family the neighborhood is the most important group for the indi-

⁹ Eliot D. Chapple and Gordon Donald, Jr., "A Method for Evaluating Supervisory Personnel," *Harvard Business Review*, Winter 1946, pp. 197-214.

¹⁰ A study of the visiting patterns of an isolated colony, Oxapampa, Peru, revealed that visiting relationships, when classified on the basis of percentage within and across racial groups, revealed that inter-visiting and intermarriage had almost the same proportions of "mixed" and "pure" relations. Naturally children were born in the same proportions. Forty-two and forty-four percent respectively of the visiting relationships and marriages involved whites only. Thirty-nine percent of the births were all white. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, p. 263.

¹¹ Donald G. Hay, "A Scale for the Measurement of Social Participation of Rural Households," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, September 1948, pp. 285-294.

viduals of this area. Anyone who has lived in such communities knows that clique groupings are very important. Similar techniques were used in the study of the Dyess Colony.

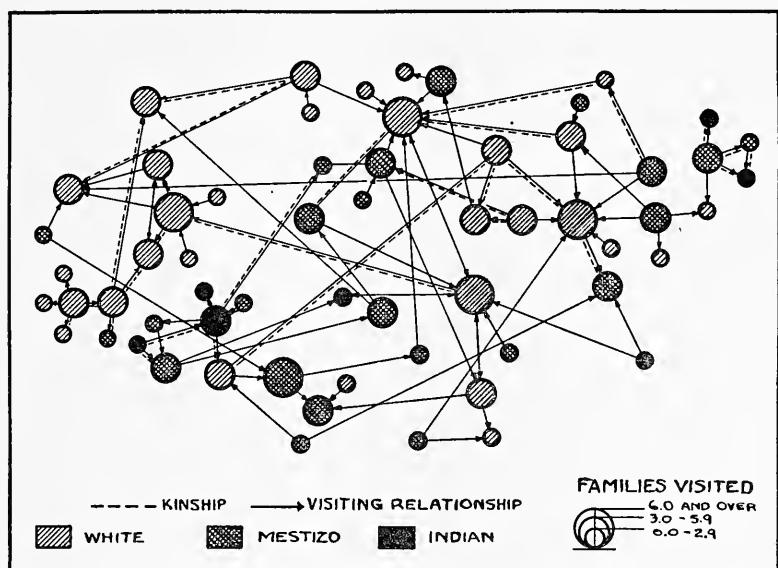


FIG. 29. Clique groups as revealed by inter-visiting among families at Oxapampa, Peru, 1943. The size of the circle representing each family is in relation to the frequency of visiting. Families are classified according to race, and the arrows linking visiting families denote direction of visit. (Adapted from C. P. Loomis, "Visiting Patterns and Miscegenation at Oxapampa, Peru," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. IX, No. 1, March 1944, p. 68.)

Shortly after most of the settlers had been moved onto the Dyess project, each family was interviewed at home. Among data gathered at this interview were the names of the five families which the family visited most frequently, the five it exchanged work with most frequently, and the five it loaned farm implements most frequently. Since the settlers had for the most part come from different communities, about 95 percent of the associating families at the time of the interview were new acquaintances. In the communities from which they had come, 30 percent of the families with whom they had visited were kinfolk as compared with 5 percent in the colony. Thus, we may assume that the manner in which cliques formed would not be any more influenced by the original ties of the settlers than was true on the frontier. It is, therefore, interesting to note that at Dyess Colony

46 percent of the visiting families had started their acquaintanceship by following the rural American custom of one party taking the initiative to pay the other a visit. Twenty-three percent met fortuitously, 9 percent met when giving or receiving aid, and 2 percent met in church or another formal organization.

Evolution and Function of Cliques or Friendship Groups in Dyess Colony.¹² The original visiting patterns in Dyess Colony are depicted in Figure 30. On this chart the families are represented by small circles, and visiting relationships between the families by lines between the circles. Careful study will enable the reader to find the cliques. For example, two near the center of the chart are designated as A and B. Many others can be found. It must be recognized that most of the families had lived on the project less than a year when the study was made. Mutual-aid groupings, which were also charted, were practically the same as the families visited most frequently and are, therefore, not reproduced here. Since all the families often met in the project center and carried on most of their trading and formal social life there, some rural sociologists might call the whole colony a trade-center community and the small groupings neighborhoods. The following discussion should emphasize the error of this assumption.

That these clique groups were important is attested by the fact that in the two years after the study the decision to remain or to leave the colony depended more upon clique relationships than upon any other factor. The families represented by the heavy circles all left the colony during this two-year period; those represented by thin circles stayed. By studying the sociogram, the reader may find many cliques of "stayers" and "leavers." A careful study was made of the cleavage which existed between those who stayed and those who left. As would be expected, all statistical measures of these cleavages indicate that they were very great.¹³

The decision as to whether or not to leave the project was not made on the basis of cool, rational self-interest of individuals. Frustration was high, and the decision to leave was made in the mental climate of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*. Many colonists who realized after leaving that they had forfeited the possibility of owning the nicest house and farm they could ever have, and who realized that they had left a community which entitled them to excellent schools and other

¹² Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, pp. 41-123.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

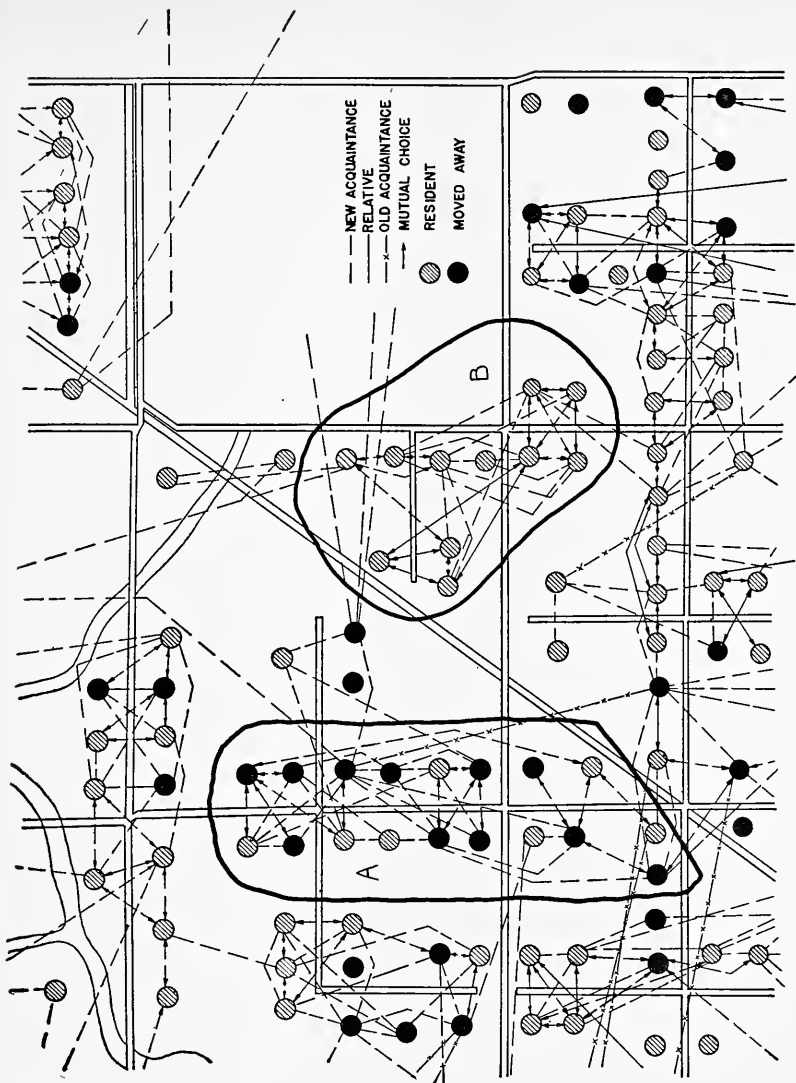


FIG. 30. Visiting relationships among residents of the Dyess Colony, Arkansas. Circles distinguish between those who remain and those who moved away. The lines indicate whether the visiting is between relatives, old acquaintances, or new acquaintances. Only a section of the Colony is shown. (Adapted from C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 55.)

facilities, once away and alone, regretted leaving under the emotional stress of clique influence which required that the group manifest its dissatisfaction by moving away as a unit. They left as a result of confusion and frustration, which varied according to the leadership and nature of the cliques or the "grapevines" through which passed rumors of various types adverse to the administration. Once away, they were no longer a part of the cliques that rebelled at the changes in policies regarding the type of tenure by which the settlers would hold the land, the rates they would pay, and other controls and changes. Many wanted to come back.

The cliques, as originally constituted and as depicted in Figure 30, were based in large measure on random choice, because settlers were given their holdings in this manner. After two years, when 40 percent of the families had left, the remaining families found more compatible associates at considerable distance. Twenty-two months later, the original cliques had dissolved to a considerable extent; the relationships, when plotted on a chart similar to Figure 30, criss-cross it in a most complicated manner. Figure 31, based upon reports from school children concerning how their parents visited, indicates the changes.

The clique structure, when it became stabilized, proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that cliques are not neighborhoods as ordinarily defined by many rural sociologists. The cliques which now comprise the Dyess Colony, like all the others which are graphically depicted in the following pages, would defy localization as isolated systems. In the entire colony there are some sixty or seventy groupings. Their significance for agricultural extension, personality development, security of the families, and administration, are extremely important; but they are not localities and neighborhoods. Neighborhood delineators who expect to draw lines around individual interaction patterns will never be able to do so without including the interaction patterns of a number of cliques. It is true that most of the visiting, borrowing, and exchanging work takes place within the confines of Dyess Colony, and that the whole area is very important to the people who identify themselves with and have loyalty to it. Nevertheless, the small clique, friendship, and mutual-aid groups which eventually evolved at Dyess are, next to the family, more important in the lives of the families than the Dyess neighborhood. This is true generally throughout the neighborhoods and communities of the world. More important than locality groups are the families and the clique, or friendship groups, which usually are the most important groups beyond the family.

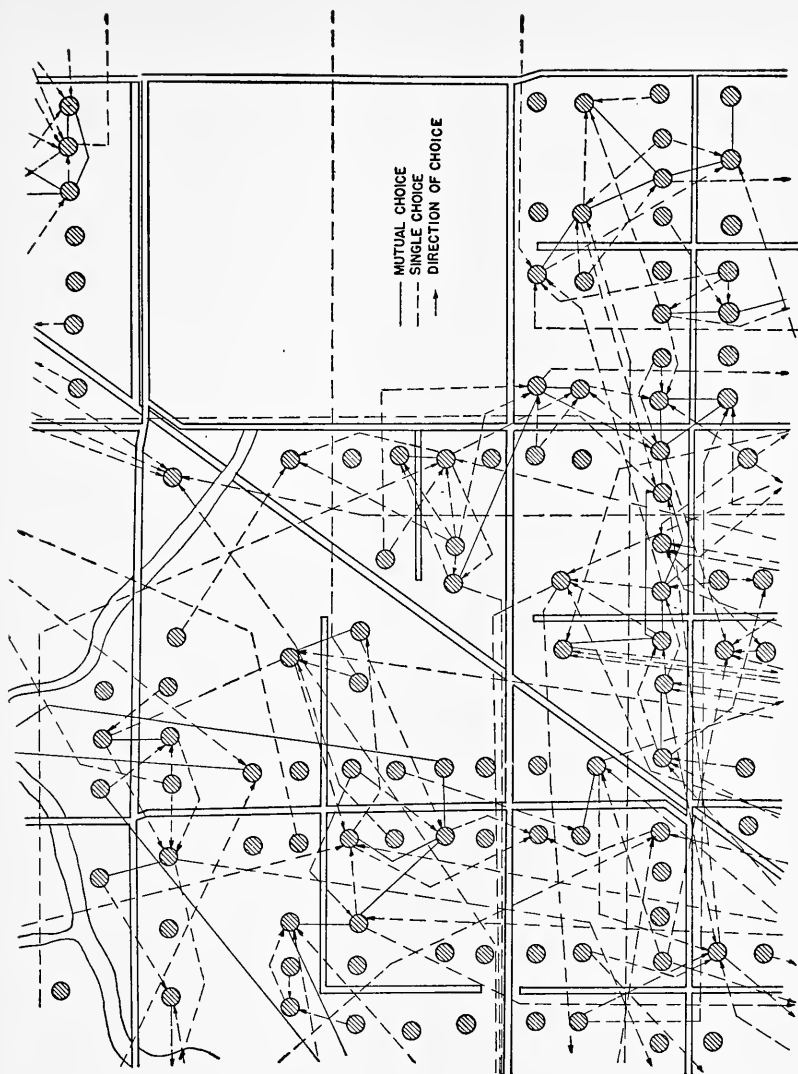


FIG. 31. Visiting relationships among residents of the Dyess Colony, Arkansas, two years after its formation. Only a section of the Colony is shown. (See Figure 30.)

DISTANCE AS A FACTOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
CLIQUES, CUMBERLAND HOMESTEADS, TENNESSEE¹⁴

In the discussion of Dyess Colony, when only about 5 percent of the families which were interacting through visiting, borrowing, or exchanging work knew one another before resettlement, the point was made that new acquaintances formed cliques composed of "close" neighbors. At Cumberland Homesteads in Tennessee, a subsistence homestead project of some 180 families where settlement was also random, this is borne out even more dramatically. The visiting relationships of the various families who had not known one another before coming to Crossville are plotted on Figure 32. It will be noted that these cliques are of the nature of small locality groups. Some rural sociologists would call them tiny neighborhoods. Figure 33 describes the visiting patterns of families who knew one another before coming to the project. This pattern of relationship is much more typical of farming areas than the pattern shown in Figure 30 for Dyess Colony, or in Figure 32 for families at Cumberland Homesteads who were not acquainted before resettlement. After a number of years the visiting pattern of the whole Cumberland Homestead project will resemble that in Figure 33. The more convenient and rapid the mode of transportation, the wider will be the area covered by the clique groups and the less they will resemble neighborhoods.

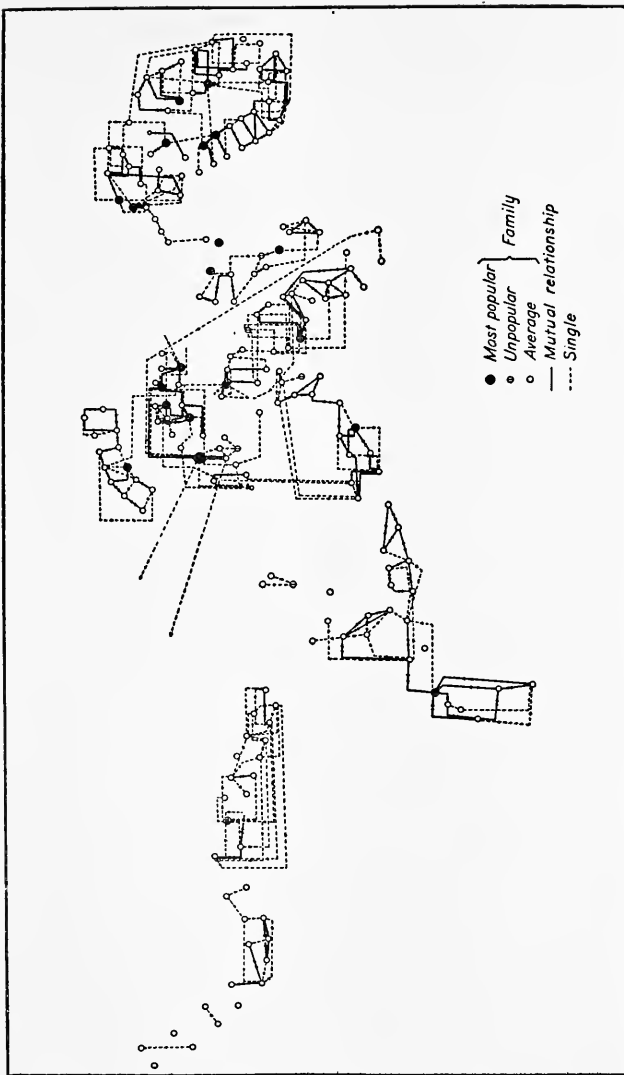
AN EXAMPLE OF TEMPORARY DISSOLUTION OF
CLIQUES — BOSQUE, NEW MEXICO¹⁵

In times of crisis the members of cliques, like the members of other groups, may not interact with one another on the basis of the original grouping. Interaction may be so absorbed into the whole community that the smaller groups take less of the time of the members than they did previously. In such instances the observer may falsely assume that the cliques have passed out of existence. At the resettlement project of Bosque, New Mexico, one of the authors witnessed the temporary collaboration of antagonistic clique groups. The colonists were from three areas in New Mexico: Spanish-speaking people from the original area of Bosque in Valencia County; Anglos from a dry-farming area near Mills in Harding County; and hunters and ranchers from Taos County. The two different Anglo groups had be-

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-123.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-123.

FIG. 32. Visiting relationships between families unacquainted previously to settlement, Cumberland Homesteads, Tennessee, 1936. This map indicates the importance of distance in the formation of informal groupings during the early stages of the project development. Each ring represents the location of a dwelling occupied at the time of the study; the lines between the rings represent visiting relationships. A solid line indicates that both families reported the relationship; a broken line, that only one reported it. These relationships have been established between families unknown to each other previous to settlement. The preponderance of short lines indicates that the visiting families who were unacquainted before coming to the project traveled only short distances to visit. (Source: C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 79; illustration from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

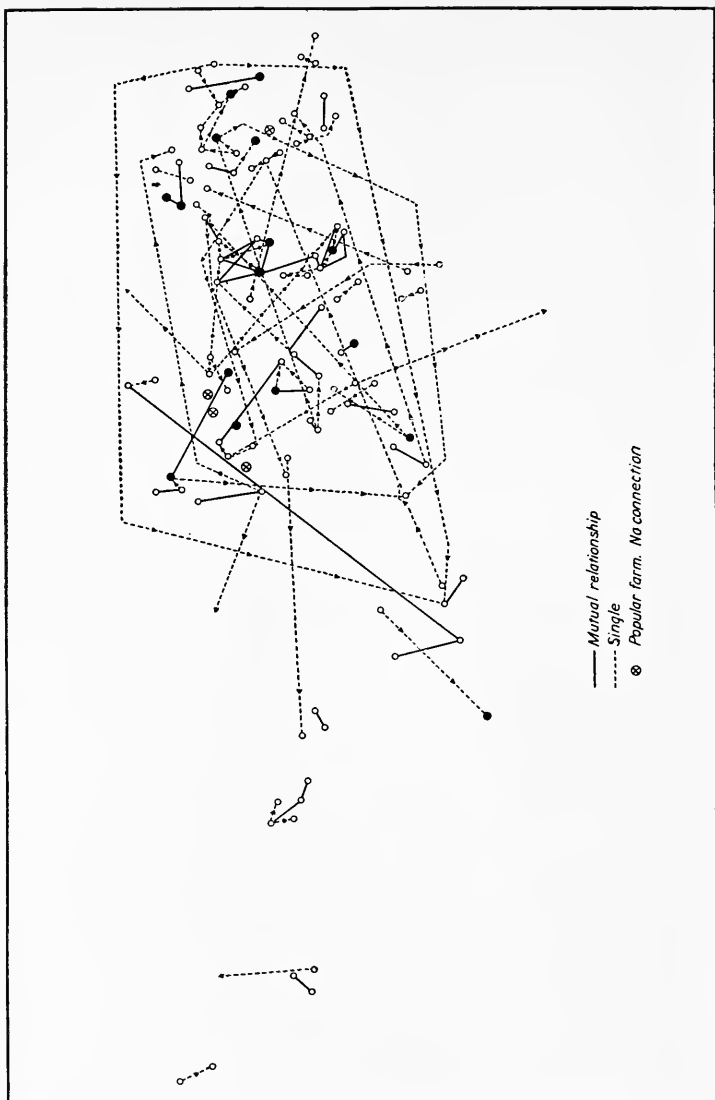


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FIG. 33. Visiting relationships between families related by blood and families acquainted previous to settlement, Cumberland Homesteads, Tennessee, 1936. This map, when compared with Figure 32, indicates that families acquainted before moving to the project traveled farther to visit than did those not acquainted before settlement. Refer to the key in Figure 32. (SOURCE: C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 80; illustration from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)



come quite antagonistic toward one another. Fist fights and general rough-house tactics at project social affairs made it difficult for the administration because the two groups were always quarreling. The two groups had originally been settled in separate parts of the project, and a road called the "Mason-Dixon line" divided them. Later a series of difficulties brought the groups together. They staged a joint strike against the government in protest against regulations coming from Washington, and began to do things cooperatively. After this cooperative effort, Figure 34 was drawn to show how the families were

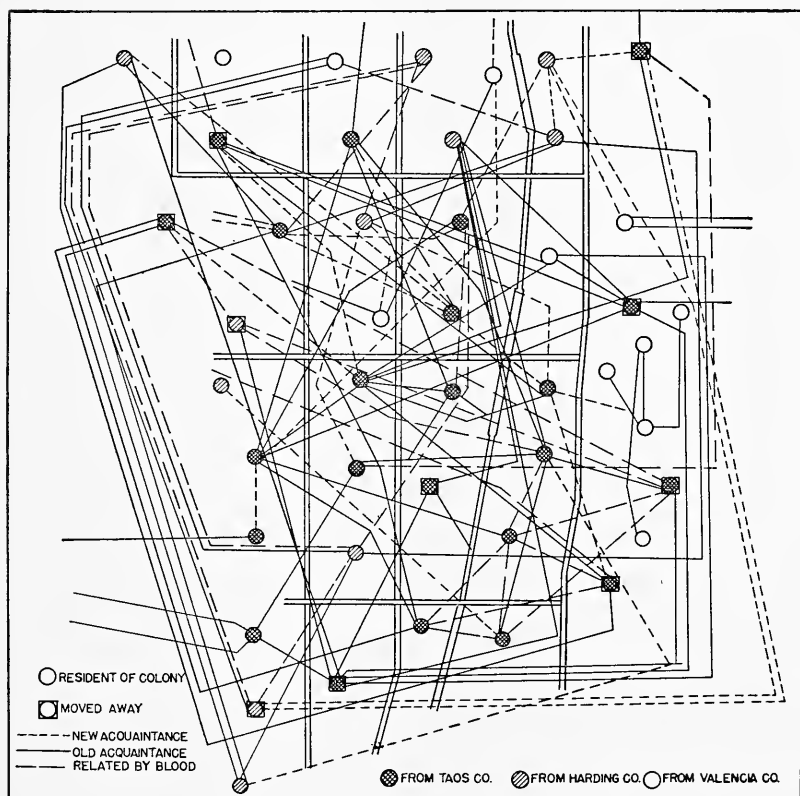


FIG. 34. Visiting relationships between families at Bosque Farms, New Mexico, 1937. Each ring represents the location of a dwelling, and the hatching indicates the county of origin. The lines indicating the direction of the visiting distinguishes between old and new acquaintances and kinship. (SOURCE: C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 120; illustration adapted from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

interacting. In this figure the relative geographical location of the settlers has been retained. From statistical analysis of data shown on Figure 34 and from data elsewhere available, it is not difficult to prove that the conflict with the government administration and other mutual concerns eliminated the cleavages between the two Anglo groups. Figure 34 may be useful in demonstrating that, although the 42 families constituted a group, cliques exist within this "neighborhood" or "community." By use of the matrix analysis, the cliques can be determined in several hours' time.¹⁶

The importance of cliques such as those described in the Dyess Colony, Bosque Farms, and Cumberland Homesteads should be obvious. If clique interactions furnish the channels of communication through which rumor flows, and if the clique leaders and the values and sentiments of the clique organization determine whether or not people are to remain in a resettlement project, these same channels of communication, leaders, and sentiments will condition the actions and policies of skilled educators or administrators. Regardless of whether the cliques are small locality groups formed in abnormal circumstances, as in Dyess during the early stages of development, or whether they constitute a continuous chain of relationships of dozens of cliques which have members scattered through a rather large area, as is usually the case, they are extremely important.

The importance of the congeniality group has been brought out by studies of the mental disturbances of soldiers during World War II. The clique groups formed by men in the armed forces differ from the rural cliques, in that the former were rarely composed of previous familial associates. Such groups do form in rural areas, but they are typical only of frontier or new communities. Often the men who left solidary family or civilian clique groups in an established community to enter the army regressed under stress. That is, they reverted to a previous period in the life cycle when they were dependent. However, most normal fighting men formed strong friendship or clique groups in their combat units. These groups represent chiefly a familistic *Gemeinschaft* phase of the military organization, which, as previously stated, is a *Gesellschaft* organization. The regressive behavior was not serious as long as the familistic *Gemeinschaft* group remained intact, because the combat group carried the individual along. As in many bureaucracies, these groups form to give individuals required

¹⁶ Elaine Forsyth and Leo Katz, "A Matrix Approach to the Analysis of Sociometric Data," *Sociometry*, Vol. IX, No. 4, November 1946, pp. 340-347.

familistic Gemeinschaft-type of security. In the military service, serious personality difficulties frequently manifested themselves when combat groups under great stress were dissolved through casualties or when personnel was shifted. In these situations, as stated by Grinker,¹⁷ "regression of ego functions" took place because the dependence of the individual had no supporting structure. Much of the difficulty servicemen had in reintegrating themselves into civilian life was related to the hold that "buddy groups" had on them. Many members of the armed forces saw the "other side" of war—i.e., a companionship they valued more highly than what they had known in civilian life.¹⁸

CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL CLIQUE AND FRIENDSHIP GROUPS

There are many types of cliques and informal mutual-aid groups. One cannot stay long in a New England or a Spanish-speaking village in the United States without noting great differences in the informal groupings. In New England one is impressed with the reserve and lack of intense interaction maintained in all groups, and the general attitude that neighbors should "stay in their places." In Spanish-speaking villages there is much more interaction in which friendships as well as antagonistic relations emerge, and this interaction, at least on the surface, is more intense and emotion-laden.

Blood Ties. Among comparable clique groupings, probably the most significant measurable difference between cultural regions is the proportion of interacting families which are interrelated through kinship ties. In one study of lower-class Cotton Belt farmers in South Carolina, Arkansas, and North Carolina, and of general and self-sufficing area farmers in Tennessee,¹⁹ approximately one-third of the interacting families who visited, borrowed farm implements, and ex-

¹⁷ Roy R. Grinker and John P. Spiegel, *Men Under Stress*, Philadelphia: Blakiston Co., 1945. The great significance of the group, leadership, morale, mother-love, and self-love, is observed.

¹⁸ Students in the authors' classes in rural sociology have been requested to place their own families and the military units with which they were best acquainted on the continua presented in Chapter 1 and Appendix A. It was found that students with military experience placed military units closer to their families than those without military experience. Thus, it seems probable that the "ideal type" of the military is more rational, functionally specific, secular, and impersonal than it actually is in reality.

¹⁹ Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, p. 74.

changed work were related. Similar results²⁰ were found in a sample of 823 white farm families of all classes in the Cotton Belt and tobacco areas, but a somewhat smaller percentage of blood relationships among clique members for 53 Negro farm families. In newer areas, such as among West Texan families later resettled at Ropesville Farms in Hockley County, Texas, and among families in the Klamath Falls Irrigation Project in Oregon and California, one of the authors found that only about one-fifth and one-tenth, respectively, of the interacting families were related by blood ties.²¹ In the Dutch community of South Holland, south of Chicago, approximately 80 percent of the members of clique groups were related by blood ties.²² In the Spanish-speaking village, El Cerrito, New Mexico, over 90 percent of the visiting, borrowing, and exchanging work was done among relatives.²³ When the friendship and informal mutual-aid groupings are for the most part among kinfolks, obviously the groupings are of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* type. Many isolated minority groups are of this nature. Also the older the settlement and the less the mobility, the larger will be the proportions of clique members who are related by blood ties.

The data at hand indicate that almost three-fourths of the members of farm families who visit, exchange work, and borrow farm implements are not related. Therefore, these are not as a rule family groups. Neither are they locality groups any more than are such formal groups as church congregations or local farmers' organizations. Regardless of whether neighborhoods exist as social systems, the congeniality groups are usually the next groups in importance beyond the family and tend to be smaller than the neighborhood. Figure 35 is a graphic expression of the interaction of the individual as it is confined to the various groups in which he functions.

Functions of Cliques. When a farmer has interactions with twelve other farmers, does he visit, borrow, and exchange work with all of them? In other words, do the relationships overlap? For the families studied in North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama,

²⁰ E. A. Schuler, *Social Status and Farm Tenure—Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers*, Social Research Report No. IV, Washington: U.S.D.A., April 1938, p. 203.

²¹ Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, pp. 71 ff.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²³ Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: El Cerrito, New Mexico*, Rural Life Studies 1, Washington: U.S.D.A., 1941.

Texas, and New Mexico, prior to resettlement almost 60 percent of the families reporting inter-visiting did not exchange work or borrow implements from one another. Among members in other clique groupings studied at South Holland, Tortugas, and Kalmath Falls, of the families who engaged in visiting, over 90 percent reported

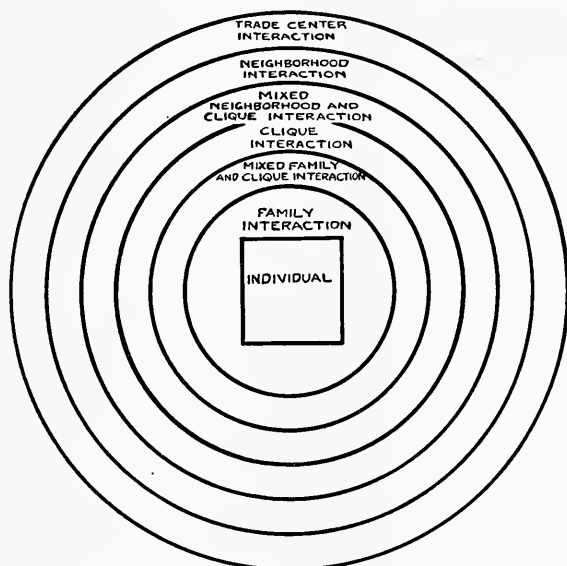


FIG. 35. Schematic diagram showing the interaction of the individual in rural areas. As the individual moves out from the center, distance increases and the degree of intimacy decreases.

that they were visiting only. However, there are variations in the tendency for the relationships to overlap. Thus, if a farmer reported that he exchanged work with three farmers, less than one of these farmers, on the average, would only exchange work with the farmer. The others would borrow and visit with him. However, if a farmer reported that five families visited with him, approximately three would visit only and the other two would exchange work and borrow farm implements. Obviously, many factors are important in determining the amount of overlapping. Type of farming and social class are very important determinants. Upper-class ranchers, planters, and fruit farmers do not exchange work or borrow much.

Are the cliques utilitarian groupings of the *Gesellschaft* type, established rationally on a contractual basis, or are they true familistic

Gemeinschaft-like groupings? In terms of the criteria presented in Chapter I and Appendix A, the familistic Gemeinschaft type of interaction, among other characteristics, must possess norms which are blanket and unlimited. Solidary or converging interests and sentiments and face-to-face communication must bind the individual to his clique. For the North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, Alabama, Texas, and New Mexico families, approximately 60 percent of the clique group families reported that their children played together in their original communities.²⁴ Certainly most groups whose members wish to have their children play together are more apt to have the familistic Gemeinschaft characteristics than are members who are not willing to have their children play together.

Another test which may be applied to the visiting cliques to ascertain the extent of their familistic Gemeinschaft-like nature is common responsibilities in associations. In the seven groups mentioned above, almost one-half of the interacting pairs attended the same church. Comparable percentages for colonies in Klamath Falls, South Holland, and Tortugas, were 33, 61, and 100 percent, respectively. Membership in and attendance at the same non-religious organizations on the part of interacting families amounted to 20 percent of the persons in the visiting cliques in the seven samples in the Cotton Belt and General and Self-Sufficing areas.

Most of the families in the South lived close together. For the sample in the seven states, the average distance between visiting families' homes was one mile. At Klamath Falls it was about five miles, and at South Holland approximately three miles. With modern means of transportation, these could not be called secondary groups insofar as distance between their homes is concerned. An analysis of the various traits these families had in common, presented elsewhere,²⁵ leaves the impression that they were solidary groupings.

Cliques and Tenure Groups. Clique relations in New England and southern cities²⁶ indicate that urban clique members are usually of

²⁴ This index of solidarity is obviously not satisfactory when a large proportion of the interacting families have no children. This explains why the percentages of associating families whose children played together were lower for the groups having fewer children studied at South Holland, Illinois; Tortugas, New Mexico; and the irrigation project at Klamath Falls, Oregon.

²⁵ Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, Chapter 2.

²⁶ See Warner and Lunt, *op. cit.*, p. 90, and Allison Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, *Deep South*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

the same social class. Only family members are more apt to fall in the same social class, as defined by Warner, than clique members. As will be explained later, Warner and his co-workers developed a new approach, dependent upon identification, interaction, and interpersonal relations, to ascertain and describe the various classes. Among rural sociologists, tenure classes have for many years been considered as one of the best bases for stratification. Although we now know that this is an ineffective means of designating social class, a large proportion of the clique groups include members of several tenure classes. For instance, in the 1,176 farmers interviewed by Schuler and his co-workers,²⁷ among northern Corn Belt owners and southern cotton and tobacco owners, both white and Negro, only about half of those reporting indicated that they confined their visiting, borrowing, and exchanging work to other owner families. (See Figure 36.) As would be expected, this study revealed that very little social interaction was reported as taking place between the white and colored races. However, within each race there was a great deal of interaction within cliques which passed over tenure lines, thus proving that land tenure is not always an effective basis for describing classes in rural areas, if we use the class concept developed by Warner and his associates.

Other Characteristics of Cliques. There are many indications that members of friendship or clique groups are similar in that they belong to the same sub-group or follow the same life pattern. To test this hypothesis, correlation coefficients were calculated for thousands of paired relationships obtained from resettlement groups to determine in what respects the interacting groups were most alike.²⁸

As might be expected, associating families tend to resemble one another in economic status, as represented by total value of family living. They are less alike in the amount of schooling of the parents, but there are other attributes in which the families tend to be more similar. These attributes are related to various types of social interaction or symbols of status. For instance, interacting families resemble one another in money spent during the year for social activities and recreation, reading material, and clothing. They are also similar in the number of both religious and non-religious organizations in which they participate.

²⁷ Schuler, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-206.

²⁸ Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, Table 15, p. 83.

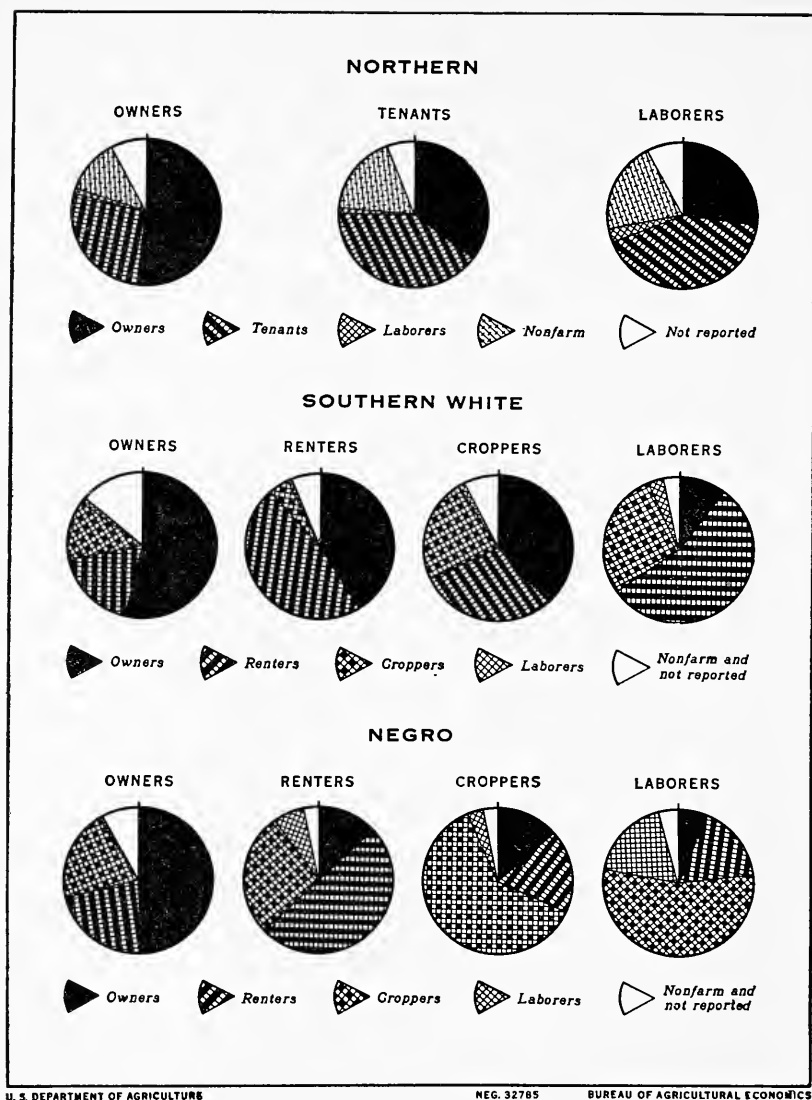


FIG. 36. Percentage distribution by tenure of the families with whom informants' families had most frequent social contact, by tenure of informant. (Reproduced from E. A. Schuler, *Social Status and Farm Tenure*, U.S.D.A. Social Research Report No. IV, April 1938, p. 196.)

INFORMAL GROUPS IN A SOUTHERN COTTON BELT NEIGHBORHOOD

Both Sanderson and Smith give the South credit for having the strongest neighborhoods.²⁹ In Pridgen's Mill neighborhood in the Cotton Belt of Covington County, Mississippi, a large proportion of

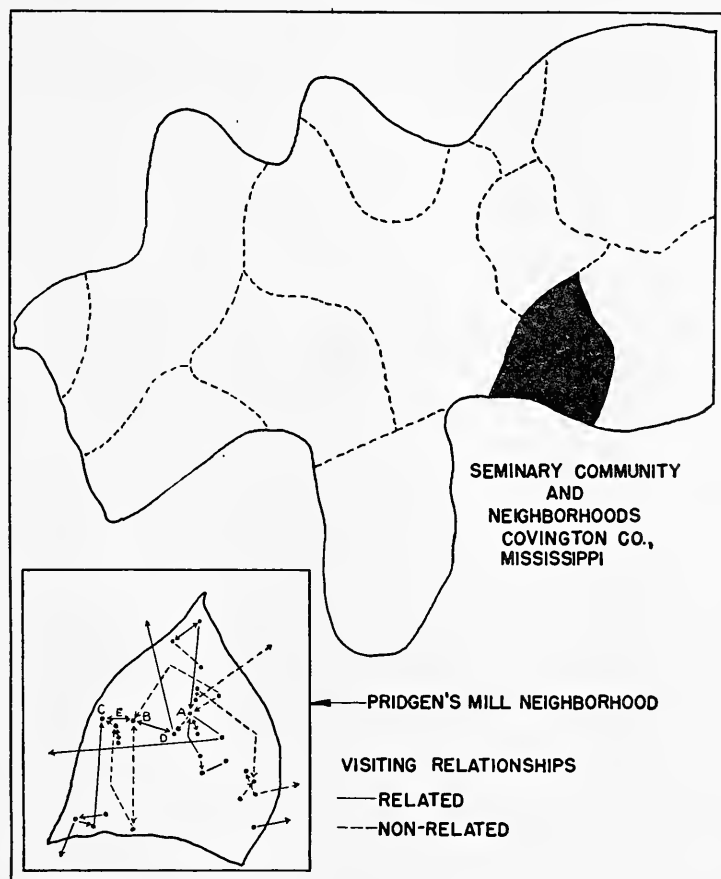


FIG. 37. Visiting relationships in the Pridgen's Mill neighborhood, Covington County, Mississippi. Note that most of the visiting occurs within the confines of the neighborhood.

²⁹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 320, and Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942, p. 234.

the visiting among families goes on within the neighborhood.³⁰ There are families, such as A, B, C, D, and E in Figure 37, who, because of the considerable number of families with whom they visit occupy strategic positions in the grapevine-like communication channels. This obviously makes them extremely important for the county agricultural agent and other leaders of educational and action agencies. The isolated and semi-isolated families, no matter what their economic position, are not very useful to the educational or promotional official in a county, since they do not contact other families. Often in the past, rural sociologists have talked of the necessity of finding "handles" with which to work with the people in the farming areas. Beginning with Galpin,³¹ who invented the techniques for studying and describing locality groups graphically, rural sociologists have thought that these groups were the "handles." Dozens of bulletins have been written about the locality groupings, but few thought of looking for the most useful "handle," the leader of the clique or friendship group.

It will be noted from Figure 37 that a considerable proportion, 50 percent to be exact, of the visiting contacts of the families are between those related by blood ties. The reader should also bear in mind that both white and Negro families lived in the same area. Since social visiting did not go on between the two races, the Negro families are not included on the sociogram.

INFORMAL GROUPS IN EASTERN UNITED STATES

In the previous sociograms of visiting relationships, the families were placed on the sociogram in the place they occupied geographically in their respective neighborhoods. Figure 38 presents a simplified sociogram of the White Plains neighborhood in Charles County, Maryland. Lines representing non-neighborhood visiting are removed, and the spheres representing families which visited most frequently are located in the center.³² This chart has the advantage

³⁰ For a description of locality groupings in Covington County see Harold Hoffsommer and Herbert Pryor, *Neighborhoods and Communities in Covington County, Mississippi*, Washington: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, July 1941.

³¹ C. J. Galpin, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*, Madison: Wisconsin AES Bulletin 34, 1915.

³² This chart was first published by Charles P. Loomis, Douglas Ensminger, and Jane Woolley in a note entitled "Neighborhoods and Communities in County Planning," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 4, December 1941, pp. 339-341. Since

of dramatizing the central position of family number 7, which has the most visiting contacts. It has the disadvantage of giving the impression on first inspection that the neighborhood group is a clique. Actually 59, or 32.4 percent, of the 182 relationships of 44 white families who said they lived in White Plains neighborhood were visits outside the neighborhood. Twelve percent of the outside contacts were within the trade center in which the neighborhood fell, and 20 percent were with families in Baltimore, about forty miles distant, or in Washington, D.C., about twenty-five miles distant.³³ There were five families living in the neighborhood who had no visiting contacts within the neighborhood. Of those who visited outside the neighborhood, 75 percent visited relatives. When the extra-neighborhood relationships were included on the original chart, this neighborhood certainly did not resemble a clique. Even as it is, close observation will reveal several cliques on Figure 38. With a matrix system of analysis,³⁴ one could quickly isolate the cliques and congeniality groups among the families. If one is interested only in the neighborhood relationships, families 43, 42, and 41 form a triangle clique of families with kinship ties. Although family 7 is related directly or indirectly with all but seven interacting families in the neighborhood, at least four sizable cliques with their separate leaders can be discerned. For instance, family 39 stands in closer relation to families 1, 4, 12, 13, 15, 17, 22, 23, 31, 32, and 36 than family 7 does. Any county agricultural extension agent would be interested in family 39 because of the 11 families with which it is in direct or fairly direct contact. Also, the fact that this family visits the one with the largest number of contacts in the neighborhood, number 7, and is visited by another potential leader, 38, would be of importance. On occasion, he would be interested in the fact that two pairs of associating families in the clique led by family 39 are related by kinship bonds. Approximately 9 percent of the relationships within the neighborhood were between families related by blood. The large circles on Figure 38 represent heads of families whom farmers in the neighborhood named most frequently as those who should represent them in agricultural, marketing, and public affairs.

that time it has been reproduced many times. Few charts have had more influence upon a discipline. See Loomis, "The Most Frequently Chosen Sociogram, or the Seduction of Rural Sociologists by Neighborhood Theory," *Sociometry*.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 340.

³⁴ Forsythe and Katz, *op. cit.*

The reader will note that the spheres carry markings which represent the different proportions of the families' visiting relations within the neighborhood, the trade center, and outside both. A person

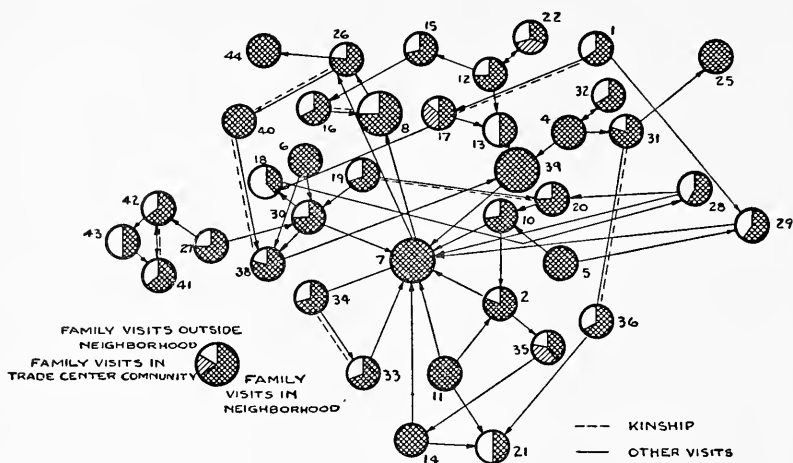


FIG. 38. Visiting among the families in White Plains neighborhood, Charles County, Maryland. (SOURCE: Adapted from C. P. Loomis, Douglas Ensminger, and Jane Woolley, "Neighborhoods and Communities in County Planning," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 4, December 1941, p. 340; illustration adapted from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

wishing to use the contacts of these people would be interested in these facts. The most popular family in the neighborhood is not visited by outsiders, nor does it visit outside the neighborhood. Thus, the chances of its being on intimate terms with officials such as the agricultural agents in the trade center are slight. The heads of families 7 and 39 are known to be "grass roots leaders," a term used during the county land-use planning period. Other leaders, such as number 8, have wider outside contacts.

Heads of families 7, 39, and 8, who were designated by the largest number of farmers in the neighborhood as those farmers whom they would like to have represent them on matters pertaining to agricultural production, marketing, public policy, and the like are, as can be easily seen from the sociogram, Figure 38, in key positions in the network of visiting relations of the neighborhood. With regard to the relationship between leadership and visiting patterns in the neighborhoods studied in the United States, Germany, and Peru, the lead-

ers were always found to be at focal points in the various networks.³⁵ Those who want to influence people through their leaders must know the basis of their leadership, which will be rooted in the interaction pattern of the social systems in which the leaders operate. To know the boundaries of neighborhoods and trade centers is not enough.

INFORMAL GROUPS IN A DAIRY FARMING SECTION IN THE CUT-OVER AREA³⁶

Garden Valley neighborhood in Jackson County, Wisconsin, is composed of twenty-one families, seven of whom are German, three Norwegian, three English, two Bohemian, one Irish, one Dutch, one Swiss, and three native-born Americans. In this area, the average total value of family living of the families, most of whom are dairy farmers, was eight hundred dollars, a figure considerably below the state average. Figure 39 describes the inter-family visiting patterns of the various cliques of the neighborhood with the relative geographical location retained. It is unfortunate that the authors of the bulletin were not sufficiently aware of the presence of clique groupings to

³⁵ Loomis, "Political and Occupational Cleavages in a Hanoverian Village, Germany," and *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, Ch. 15.

³⁶ This section is based on a bulletin by George W. Hill, Walter Slocum, and Ruth O. Hill, *Man-Land Adjustment*. The data for the sociograms and data collected in the bulletin were secured through the use of a schedule designed by C. P. Loomis and Howard Beers. It was a variation of an original which was used to gather data for the other sociograms used in this chapter. The charts of inter-personal relations in the bulletin discussed in the present section come the nearest to describing American rural cliques of any rural sociological publication not written by the present authors. The authors of the bulletin are to be congratulated for participating in the early development of the study of rural inter-personal relations. Unfortunately, they failed to grasp the significance and appear not to have been conscious of the existence of cliques. In arguing whether or not families should be moved, they failed to analyze expenditures, income, and other data by clique groups. No attempt was made to ascertain the composition of the cliques. One cannot tell whether or not cleavages existed between the ethnic groups in the chart here reproduced. One suspects that the failure to discover the cliques was due to the use of traditional rural sociological concepts which focused attention on the neighborhood. This conclusion is supported by the following quotation from the bulletin: "When these family interaction maps were assembled according to location, and the lines of interaction plotted, it became apparent that the primary inter-family groupings had a definite locality basis. These lines of inter-family dependence, together with certain intangible matters such as consciousness of 'belonging,' clearly established neighborhood groupings." See Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 134, February 1938, p. 74.

designate the various ethnic groups with special symbols in order to determine whether or not they formed clique groups. Figure 39 is useful, however, in demonstrating that clique groupings do not coin-

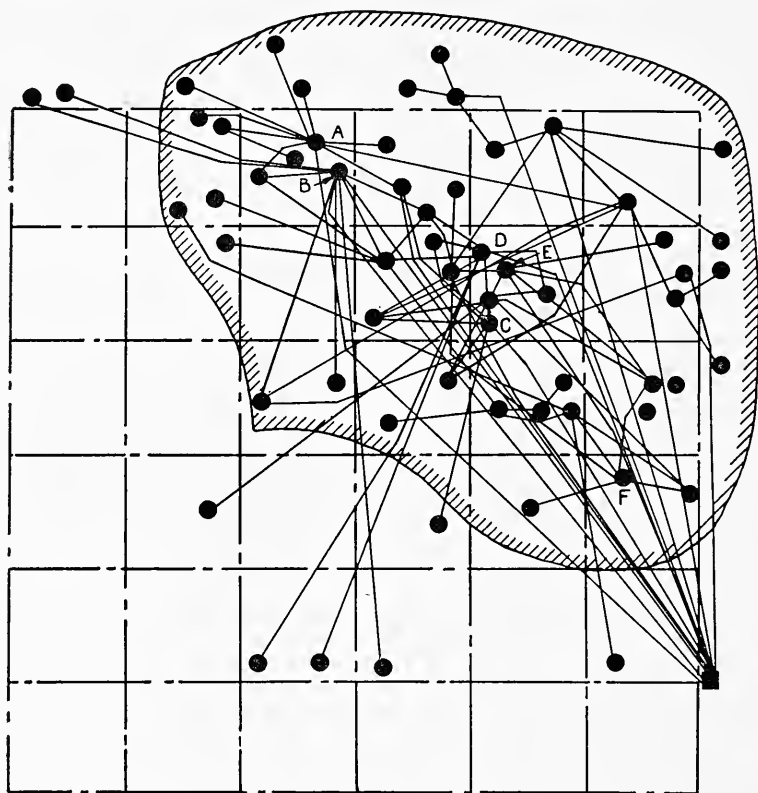


FIG. 39. Informal visiting in Garden Valley neighborhood in Wisconsin. Note the presence of clique groupings within the boundaries of this single neighborhood. (Adapted from George W. Hill, Walter Slocum, and Ruth O. Hill, *Man-Land Adjustment*, Madison: Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 134, February 1938, p. 43.)

cide with neighborhood groupings, even though the majority of the visiting of neighborhood families may be confined to the neighborhood.

An extension worker who wishes to get the most rapid spread of an improved practice must know the various cliques and their leaders in neighborhoods such as Garden Valley. Even though the authors do not seem to have been conscious of clique groups, their chart indi-

cates that Families A, B, C, D, E, and F are leaders of small cliques and are directly or indirectly in contact with most families in the neighborhood. In organizing for action, disseminating information, or gathering information from the neighborhood, these families would be infinitely more useful than the twenty-two semi-isolated families shown in this figure. The reason why Families A, B, C, D, E, and F would probably be the most useful contacts for the county worker is that they are focal centers of communication for small clique or friendship groups. These smaller groupings are more important for understanding and controlling society than is the neighborhood considered as a group.

INFORMAL GROUPS AND LEADERSHIP IN PERU³⁷

It was indicated in the previous discussion of the White Plains neighborhood in Maryland that leaders in rural areas, as elsewhere, are leaders because of the contacts they have with their followers. Of course, this is a reciprocal relationship. Individuals who do not have the required value orientation, personal characteristics, and ability to use these contacts effectively in relation to their followers are not "natural" leaders. In most rural communities, the informal leaders, to whom farmers and their wives turn for advice on various types of problems not requiring professional attention, are very frequently visited by the people who would on occasion accept their leadership. However, it should be stressed that often these "leaders" and their followers deny that they are leaders.

In the colony of Tingo Maria, Peru, one of the authors interviewed all farmers, requesting them to designate those whom they would like to have represent their interests on a committee to be established to advise the director of the experiment station and extension service of their needs. Figure 40 shows the seven farmers chosen for this committee. In all cases, they hold key positions in the network of visiting relations. This was true also of mutual-aid interaction patterns such as work exchange, borrowing, and loaning relationships. It will also be noted that the farmers who occupy very strong positions in the network of visiting relationships were not designated as committee members. These farmers were thought to have insufficient education and "culture" to meet with the director. It will also be noted that two farmers who were designated as leaders are in less strategic positions

³⁷ Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, Chapter 15.

in the network of relationships than others.³⁸ This study should carry a lesson for many county agents in the United States who make it a practice to help the well-to-do farmers. Of the seven committeemen chosen by popular vote, only three were high-income farmers. Furthermore, the several farmers who are in key positions and who

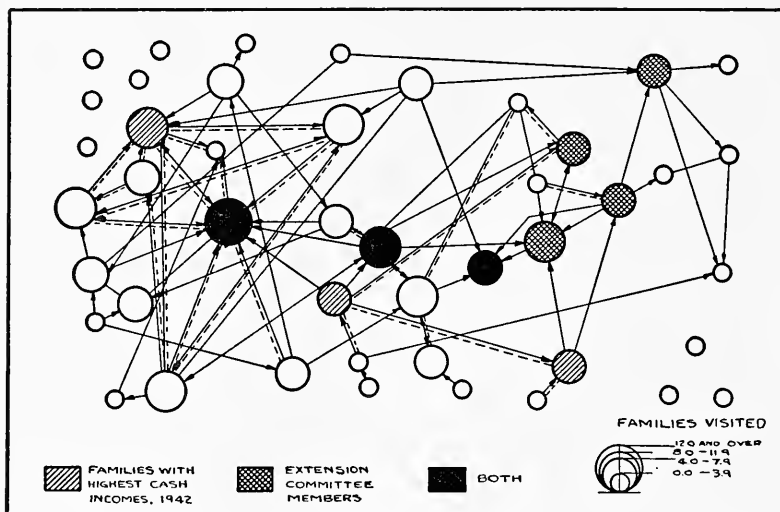


FIG. 40. Visiting among families in the Naranjilla community, Tingo Maria Colony, Peru, and members of the extension committee, 1943. This chart illustrates the strategic position in the network of visiting relationships on the part of the committeemen. It is clear that the extension committeemen are key men in the community. (Adapted from C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 253.)

are not chosen as leaders are important for group workers. Throughout rural areas, literally thousands of people who are in key positions in networks of relationships deny that they are leaders and are not recognized as such by friends. They are *informal and potential leaders*.

INFORMAL GROUPS AND LEADERSHIP IN THE MICHIGAN DAIRY AREA

Since all pertinent studies point to the fact that leadership has its basis in the interaction and mutual-obligation patterns of the people, it should not be necessary in all cases to study interaction patterns to

³⁸ For a more complete analysis of the various clique groupings of the Peruvian neighborhoods at Tingo Maria, see *ibid.*, Chapter 15.

locate the local leaders. In order to determine the leadership patterns in the short time available, Miller dispensed with the study of actual visiting and other interaction patterns. In Haller's Corners neighborhood, Livingston County, Michigan, he attempted to discover the general-purpose leaders by obtaining replies to the following statement, after an interview about neighborhood conditions: "It has been the experience of many local folks and many workers in rural areas that, over a period of years, two or three families in the neighborhood become leaders in most social functions; are highly respected; are the ones to whom people go for help and advice; and, generally, can be counted on to 'sparkplug' things through. Since a fairly intensive study of the community situation is to be made in Livingston County, it would be of great help if these leaders could be known—in order that they could contribute from time to time important necessary facts to the study. *Therefore, in your opinion, who are the individuals and families in this neighborhood that have become the leaders and have been accepted as such by the folks in the neighborhood?*"³⁹ In this neighborhood of about thirty families, Miller found that there were two distinct groups with their own leadership patterns. One was composed of the older families who were staunch members of the neighborhood Free Methodist Church. Others, who, for the most part, were more well-to-do, called them the "churchy" group.

Figure 41 indicates that the church families, whose choices are indicated by dotted lines, were quite consistent in selecting leaders from their own group. With the exception of two families who had just arrived in the neighborhood and did not make choices, the non-affiliated members chose non-church members. These choice-patterns, as represented in Figure 41, indicate that several families have especially advantageous positions, depending upon the use to which they are to be put. For instance, Family B can tie the two networks of "church" and "non-church" people together. Although they were not old-timers, they were chosen by a number of the "church" families. The interviews revealed that Families A, B, and C are leaders who are concerned with economic programs. The leader of the

³⁹ For a more complete analysis of the relationships in this neighborhood, see Paul A. Miller and J. Allan Beegle, *The Farm People of Livingston County, Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan State College, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 1947. Also see Paul A. Miller, "The Structure of Rural Social Groupings in Livingston County, Michigan," Unpublished Master's Thesis, Michigan State College, 1946.

church group, Family E, is more interested in the spiritual and aesthetic problems. The mother in Family E is concerned with youth problems; and, having several children of her own, is a leader in the

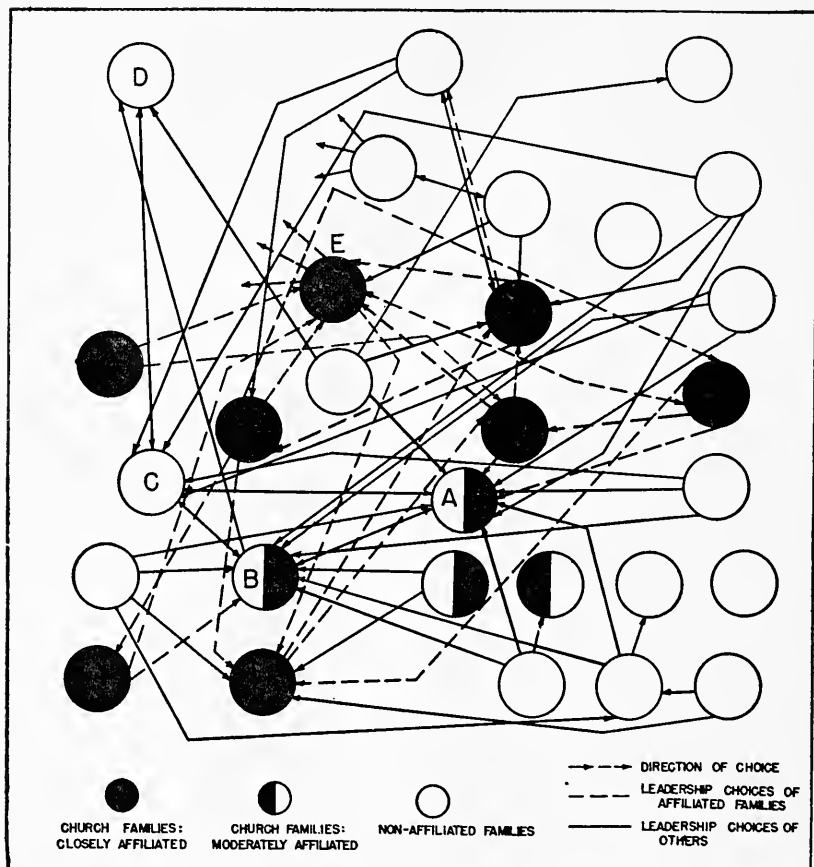


FIG. 41. Leaders and systems of human relationships in Haller's Corners, Michigan. The circles represent farmsteads in approximate geographical location. Black circles represent closely affiliated families interested in the church; half-black circles, loosely affiliated church families; and circles free of shading, families which are not affiliated with the church. (SOURCE: Paul A. Miller and J. Allan Beegle, *The Farm People of Livingston County, Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan State College Extension Service, 1947, p. 35.)

young people's work of the church. Although there is no 4-H Club work in the neighborhood at present, this leader should certainly be used if such a program is developed.

The whole discussion of the Haller's Corners neighborhood and its leader choices should be ample evidence that neighborhoods are not cliques or friendship groups, but are sometimes composed of groups quite different in nature. Over half of the area of the county in which Haller's Corners is situated is inhabited by people who have no loyalty to any neighborhood. Although no neighborhood delineation specialist can find neighborhood locality groups in a large portion of the county, anyone can find cliques and mutual-aid groups in all parts of the county. The leadership of these groups is very important for successful education or promotional work and for the administration of action programs in the county.

VILLAGE NEIGHBORHOODS IN GERMANY

It has been said that rural sociology is relatively strong in the United States because the prevalent pattern of settlement, which—with the exception of New England, the cultural areas of the Mormons, Spanish-speaking villagers of the Southwest, French villagers of Louisiana, and a few religious sects—has been the isolated homestead, which has made working with groups of farmers difficult. Some believe that agricultural extension, administration, and many other activities would be infinitely simplified and that many problems of rural sociologists would be resolved if American farmers lived in villages and went out to their lands.⁴⁰

Are agricultural villages solidary groups which resemble families and cliques in their solidarity and interaction patterns? Figure 42, based upon a study made shortly after hostilities ceased at the end of World War II,⁴¹ describes the visiting patterns of a German village, Rietze, in Hanover. Of sixty-one heads of households, permanent residents of the village from whom data were gathered, twenty-one belonged to the Nazi party at the time of the study, twenty-three were Social Democrats, six Communists, and eleven were classified as not belonging to any party. A statistical study of these groups reveals that the clique structure supported the political groupings and that there were wide cleavages among the groups as measured by the visiting patterns. These cleavages had their base in the occupational and class structure of the village. Farmers were more ex-

⁴⁰ Richard Kaysenbrecht, "Rural Sociology in the United States," *The Sociological Review*, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, January 1932, pp. 37-46.

⁴¹ Loomis, "Political and Occupational Cleavages in a Hanoverian Village, Germany," *op. cit.*, pp. 316-333.

clusive in their visiting than any other group. Most of the farmers were Nazis. Craftsmen and salaried workers manifested more in-group tendencies than any group other than the farmers. This group

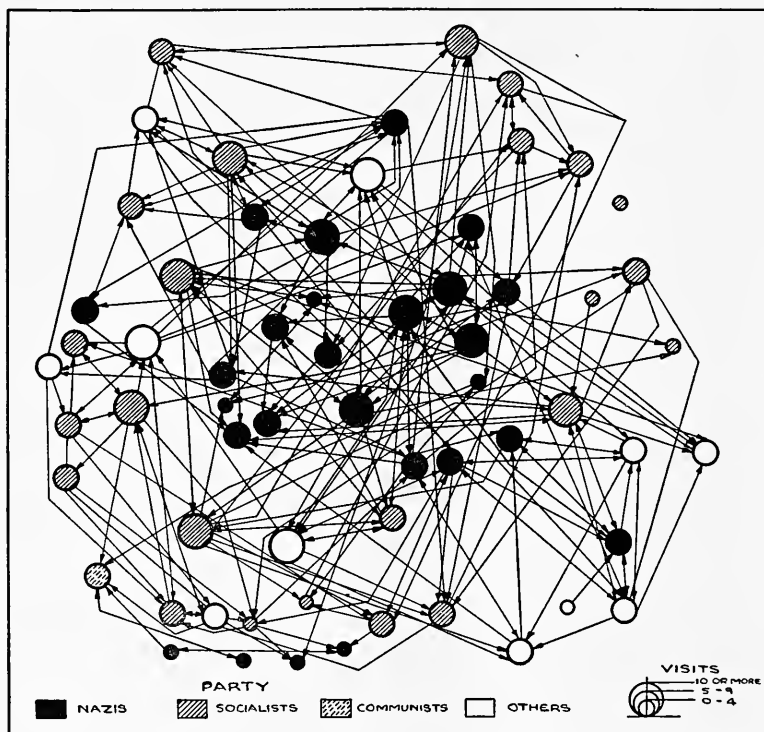


FIG. 42. Visiting relations among families classified by political affiliations and frequency of visiting, Rietze, Germany. (SOURCE: Charles P. Loomis, "Political and Occupational Cleavages in a Hanoverian Village, Germany," *Sociometry*, Vol. IX, No. 4, November 1946, p. 322.)

had more Nazis than other political party members. Most small farmers were Social Democrats but one was a Communist. The cleavages among these occupational and class groups, as measured by lack of inter-visiting relationships, were very great indeed. With the occupational and ideological groupings manifesting the wide cleavages recorded in the statistical study based on Figure 42, there is little reason for considering this village as a solidary, familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like grouping similar to typical families or clique groupings. One can easily seek out the potential leaders for the various group-

ings as indicated by their strategic positions in the network of relationships.

VILLAGE NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE RANGE-LIVESTOCK AREAS OF NEW MEXICO⁴²

No village known to the authors manifests more familistic *Gemeinschaft* traits in its interaction patterns than El Cerrito, New Mexico. As indicated by Figure 43, most of the visiting is carried on between relatives. Only two out of 108 visiting relationships were not among relatives. Figure 43 indicates the approximate geographical locations of houses in the village as well as visiting relationships between families. The pattern is so complicated that the reader will find it difficult to determine the clique or friendship groupings.

After the circles representing the families have been rearranged so that those that visit others most frequently are placed close to one another, the clique or friendship groupings manifest themselves. These relationships are depicted in Figure 44. It is possible from this chart, as in Figure 43, to appraise the frequency of the visiting and the kinship relationship. In the relationships depicted, the clique groupings come nearer to being kinship groupings than in any other community studied by the authors. Frequency of visiting is directly proportional to the degree of blood relationship. In the Latin-American cultures, the age of the head of the family determines in part his status and authority. One can easily see that most clique or friendship groupings in the village include a family designated as having grandchildren. This family occupies a key position in the group.

Some sociologists might say that the smaller groups are not really cliques at all and that the village is merely a larger family. Actually, there are several families who are unrelated in the village. Nevertheless, the village's chief characteristic is the lack of antagonistic relationships. Many similar villages have bitter feuds carried on by family members of opposing factions. Such a feud actually did exist in El Cerrito until one group got the upper hand and drove the other group out. It is wrong in general to consider family, clique, and small locality groups, as many observers do, as one and the same. However, the more these groups merge, the more familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like will the culture be.

⁴² Leonard and Loomis, *op. cit.* This study is reprinted in Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, Chapter 16.

VISITING OF FAMILIES , EL CERRITO, NEW MEXICO, 1940

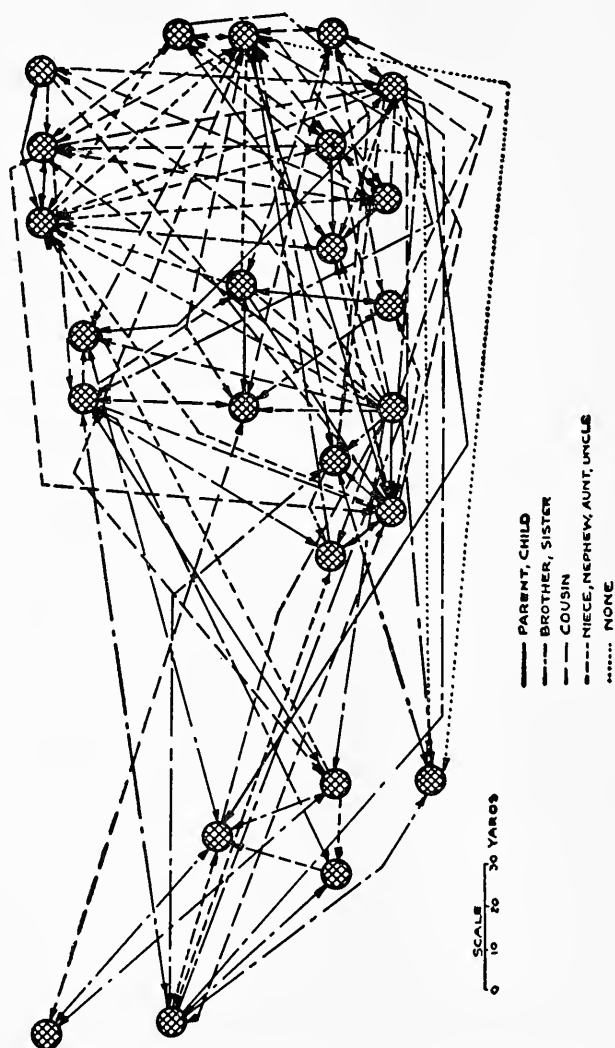


FIG. 43. Visiting of families in El Cerrito, New Mexico, 1940. Note that most of the visiting takes place between relatives. (Adapted from C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 306.)

VISITING OF PARENTS SHOWING FREQUENCY, EL CERRITO, NEW MEXICO, 1940

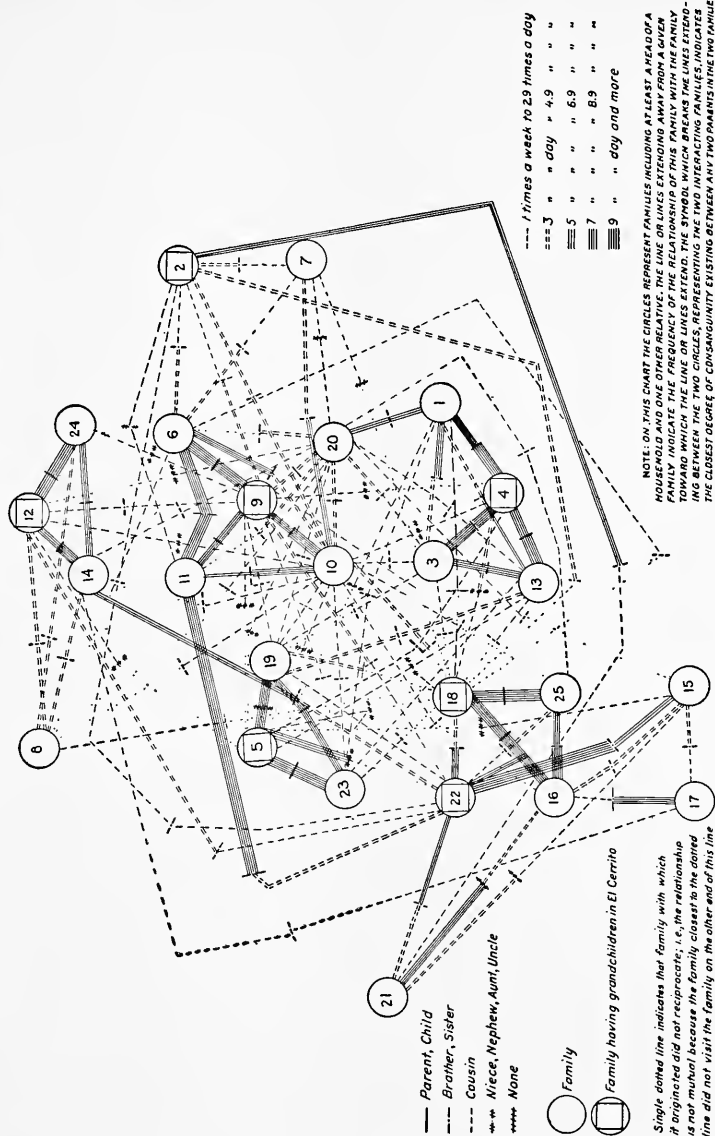


FIG. 44. Visiting of parents, showing frequency, El Cerrito, New Mexico, 1940. (SOURCE: C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 308; illustration from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

THE UNIVERSALITY OF CLIQUE AND
FRIENDSHIP GROUPS

In the preceding sections, various types of cliques in varying rural local settings have been described. In Chapter 6, which deals with locality groups, cliques within the villages are discussed. How do these cliques compare with those of urban situations? Studies in industrial plants,⁴³ towns,⁴⁴ and cities⁴⁵ indicate that clique groups of the nature described as existing in rural areas also exist in almost all non-rural situations. In many cases it is the existence of such clique and friendship groups that gives urban life and the industrial plant the minimum of familistic Gemeinschaft-like relations which people must have to live happily together. One thing is certain: when administration in bureaucratic organization is effective and morale is high, cliques support the formal organization and value orientation of the social system. When frustration results from ineffective administration and morale is low, cliques provide a means through which the individual may attempt to attain security. Often under such conditions these familistic Gemeinschaft-like groups oppose the administration of the larger social system.⁴⁶

SUMMARY

Next to kinship systems, the clique or friendship group is most important for those who attempt to work with groups or facilitate the spread of improved farming practices. No administrator can afford to ignore these groups. They are very important in personality formation and, beyond the family, furnish the most important organiza-

⁴³ F. J. Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1943. See pp. 501-510 for sociometric social interaction patterns of workers in a shop room which resemble those of rural groups described previously.

⁴⁴ For an example see George A. Lundberg and Margaret Lawsing, "The Sociology of Some Community Relations," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. II, No. 3, June 1937, pp. 318-335. This is a study of a Vermont town of 1,000 population. An excellent study of a mining community is to be found in F. L. W. Richardson II, "An Anthropological and Geographical Approach to a Resettlement Problem in a Pennsylvanian Coal Region," Unpublished, Harvard Ph.D. Thesis.

⁴⁵ For numerous studies in cities, see William Foote Whyte, "Corner Boys:—A Study of Clique Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVI, No. 5, March 1941, pp. 647-664.

⁴⁶ For a series of examples of the formation of cliques under such conditions, see Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, Chapters 2 and 3.

tional basis for the security necessary to normal mental and emotional activity. The more the kinship system coincides with the clique grouping, the more that culture is permeated with elements of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*. While modern bureaucracy limits the influence which kinship systems may have upon the members, clique and congeniality groupings of friends are important in all organizations, both in rural and urban areas.

In the past, rural sociologists have failed to pay sufficient attention to clique and congeniality groupings in the neighborhoods and communities. So much attention has been placed upon delineating neighborhood and trade-center communities that these important familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like groups have been ignored. In many rural areas the locality group has lost its previous solidarity and strength. Whether or not such a locality group as the neighborhood is strong and easily identified, the friendship group and its leaders may be studied. It is of the utmost significance to those who must work with and understand people.

Typical clique groupings found in various cultures have been described. More study is necessary, however, to determine how agencies may relate their programs and organizations to rural people organized in clique and friendship groups. Perhaps the most significant data in this chapter provide the proof that many individuals who occupy key positions in networks of relationships are not formal leaders and do not recognize themselves as leaders. Those who will carry their programs to the people must relate such individuals both to the accepted formal leaders of organizations and to the informal "grass roots" leaders.

PART II

LOCALITY GROUPS AS SOCIAL SYSTEMS



CHAPTER 6

THE HAMLET, NEIGHBORHOOD, AND TRADE-CENTER COMMUNITY

AMONG MAN'S FONDEST DREAMS is effortless movement. Moderns have their superman who speeds through space at will, and from the past come tales of magic carpets as a means of eliminating space. Although modern inventions have increased the efficiency of man's effort in getting from place to place, he is still an earth-bound, spatially anchored creature. Man may travel faster than sound and communicate with his fellows anywhere in the world, but he cannot maintain social systems or cooperative patterns that are not confined to more or less specific geographic areas.

Since the beginnings of human existence there have been families and kinship systems. As Linton has pointed out, the only other universal grouping, probably present even at the subhuman level, was and is the "local group, an aggregation of families and unattached males who habitually live together."¹ So long as man must exert energy to move, locality groups will be important. This is particularly true of such systems as nations and other units with specific governmental institutions. It also applies to families, especially the farm family, and to neighborhoods, villages, and unincorporated places.

The utter impossibility of eliminating territoriality as one of the most important aspects of social systems is emphasized by the problems involved in ruling over a conquered area. The forceful establishment and maintenance of authority over a previously autonomous system requires policing and other space-bounded activities. But to prove that our most important activities, even in this mobile age, are still anchored in space, we need not use military examples. That marriage partners are chosen from those who live nearby may also be used to demonstrate that the majority of us are still moored in space and that the most important human activities are thereby influenced. In

¹ Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936, p. 209.

Branch County, Michigan, 79 percent of the pairs who were married between 1927 and 1937 lived within fifty miles of one another at the time of marriage.² For Scott and Carver Counties, Minnesota, the comparable percentage was 93.³ Even among city residents, who are generally more mobile than rural people, persons who marry tend to live within the same locality before being married.⁴ This does not prove that locality groups are invariably solidary, but demonstrates that no matter how impersonal or how lacking in solidarity the neighborhood is, the majority of relationships are localized.

Educational, recreational, religious, and other agencies bring people together; people meet and interact on streetcars, busses, and other means of transportation while traveling to and from their homes and businesses. Channels of communication, which man has devised to reduce the energy and time expended in moving about, actually serve to bring people together. The fact that man has not made himself a free agent in space means that the area he covers to meet his everyday needs is restricted. Agencies set up to service these needs, therefore, will have a spatial orbit and will serve a spatially limited clientele. Man will also be compelled to limit his face-to-face congeniality groupings in space.⁵

² Howard Y. McClusky and Alvin Zander, "Residential Propinquity and Marriage in Branch County, Michigan," *Social Forces*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1940, pp. 79-81.

³ Donald Mitchell, "Residential Propinquity and Marriage in Carver and Scott Counties, Minnesota, as compared with Branch County, Michigan," *Social Forces*, Vol. XX, No. 2, 1941, pp. 256-259.

⁴ Ray H. Abrams, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection: Fifty Year Trends in Philadelphia," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, June 1943, pp. 288-294, and R. Kennedy, "Pre-Marital Residential Propinquity and Ethnic Endogamy," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 5, March 1943, pp. 580-584. Kennedy found in New Haven that 76 percent of the marriages in 1940 were between persons living within 20 blocks of each other and 36 percent were within five blocks. Abrams found over a period of years in Philadelphia that 56 to 70 percent were between persons living within twenty blocks or less of each other. Almost half lived within nine blocks of each other. See also J. H. S. Bossard, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, September 1932, pp. 219-224.

⁵ This does not imply that cliques or congeniality groups will occupy an area exclusively, as some students of the neighborhood seem to imply. An area may have several cliques but the members of any one clique group will usually not live so far away that they cannot maintain face-to-face contacts.

In the development of agricultural colonies and in the location of new settlements such as the subsistence homesteads or the various rural and suburban developments, spatial arrangements involving communication with cities, markets, and the inter-relations of dwellings are of crucial importance to their success. In the success or failure of such endeavors, few factors are more important than the distance residents travel in order to market their services and products.⁶ Likewise, the spatial arrangement of the buildings and agencies which serve to structure the inter-personal relations of the inhabitants is of great importance.

RURAL LOCALITY GROUPS ON THE LAND

In our discussion, locality groups, exclusive of the open-country, will be defined as follows: the *hamlet*, under 250 in population; the *village*, 250 to 999; the *town*, 1,000 to 2,499; and the *city*, 2,500 or more residents. In the United States, outside New England and areas of Mormon, French, and Spanish settlement, farmers are scattered over the land, and the residents of the villages, hamlets, and towns live from the services they render the farmers and villagers themselves. As will be indicated later, interaction of farm and town people in various parts of the world is conditioned by many factors, among which pattern of settlement and land division are of great importance. In the United States, the tendency for most rural hamlets and villages, as they grow in size, to become increasingly divorced from the farm people stands in contrast to the Brazilian situation where the surrounding countryside is included in the corporate area.⁷ On the other hand, with the improved transportation facilities existing in many parts of the world and particularly in the United States, the rate of interaction between rural and urban people is increasing. This

⁶ Charles P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 137. See also R. Lord and P. H. Johnstone, *A Place on Earth, A Critical Appraisal of Subsistence Homesteads*, Washington: USDA, 1942, p. 68.

⁷ T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil: People and Institutions*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946, p. 590; Carl C. Taylor, "Rural Locality Groups in Argentina," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. IX, No. 2, pp. 162-170. In Mexico, only 0.8 percent of the population live on isolated farmsteads, 9.4 percent live in hamlets up to 100 population, 54.7 percent live in villages of 101 to 2,500 population, 13.2 percent in towns of 2,501 to 10,000 population, and 21.9 percent in cities with populations of 10,000 and over. Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, p. 45.

increase is tending to eliminate rural-urban differences, even though the two groups may be set apart by city limits or other boundaries.

COHOCTAH—A HAMLET-CENTERED NEIGHBORHOOD IN MICHIGAN

Cohoctah is a small hamlet containing two grocery stores, a hardware store, a farm implement store, a garage, a gasoline station, and

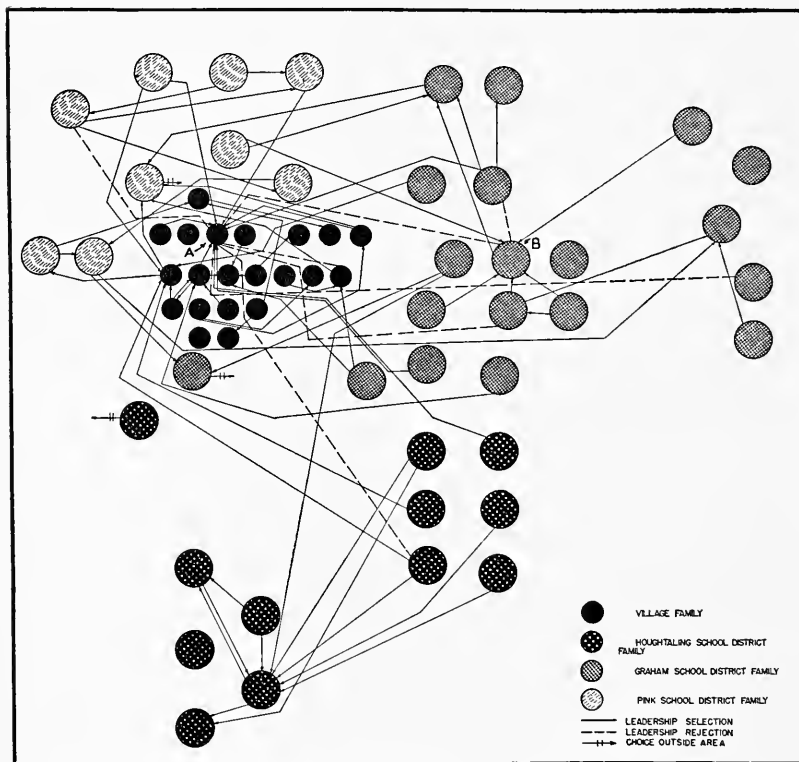


FIG. 45. Leadership choices and rejections in Cohoctah, Michigan. The hamlet residents, the group in favor of school consolidation, tend to make their leadership selections largely from within the hamlet. Likewise, members of each of the school districts, most of whom are opposed to school consolidation, tend to select persons from the district in which they themselves live. The neighborhood of Cohoctah, like many others in the United States, has been split up into factions over school problems. The seriousness of the struggle is indicated by the rejection of leader B, a school board member in the Graham school district, by leader A, a hamlet school board member. (Adapted from Paul A. Miller, *The Structure of Rural Social Groupings in Livingston County, Michigan*, Masters Thesis, Michigan State College, 1946.)

a feed mill.⁸ A Methodist church having only about fifteen active members, and a one-room rural school located in Graham district are the only social agencies serving this neighborhood. As Figure 45 indicates, even though the adjoining districts of Houghtaling and Pink are closed, leadership choices reveal that the people of a given district have a tendency to choose leaders within the district and the people in the hamlet have a tendency to choose persons in the hamlet. At the time of the study, this neighborhood, like many other areas, was split into cleavage groups because of a struggle over the school. Dashed lines indicate spontaneous rejections. Such rejections were revealed when the interviewer asked the families to indicate persons to whom they went for advice and leadership. The seriousness of the internal strife in Cohoctah is indicated by the rejection of leader "B," a school board member in the Graham school district, by hamlet leader "A," also a school board member. How the neighborhood is split into factions is demonstrated by the diversity of leadership choices. It is further demonstrated by the fact that the Pink district children, whose school is closed, go to the Byron, a consolidated 12-grade school in the adjoining county, while the children in Houghtaling, whose school is also closed, go to Howell, the trade center to the south.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to organize a Farm Bureau and a Grange in Cohoctah a few years ago. See point C in Figure 46. No formal social groups other than the church and school are to be found in the neighborhood. This neighborhood represents conditions generally prevalent when small trading and social centers give up services to larger ones. It represents a special type of situation in that it is literally being torn to pieces as it gives up its services. For some services, there is a "no man's land" between the Byron trade center on the north (point B, Figure 46) and the larger trade center, Howell, on the south (point H, Figure 46). Careful study of Figure 46 will reveal this fact.

WISCONSIN DAIRY AREA NEIGHBORHOODS

Figure 47, showing Komensky neighborhood, and Figure 48, showing South Brockway neighborhood, represent contrasting relationships between neighborhood and trade centers. Both neighbor-

⁸ Paul A. Miller, "The Structure of Rural Social Groupings in Livingston County, Michigan," Unpublished Master's Thesis, Michigan State College, 1946.

hoods are part of the trade center, Black River Falls, Wisconsin, a town of approximately 2,000 inhabitants.⁹

The Komensky neighborhood is composed of 56 families. Fifty-two

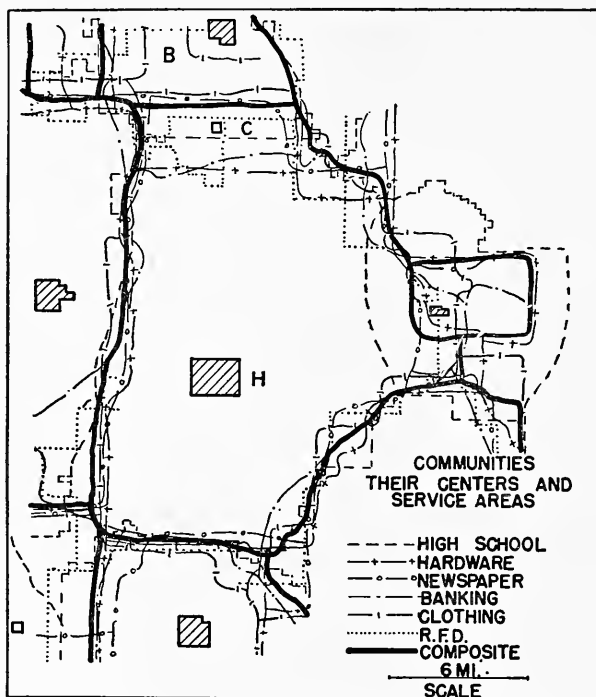


FIG. 46. Service areas for the neighborhood of Cohactah, Michigan. This neighborhood lies between the larger and stronger communities of Howell and Byron. (Adapted from J. F. Thaden, *The Lansing Region and Its Tributary Town-Country Communities*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 302, March 1940, p. 24.)

of the family heads are Bohemian, 31 of them being foreign-born. As Figure 47 indicates, there is considerable interaction with the town trade center in the form of visiting. For the most part, this visiting follows kinship lines and represents relations between families on the farm with their children who have settled in town. Hill indicates that strong ethnic and kinship ties explain the great solidarity in the

⁹ George W. Hill, Walter Slocum, and Ruth O. Hill, *Man-Land Adjustment*, Madison: Wisconsin AES Bulletin 134, February 1938, pp. 30-42.

Komensky neighborhood. This neighborhood is also characterized by strong church organizations. Although nothing has been written about the clique or friendship group structure of this neighborhood, Figure 47 indicates that several of these systems tie town and country together. Most of the rural clique leaders have town contacts.

The South Brockway neighborhood is in sharp contrast to the Komensky neighborhood. Figure 48, which shows the visiting relationships of the community, indicates that the 16 families, all of whom

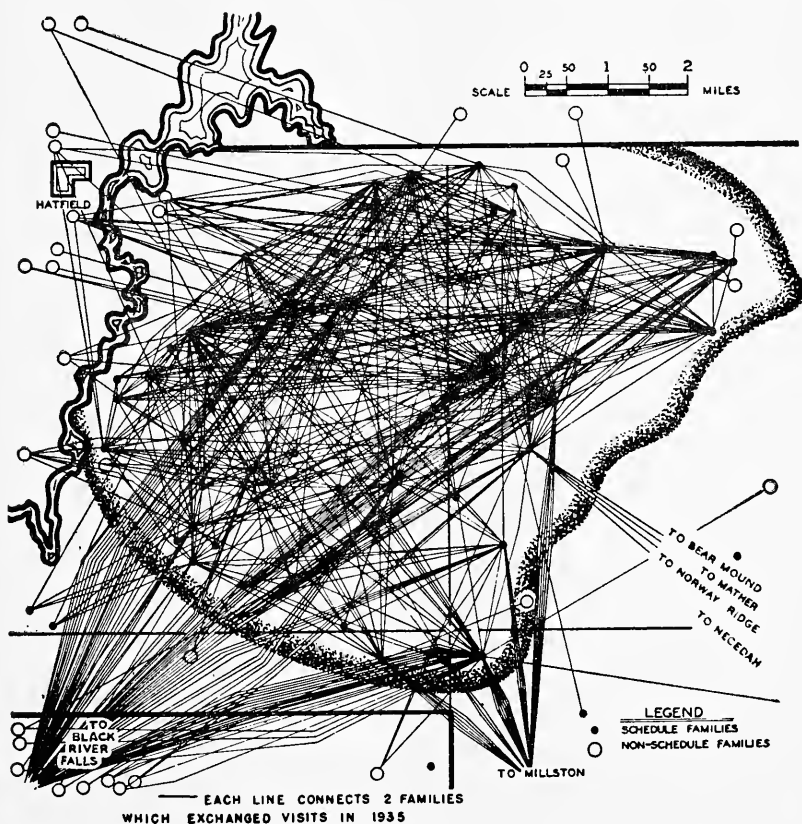


FIG. 47. Family visiting in the Komensky neighborhood, Wisconsin. Although many visits are made to persons in Black River Falls, such visits are largely among kinfolk. Otherwise, the majority of the visiting relationships are within the neighborhood. (Reproduced from George W. Hill, Walter Slocum, and Ruth O. Hill, *Man-Land Adjustment*, Madison: Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 134, February 1938, p. 32.)

live within a one-mile radius, are bound more to the village than to the rural neighborhood. Mutual-aid and inter-family visiting in this neighborhood is very infrequent. Ten of the 16 families are native-

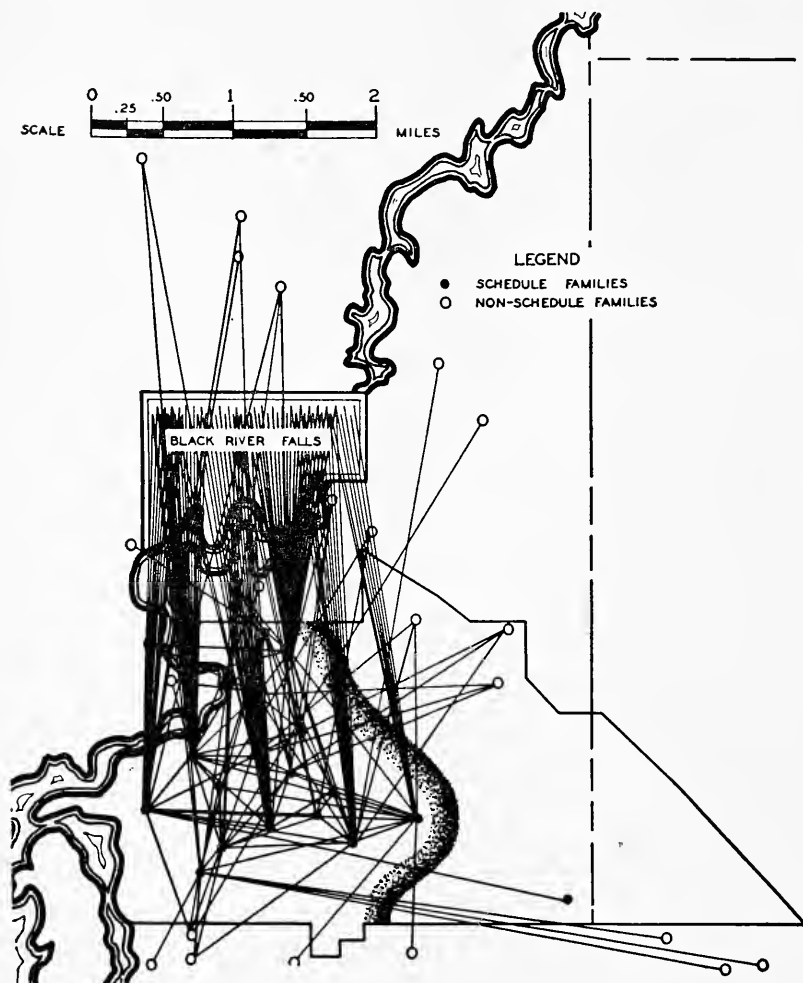


FIG. 48. Family visiting in the South Brockway neighborhood, Wisconsin. In contrast to the Komensky neighborhood, much of the visiting is with families outside the neighborhood itself, especially to the town of Black River Falls. (Reproduced from George W. Hill, Walter Slocum, and Ruth O. Hill, *Man-Land Adjustment*, Madison: Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 134, February 1938, p. 38.)

born Americans, three are English, two are Scandinavian, and one is Scotch. Rural neighborhood agencies of all kinds are weak and life is centered in the village.

Of the two neighborhoods described as adjoining a single trade center, the weak South Brockway neighborhood is more characteristic of America than is generally realized. The strong, closely knit neighborhood of Komensky, on the other hand, is a rarity. Neighborhoods located near towns and cities tend to lose their functions and to die out more rapidly.

ECOLOGY OF RANGE-LIVESTOCK TOWNS IN THE SOUTHWEST

In the Spanish-speaking villages of the Southwest the "larger family," including the family units of grandparents, their children, and grandchildren, is the fundamental unit.¹⁰ The larger families are bound to other larger families by kinship ties, even though factions exist in these villages. Figure 49 describes mutual aid and visiting in a small village without a faction. Each circle represents a family. The lines between the circles represent the frequency of contact between families in terms of visits or definite mutual aid, such as exchange of farm implements and labor. The infrequent contacts are omitted from the diagram. It should be noted that this simplified typical pattern does not differ greatly from that of Spanish-American villages actually studied.¹¹ The patriarchs A, B, C, D, E, and F are the leaders, but personality characteristics determine which one will initiate action in the village. Figure 49 is designed to indicate the role kinship bonds play in the Spanish-American villages.¹² The grandparent designated as A is the leader in most affairs of the village.

A village with two factions, which is a common occurrence, will have two such clusters with little mutual aid and much friction be-

¹⁰ Charles P. Loomis, "Informal Groupings in a Spanish-American Village," *Sociometry*, Vol. IV, No. 1, February 1941, pp. 36-51.

¹¹ Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, pp. 265-331.

¹² For a comparable figure of an actual Anglo neighborhood with its relatively few kinship ties, see Charles P. Loomis and Douglas Ensminger, "Governmental Administration and Informal Local Groups," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. I, No. 2, January-March 1942. In the Spanish-speaking villages it is not uncommon to find that from 90 to 100 percent of the people who visit one another, exchange work, and "borrow back and forth," are related by blood ties, but studies have shown that it is uncommon for more than one-third such associates among Anglos in the Southwest to be so related.

tween the two groups. A majority of the members of a given faction will have some degree of blood relationship to most other members of that faction. Inter-relationships with the opposing factions, just as in most feud situations, are frowned upon and kept at a minimum.

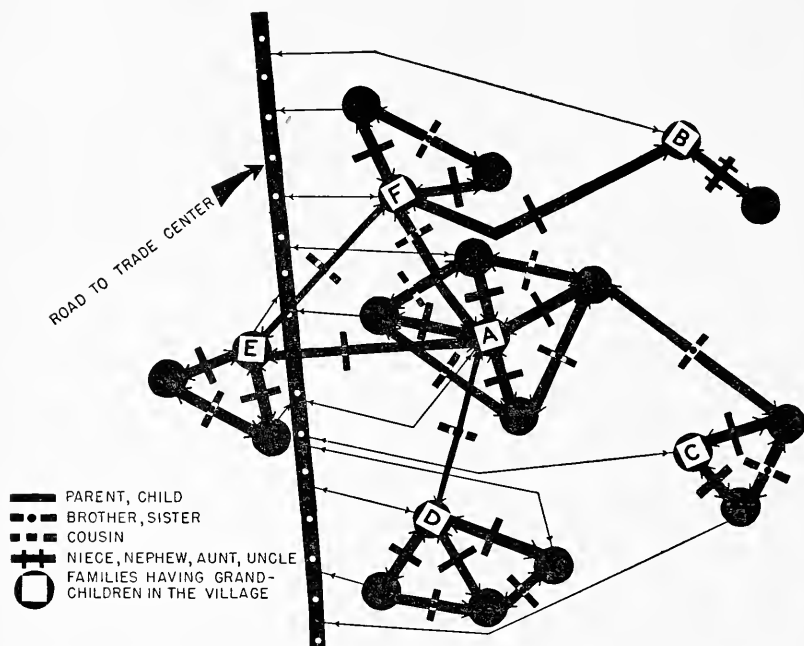


FIG. 49. Visiting and mutual-aid patterns in a Spanish-American village. Note that kinship bonds are of utmost importance in visiting. (Reproduced from C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 340.)

It should be obvious that communication between families within a given faction in such a village situation is very rapid. If a politician wants to stage a dance and fiesta, he need only let it be known to the leaders and the message goes over the grapevine in no time. The same holds true for news concerning misfortune or an insult from another faction, village, or, indeed, from Anglos.

The significance of these networks of relationships as they touch upon the trade center will, perhaps, become clearer when Figure 49 is superimposed upon Figure 50. Most villages have churches and grade schools but few have high schools. The villages are tied to the towns through kinship and trade ties. Directly or indirectly, the vil-

lages furnish the students for the town high schools and, in general, supply the population to the towns, which in turn provide the villages with consumers' goods. An attempt has been made to describe these ties by means of a schematic presentation of a more or less typical

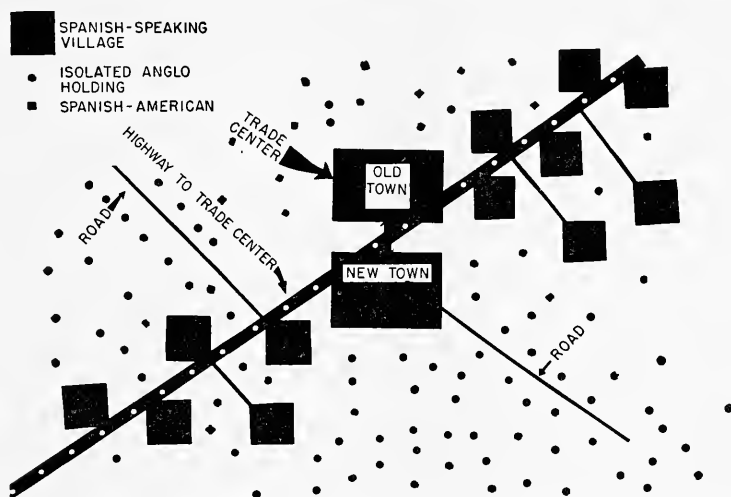


FIG. 50. A typical southwestern trade center and its environs. (Reproduced from C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 341.)

trade center. (See Figure 50.) Practically all trade-center towns (plazas) in the Spanish-American sections of the Southwest, as described in Figure 50, service a number of smaller Spanish-speaking villages (placitas), described in Figure 49. Some Spanish-speaking people and most Anglos live on isolated holdings, but the typical form of Spanish settlement throughout the world is the village or town with its plaza. Large villages have a church, school, a post office, and several stores. Smaller villages may have no stores, and the smallest no post office or church. One priest may serve several small villages. The men frequent the trade centers, but women and children go less often.

If, again, the network of relationships described in Figure 49 is substituted for each of the squares representing Spanish-American villages in Figure 50, the complexity of the net of rural-urban relationships in the Southwest may become apparent. Most southwestern towns made up of Anglos and Spanish-Americans are divided into

"old" and "new" towns. Many groups such as those represented in Figure 49 reside in Old Town. These groups all have their roots in the villages; that is, all have close kinship ties there. This peculiar town-country arrangement is an important factor in understanding cleavages. Even a Spanish-speaking candidate for a town office may feel required to entertain the rural villages with fiestas, drinks, and dances. He does this knowing that, although the villagers cannot vote for the town office, they do have kin in the Old Town who can vote. A local Spanish-American store may thrive in proportion to the number of relatives the proprietor and clerks have in the villages. Anglos dominate the economic life of the trade centers only because their backgrounds include values and traditions of business which developed while the Spanish-Americans were isolated. Most Anglos find it more difficult to dominate politics.

The pattern of trade centers, including the division of the towns and the services supplied in the old Spanish-American and new Anglo town, is not the same in all areas. Sometimes the division applies only to residential sections. Frequently banks, chain stores, Protestant churches, and the largest and newest offices, stores, and buildings are in New Town.¹³ Almost always, the high school is located in New Town and it is seldom that a significant portion of the high-school teaching staff is non-Anglo or lives in Old Town.¹⁴ Although only a very small proportion of the children of Spanish mother-tongue ever attend high school, the cleavages which exist in high-school student bodies are particularly significant indices of the relationship between the two groups. The Spanish-speaking students who attend high school either are attempting to retain their present status in the face of strong Anglo competition or are attempting to climb socially. Their

¹³ *Ibid.* During the war, army camps near these towns created real problems. Soldiers in uniform near one town (not the town mentioned here), although constantly seen on the streets of New Town, were not permitted to enter Old Town without special permission. Here is fertile soil for cultural conflict. The different position of females in the two groups may lie at the root of the conflict. Among the Spanish-Americans, the girls are "protected" and the double standard prevails. If Anglo soldiers should accost some Spanish-Americans, they would not necessarily be deviating from male standards for the Spanish-Americans. They would get into trouble, however, because the Spanish-American girls are "protected."

¹⁴ *Ibid.* In El Paso, Texas, the largest of all Spanish-American high schools, which ironically enough bears the name of the famous Mexican fighter, Bowie, is located in the non-Anglo section.

attitudes in this situation, as well as the attitudes of the dominant Anglo group, are significant.

RURAL NEIGHBORHOODS IN GENERAL

Aside from the farm family, the smallest locality group is the neighborhood. Cooley¹⁵ looked upon the neighborhood, along with the family and play groups, as being primary. These he considered to be extremely important in character formation.

A neighborhood is an area in which people "neighbor" with one another, that is, the area in which people visit, borrow, exchange tools and equipment, and cooperate in various ways. Although most neighborhoods are composed of two or more friendship or clique groups, in order for a neighborhood to have the characteristics of a social system, it must be able on occasion, let us say in times of crisis, to carry on cooperative neighborhood activity as a unit. In earlier days there were many forms of cooperative neighborhood activity, ranging from defense against a common enemy to husking, barn raising, and many other kinds of "bees."

Neighborhoods assume various forms. Frequently they are composed of fifteen to twenty families tributary to an open-country church, a crossroad store, a cotton gin, a grain elevator, a one-room school, or any combination of such agencies. Often geographic barriers, which serve to carve out coves, mountain hollows, small fertile mesas, and river valleys, are the loci of more or less isolated neighborhoods.

In Chapter 5 we have attempted to indicate that the most intimate groups outside the family are clique or friendship groups. In Figure 39, several systems of more or less distinct friendship groupings may be observed. Figure 43 indicates that most of the interacting villagers of El Cerrito are related by blood ties. It is the nature of this interaction which gives the neighborhood its most important characteristics. In many parts of the world, most of the people who are interacting in their clique groups within a neighborhood are kinfolk, and, when separate groups of a given locality or neighborhood are torn by warring kinship factions, the whole society is affected. On the other hand, if very little interaction of any kind takes place among the families of a given geographical area, the area approach in promo-

¹⁵ Charles H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909, Chapter 3.

tional and educational work may take a different form than would be the case if the neighborhood were solidary. In Livingston County, Michigan, a dairy area county, about 50 percent of the land area and nearly half of the rural people are without locality groupings which people recognize as neighborhoods. (See Figure 55.) In these areas, cliques form continuous chains of non-locality groupings. Here, as in other studies, the decadence of old neighborhoods has progressed more rapidly near the towns and cities.¹⁶ The most active locality groupings are small school districts, which in several instances form the centers of "extended neighborhoods."

For the most part, the "extended neighborhoods" in Livingston County correspond geographically to the areas surrounding secondary trading centers of the village, hamlet, and crossroad service types. Twenty-six extended neighborhoods were named by the informants in the county. Nineteen correspond to hamlets and villages in Livingston County. Fifteen of the hamlets and villages named are active trading centers today, and the other four are inactive. The seven extended neighborhoods not related to small villages are based on educational, religious, and township relationships.

Extended neighborhoods in Livingston County are largely characterized by (1) their position of serving the intermediate trading needs of rural people, and (2) supporting, for the most part, the open-country religious structure of the county.

TRADE-CENTER COMMUNITY AREAS

If the intensity and amount of group interaction on the part of individuals living on farms were measured, for most individuals the family would rank first in intensity and frequency, and, thereafter in that order, the clique, the neighborhood, and the trade center.

Many rural sociologists have shown a tendency to consider the trade-center area as the emerging community. Sanderson, for instance, writes that "a rural community consists of the social interaction of the people and their institutions in the local area in which they live on dispersed farmsteads and in a hamlet or village which

¹⁶ See Paul H. Landis, *Washington Farm Trade Centers, 1900-1935*, Pullman: Washington AES Bulletin 360, July 1938; David R. Jenkins, *Growth and Decline of Agricultural Villages*, New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940, pp. 32-40; and Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1942, p. 243.

forms the center of their common activities."¹⁷ This definition was obviously meant to cover only areas in which farmers live on their own farmsteads. In the Southwest and other areas, where farmers may live in villages of 75 to 200 people and may do most of their trading in a larger center, it is not clear which is the community. Would it be the place in which the church and school and possibly a store are located, or would it be the larger trade area?¹⁸

To guard against confusing the trade-center area characterized by the business mentality and by the anonymity which urban culture has brought to rural areas with the old community which had the features of the family, clique, or friendship groups of neighbors, we shall always preface "community" used in this connection with "trade-center." In using trade-center community in this way, we recognize that we are in a sense misusing the term community, which has been employed in so many ways that it is coming to have little specific connotation.

The trade-center community includes an area which usually contains not only a village or city whose residents furnish services, but also the surrounding rural families who make use of these goods and services. Within the boundaries of the trade-center community are the families who satisfy most of their needs in the trade center. Such trade centers vary in size. Large primary service centers may service farm families living 100 miles away, but most farm families do not travel more than seven or eight miles for the main services.

As Figure 51 indicates, any one farm family may satisfy some of its needs within a small area, but it can go forty miles or more for other needs, such as hospital or specialized services. All the studies of trade centers¹⁹ indicate that farm families and other rural residents are

¹⁷ Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community, The Natural History of a Sociological Group*, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1932, p. 481.

¹⁸ This confusion of terms among rural sociologists is one reason why the senior author, in translating Toennies' *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, retained the German terms rather than using "community" and "society," the terms used by some translators. The rational, utilitarian attitudes and anonymity of relationships in some of the medium-sized trading areas, considered communities by many rural sociologists, are certainly not characteristic of *Gemeinschaft*, although this term could be used to characterize the small southwestern village, the clique, and the neighborhood.

¹⁹ See the summaries given by T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, pp. 342-343, and Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, p. 243; see also John B. Holt, *Rural Neigh-*

going more and more to the villages, towns, and cities for both social and economic services. More and more educational, recreational, and religious needs are met in centers rather than in the open country. Furthermore, the larger centers of 2,500 or slightly more population

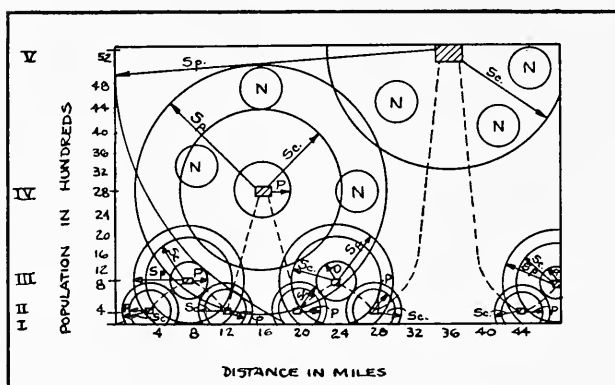


FIG. 51. A theoretical graph indicating the interrelation of rural areas and types of service centers. Type I: Single service (neighborhood or hamlet); Type II: Limited and Simple service (small village); Type III: Semi-complete or intermediate (village or small town); Type IV: Complete and particularly specialized (town or small city); Type V: Urban and highly specialized. (Reproduced from J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1946, p. 303.)

are tending more and more to contain specialty stores and services. Whetten and Zimmerman²⁰ found that the small center springs into existence, obtains its patrons, and thrives even when modern roads and large centers exist. It is the trade center of 2,500 and over that is becoming increasingly important in American rural life.

Zimmerman²¹ and Lively²² found that the small trade centers which

borhoods and Communities of Lee County, Alabama, Washington: USDA, February 1941, p. 5, and J. F. Thaden, "The Lansing Region and its Tributary Town-Country Communities," East Lansing: Michigan AES Bulletin 302, March 1940, pp. 44-45.

²⁰ Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938. See especially Chapter 3, in which Professor N. L. Whetten collaborated.

²¹ Carle C. Zimmerman, "Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota," St. Paul: Minnesota AES Bulletin 269, 1930.

²² C. E. Lively, "Growth and Decline of Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota," St. Paul: Minnesota AES Bulletin 287, July 1932.

were favorably located on highways became relatively more important. As improved transportation permits a wider range of travel and specialization in merchandising, however, they were more likely to die. Where large metropolitan centers exist, there seems to be an optimum complementary relation between small centers and these larger centers. However, in Saskatchewan, Canada, a wheat area, in which settlement and the development of highways and modern communication proceeded concomitantly, Whetten²³ found that a relatively larger number of small centers continued to develop to serve the farm families nearby. This finding is important in demonstrating that when modern means of transportation prevail, small centers will develop and maintain themselves in competition with larger centers. It appears that the small service unit for bulky goods and general services will persist.

The Neighborhood Cluster Method of Delineating Trade Center Communities. Ensminger and his associates²⁴ have delineated trade-center communities by ascertaining the neighborhood clusters which utilize a given trade center. This procedure involves first delineating the neighborhoods, which are locally often called "communities." Delineation of neighborhoods is accomplished by asking various leaders and officials such as "the county agent, school bus drivers, older farm boys and girls in the consolidated school, merchants who know the farmers, and others well-informed regarding the county to trace off lightly in pencil the boundaries of all the neighborhoods with which they are familiar."²⁵ At the time that the neighborhoods are tentatively delineated, the names of neighborhood leaders are also listed. Thereupon, the investigator may proceed to the neighborhood and talk with the leaders there. These leaders may be questioned in the following manner: "What community is this?" or "Can you show me on the map here just how far this community goes in each direction?" The terminology locally employed to describe the smallest locality group is used. When all the neighborhoods of an

²³ N. L. Whetten, "The Social and Economic Structure of the Trade Centers in the Canadian Prairie Provinces with Special Reference to Its Changes, 1910-1930," Harvard University Ph.D. Thesis, 1932.

²⁴ Douglas Ensminger, "Rural Neighborhoods and Communities," in Carl Taylor *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, Chapter 4.

²⁵ Irwin T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger, "Alabama Rural Communities, a Study of Chilton County," *Bulletin Published Quarterly by Alabama College*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1a, July 1940.

area have been delineated, the investigator gives overlapping areas special attention by interviewing farmers living in the questionable areas. Often boundaries can be delineated through several interviews. All informants are requested to indicate to which trade center the neighborhood belongs. If an informant is in doubt as to which of two neighborhoods he and families living adjacent to him belong, he is asked, "In case a meeting in which you are interested is held the same night at both centers, to which center would the people be most likely to go, assuming that the meetings were similar in nature?" With these data, the neighborhoods are "clustered" into a trade-center community.

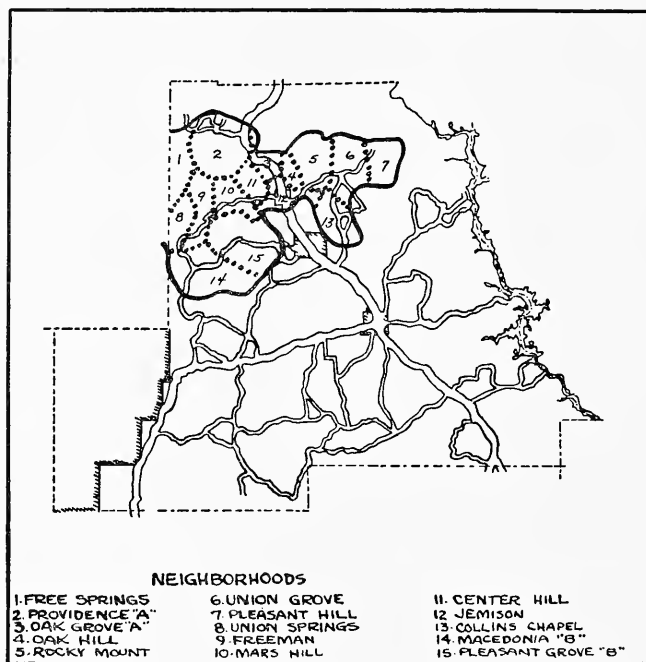


FIG. 52. The natural community of Jemison, Alabama. Note that fifteen individual neighborhoods form the community. (Adapted from Irwin T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger, *Alabama Rural Communities*, Montevallo: Alabama College Quarterly Bulletin XXXIII, July 1940, p. 35.)

Figure 52 indicates the neighborhood boundaries and their "clustering" into a trade-center community. The advocates of the cluster method of delineating neighborhoods and communities maintain

that it is superior to the family survey approach in which utilization of the various centers on the part of each family is studied. In a comparison of the two methods in Chilton County, Alabama, a Cotton Belt county, Sanders and Ensminger recommend the cluster approach. They claim that it is more easily understood by laymen, is less laborious, and does not split up neighborhoods as in trade-center delineation, thereby increasing the importance of primary groups. Furthermore, this method holds neighborhoods on the outer boundary of the trade-center area together in such a manner that the families of these areas may participate more effectively as a unit in a variety of programs, and it requires little more arbitrary judgment than the individual family trade-center approach. Advocates of the cluster approach do not compare the methods in the various regions, however.

Traffic-Flow Approach to the Delineation of Trade-Center Communities. Among the first to gather data comparable to those resulting from traffic-meter readings was Galpin,²⁶ who mapped trade-center areas in Wisconsin. This pioneering work was done in 1913 in Walworth County, Wisconsin. In describing his method he said, "Take the village as the community center; start out from here on any road into the open country; you come to a home, and the deep wear of the wheels out of the yard toward the village indicates that this home naturally goes to this village for trade, doctor, post office, church, lodge, entertainment, high school; the next home the same, and next and next, until by and by you come to a home where the ruts run the other way and grass grows a little perhaps in the turn toward this village, and you find that this home goes to an adjoining town for its major associations; between these two homes is the bounding line of the community."²⁷ When Galpin made his original studies, the modern traffic meter was not in use and the "team-haul" community was being subjected to the influence of the improved highway and the automobile. Nevertheless, at that point at which Galpin would find a change in the direction of the road turnings, the traffic-flow reading would be at a minimum.

²⁶ C. J. Galpin, *The Social Anatomy of an Agricultural Community*, Madison: Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 34, May 1915.

²⁷ C. J. Galpin in *First Wisconsin Country Life Conference*, Madison: The College of Agriculture, 1911, pp. 12-18. See also F. H. Forsyth, "The Use of Road Turnings in Community Research," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. IX, No. 4, December 1944, pp. 384-385.

States with progressive highway departments have meter readings for most roads. Sociologists may use these readings to ascertain points on any road where the average daily traffic load is lowest, and use this point as a tentative demarcation line of the trade-center community. Such readings are available for the entire state of Michigan.

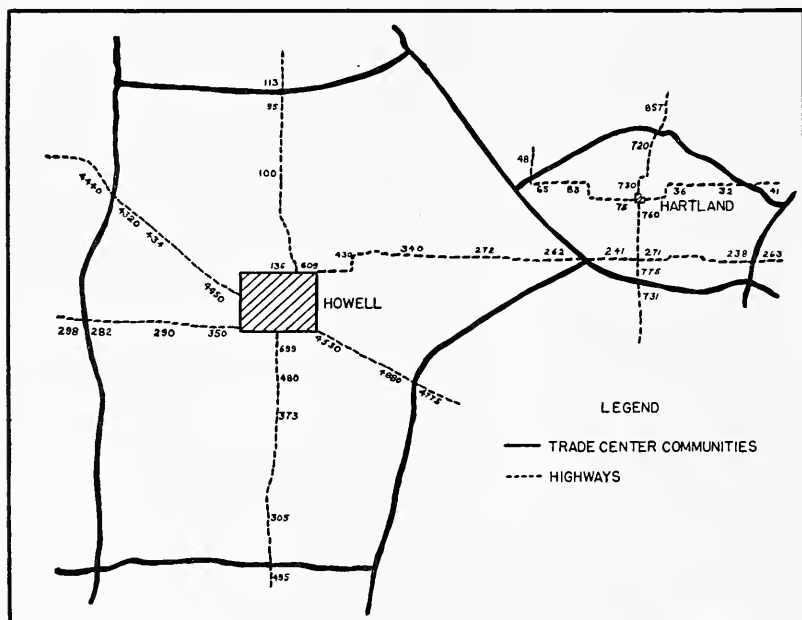


FIG. 53. Delineation of trade-center communities by use of traffic meter readings. Note that community boundaries are placed at minima points of traffic flow. Compare with Figure 46. (SOURCE: Walter Firey, C. P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, "The Highway and Rural Areas," in *The Highway in Our National Life*, edited by the Bureau of Urban Research, Princeton University, forthcoming.)

How they may be used in delineation of trade-center communities is indicated in Figure 53. It will be noted that the trade-center community of Howell, with approximately 8,670 in both town and open country, was delineated by meter readings, or the average flow of traffic during a 24-hour period. This trade center lies in a dairy area in Livingston County on the heavily traveled highway between Lansing and Detroit. Also shown in the figure is the trade area of the village of Hartland, with a population of only 506 in both the center and service area.

The importance of the ability of a trade center to attract traffic is demonstrated in the relationships between the volume of traffic flow and various socio-economic factors. For 465 large centers in Michigan, the daily traffic attraction index of each center is indicated by the following formula:

$$\frac{F \times R \times 2}{365}$$

In this formula, *F* is the number of annual round trips per passenger vehicle and *R* is the passenger car registration at the place of origin of the trip. It was found that 85 percent of the variation in traffic in these centers may be accounted for by the following four variables: (1) the population of the immediate trade area; (2) total bank resources of the center; (3) newspaper circulation of the center; and (4) the equalized tax evaluation of the center. In view of this high correlation, 1,300 centers in Michigan have been classified on the basis of these four factors. These data have been invaluable for highway planning.²⁸

The Use of the Survey Method of Trade-Center Community Delineation. Among the most detailed and careful studies of trade-center areas are those by Thaden,²⁹ begun in 1927 with Eben Mumford. With the cooperation of school officials and school children, the trading areas of the Lansing region³⁰ in the dairy area, have been mapped. Parents of school children in elementary school districts were requested to indicate the centers in which their families did most of their shopping for various items. The parents were then requested to indicate the number of the section in which they live.³¹ The service areas were then delineated by placing a dot of a given color assigned to the center in the section in which the family lived. For each service, such maps reveal particular service areas.

²⁸ See Walter Firey, C. P. Loomis, and J. Allan Beegle, "The Highway and Rural Areas," in *The Highway in Our National Life*, edited by The Bureau of Urban Research, Princeton University.

²⁹ J. F. Thaden and Eben Mumford, *High School Communities in Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 289, January 1938.

³⁰ J. F. Thaden, *The Lansing Region and Its Tributary Town-Country Communities*; *op. cit.*

³¹ Many do not know, and for these the tax rolls must be searched in order to indicate the location.

An effective short cut devised by Thaden relies chiefly on distance and population in the centers. Other things being equal, the distance between two centers is divided on the basis of the relative sizes of the two centers. For refinements, the investigator can then visit families living along the lines drawn between the trade centers.

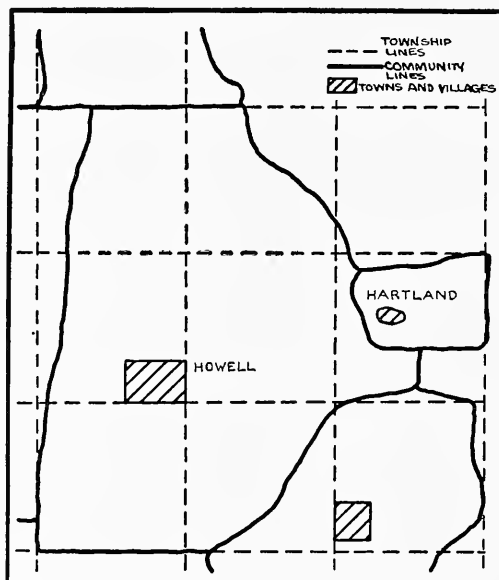


FIG. 54. The communities of Howell and Hartland, Michigan, as delimited by trading and other means. Notice the correspondence with the boundaries as shown in Figure 53. (Adapted from J. F. Thaden, *The Lansing Region and Its Tributary Town-Country Communities*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 302, March 1940, p. 28.)

Figure 54 shows the trade centers as delimited by Thaden. The Howell community contains three banks, has a newspaper circulation of 4,407, and has a high-school enrollment of 369. In comparison, the Hartland village center has no bank or newspaper, and has a high-school enrollment of only 155.

When school children or businessmen furnish the data for trade-center delineation, certain precautions must be observed. Sanders

and Ensminger,³² for example, found that siblings disagreed about where their families traded 10 percent of the time.

The Relative Merits of the Various Methods of Delineation. All three methods of delineation have their advantages for various purposes. Where neighborhoods are strong and solidary, and where the delineation has as its objective the utilization of these groupings and the leaders who reside in them, the advantage of the cluster approach is obvious. However, in many cases the neighborhoods are weak in the two crucial areas, close to the trade center and on the periphery. As indicated in the discussion of Cohoctah (Figures 45 and 55), this neighborhood center is gradually being pulled to pieces by the surrounding trade centers. In planning for this community, its weakness is important, regardless of whether it is placed in one trade center or another. Furthermore, in Livingston County, of which Howell is the county seat, much of the territory is without neighborhood consciousness. This is indicated by Figure 55. In this county the most active neighborhoods are grouped around district schools. Certain other areas are what may be defined as "extended neighborhoods," which are neither neighborhoods nor trade-center communities in the strict sense. Outside these areas, many, and probably most, rural people manifest no sense of belonging to a neighborhood or community. If asked the name of the community or neighborhood in which they live, the residents very frequently reply by giving the name of the township, which has very little meaning for them except that they may vote or pay taxes according to such political units. Under these conditions, it is obvious that the neighborhood cluster method of delineating trade centers is not satisfactory.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD TRADE-CENTER CONFIGURATION

The absence or presence of neighborhoods and the manner in which these are related to a larger trade-center community area and to smaller clique and family groupings vary in different parts of the

³² Sanders and Ensminger, *op. cit.*, p. 78. The greatest disagreement was encountered over the place where clothing was usually purchased. Feed and seed purchase was the next most common point of disagreement. These investigators also found that fourth-grade children and below were unreliable. Businessmen were found to be quite unreliable in their knowledge of the boundaries of the trade centers, especially in overestimating the influence of their own center and claiming territory which really belonged to another center.

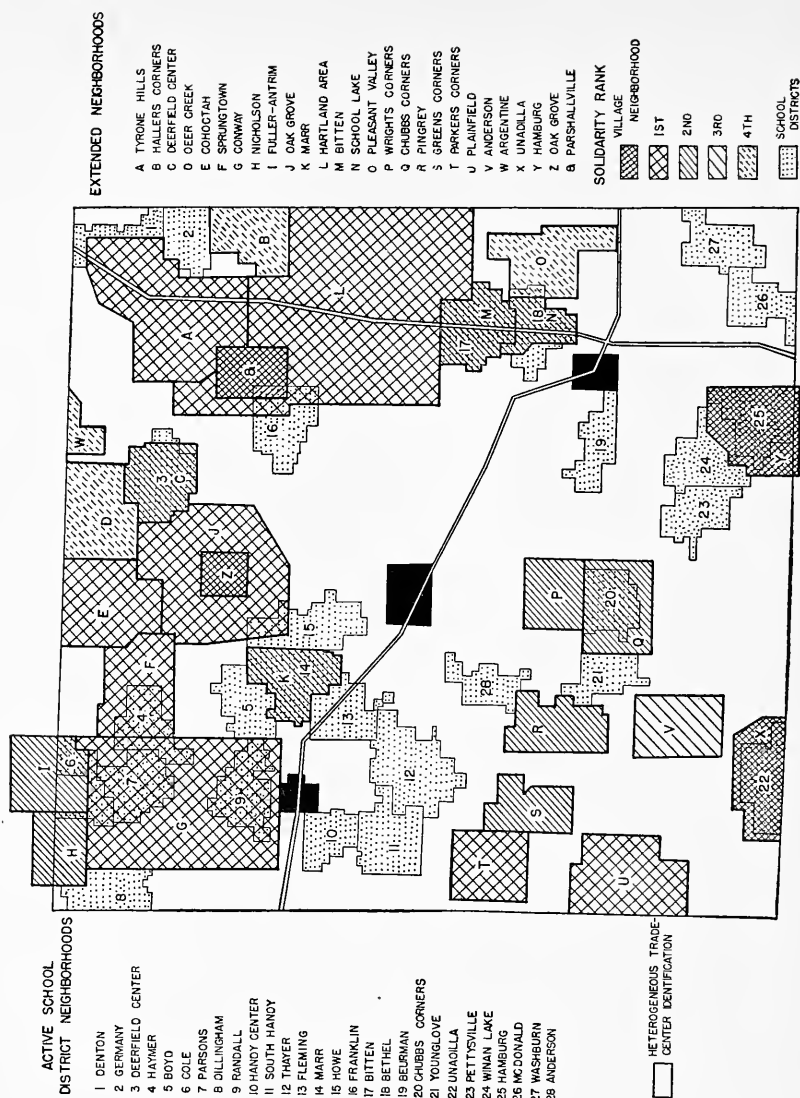


FIG. 55. The social organization of Livingston County, Michigan. Twenty-eight active school district neighborhoods are represented, as well as twenty-six extended neighborhoods. The extended neighborhoods have been rated according to degree of solidarity. (Reproduced from Paul A. Miller and J. Allan Beegle, *The Farm People of Livingston County, Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan State College Extension Service, June 1947, p. 32.)

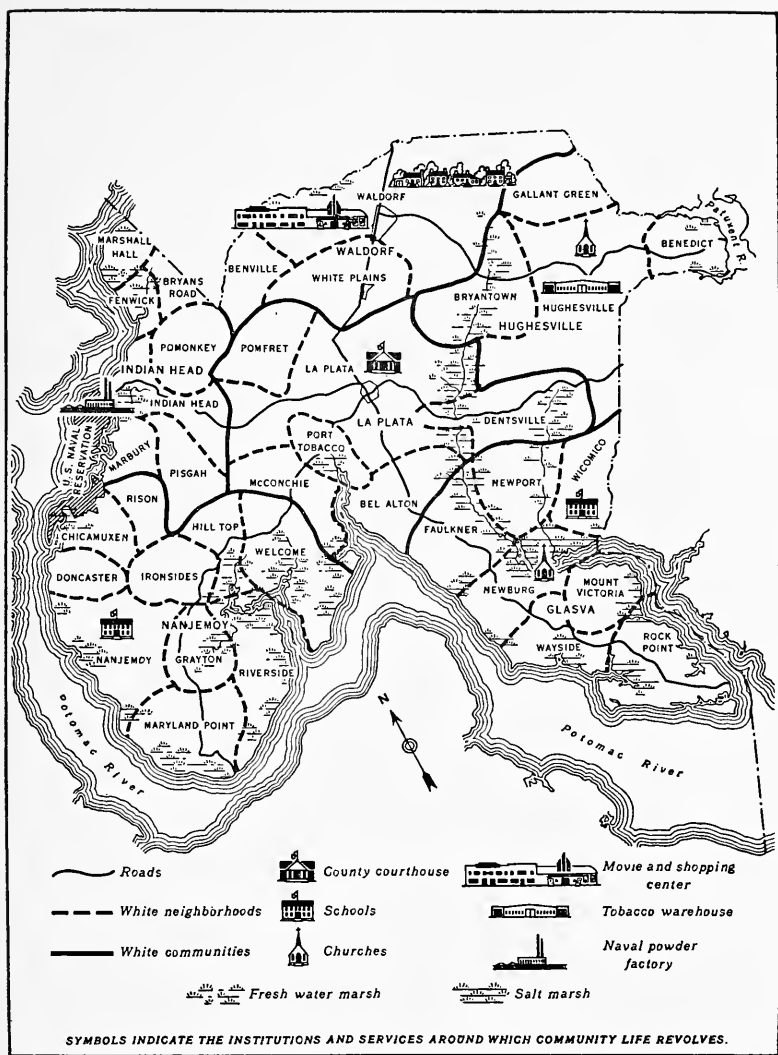


FIG. 56. Location of white neighborhoods and communities, Charles County, Maryland, 1941. Note the location of the White Plains neighborhood. (Reproduced from Linden S. Dodson and Jane Woolley, *Community Organization in Charles County, Maryland*, College Park: Maryland AES Bulletin A21, January 1943, p. 275.)

country. Except in highly mobile areas or in areas in which settlers have recently arrived, clique and friendship groups exist. Figure 38 in the preceding chapter depicts the visiting relations in a sociogram. As indicated in the discussion of these clique or friendship groupings, 68 percent of the visiting relationships of the families in the White Plains neighborhood were confined to the neighborhood and 12 percent extended to the trade center. If Figures 38 and 56 are compared, the relationships between clique, neighborhood, and trade center may be observed.³³ As will be noted, the neighborhood of White

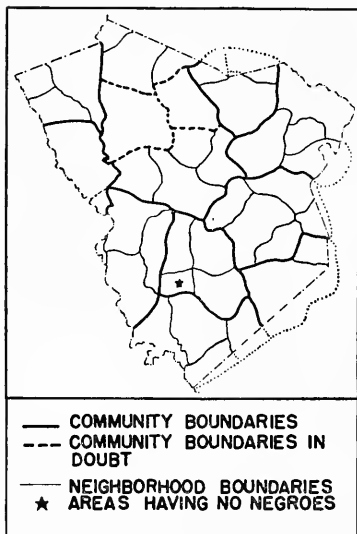


FIG. 57. Clusters of white neighborhoods grouped into trade-center communities in Greene County, Georgia. (Adapted from C. P. Loomis and Douglas Ensminger, "Governmental Administration and Informal Local Groups," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. I, No. 2, January-March 1942.)

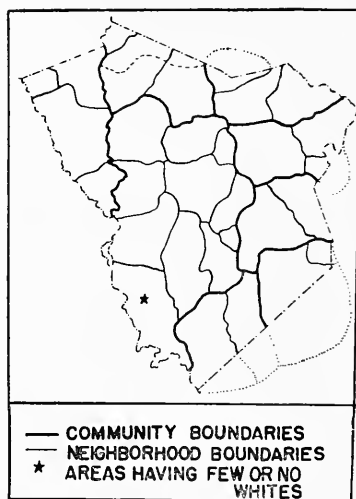


FIG. 58. Clusters of Negro neighborhoods grouped into trade-center communities in Greene County, Georgia. (Adapted as in Figure 57.)

Plains is of irregular shape and clusters with the nearby neighborhood to form an irregularly shaped trade center. Figure 57, which describes clusters of white neighborhoods grouped into trade centers

³³ Examine also Figures 37 and 39 for variations in the relationships between these groupings.

in Greene County, Georgia, in the Cotton Belt, shows a pattern which brings another factor into consideration, namely race. Figure 58 shows the Negro neighborhoods of Greene County. These, it will be noted, are substantially different from the white neighborhoods.

In many areas in which the settlement is relatively sparse and where the rectangular system of land division prevails, locality groups often assume a square or rectangular form. In the southwestern part

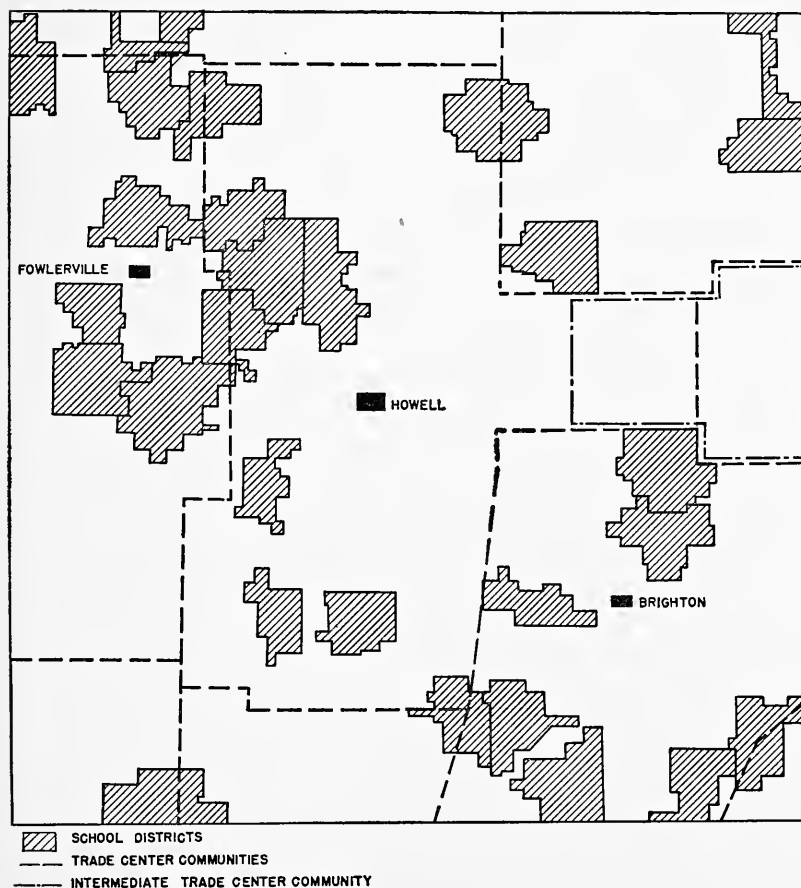


FIG. 59. School districts and trade-center communities in Livingston County, Michigan. At least in part, the rectangular shape of many of these areas is due to land division based upon square units. (Adapted from Paul A. Miller and J. Allan Beegle, *The Farm People of Livingston County, Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan State College Extension Service, June 1947, pp. 32 and 38.)

of the Corn Belt (Nemaha County, Kansas), neighborhoods, insofar as they exist, frequently coincide with school districts.³⁴ Figure 59 describes the combination of school districts and the trade-center areas. The relationship between trade-center areas and smaller locality groupings in the Middlewest is demonstrated by Figure 59. These rectangular-shaped areas are, at least in part, due to the road layout as well as the square unit land division. The whole flow of traffic from center to center or from farm to center is influenced by the fact that roads run east and west on the boundaries of sections.

Ensminger estimates that there are approximately 35,000 trade-centered communities and approximately 240,000 neighborhoods in the United States. These centers include almost one-third of the nation's rural population.³⁵ In the following chapter we shall consider the nature of the services offered by and the inter-personal relations in these locality groups.

SUMMARY

Notwithstanding man's dreams to conquer distance, the element of space conditions all his important activities. Those groups or agglomerations which are tied to area units and bounded in space are considered locality groups. The smallest locality group is the farm family residing on a farmstead. Beyond this group is the neighborhood, usually made up of a number of clique groupings. For our purposes, locality groupings are given the following designations: places containing less than 250 persons are called hamlets; places from 250 to 999, villages; places from 1,000 to 2,499, towns; and places over 2,500, cities. As will be shown later, in trade centers of over 5,000 population value orientations take on urban characteristics.

Many neighborhoods are disintegrating because of the growth of modern city trade centers, places having some 2,500 or more inhabitants. A locality in which most of the interaction occurs among relatives, as is true of El Cerrito, is very different from a locality in which the residents are unable to identify themselves with any rural area. Throughout the Western world, particularly where the isolated holding predominates, the familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like neighborhood is losing its functions. This is true not only of its economic functions but

³⁴ Kansas Rural Communities, "A Study of Nemaha County," Washington: USDA, June 1940.

³⁵ Ensminger, "Rural Neighborhoods and Communities," *op. cit.*, pp. 60 and 79.

of its social functions as well. Along with this change comes great emphasis on contractual *Gesellschaft* relationships, since the population embraced by a trade center of 10,000 population or more is too large to have primary familistic *Gemeinschaft* orientation. Nevertheless, studies have shown that the small service center for general and bulky merchandise is here to stay.

Regardless of the type of center that will eventually predominate, effective rural workers must know the boundaries of the existing groupings. The methods of delineating locality groupings, as developed by rural sociologists, are appraised. The natural channels of communication, the centers and agencies must be mapped if the social scientist, educator, and group worker are to know how to plan meetings, programs, and campaigns.

CHAPTER 7

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

FROM THE ECOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW, activities may be classified into two types; "field" activities and "center" activities. Field activities involve the production of foods, fibers, ores, and raw materials. The human groupings which are primarily engaged in wresting these materials from the soil are usually small and dispersed over the countryside. In general, they may be classed as rural. On the other hand, the center activities, which have to do with processing, distributing, and the coordination of field products, lead to the agglomeration of larger groups. From these activities cities emerge. The size and nature of these cities and the influence they have on the people in the country are, for the most part, conditioned by the type of communication between those engaged in the field activities and those engaged in center activities.

Viewed in this manner, the farm population of the nation may be regarded as that group primarily concerned with field activities. The urban residents, those living in aggregates containing at least 2,500 persons, may be considered the group concerned with center activities. On this basis, 43.5 percent of the total population is either actively engaged in or is closely associated with field pursuits, while the remainder, 56.5 percent, is associated with center activities.

Those engaged in field pursuits are of primary interest. It is impossible, however, for field activities to exist without the center activities, and vice versa. Only in the Cotton Belt of the United States does the proportion of the population occupied with the field activity of farming approach half. The center activities loom considerably more important in both the North and the West, particularly in the Dairy and Western Specialty Crop areas. An over-all view of the relative importance of farming population is provided in Figure 60. Note the relatively large proportions of rural-farm persons throughout the southern and Plains states, particularly in the Cotton Belt and Wheat areas.

Few developments in the history of the United States have been

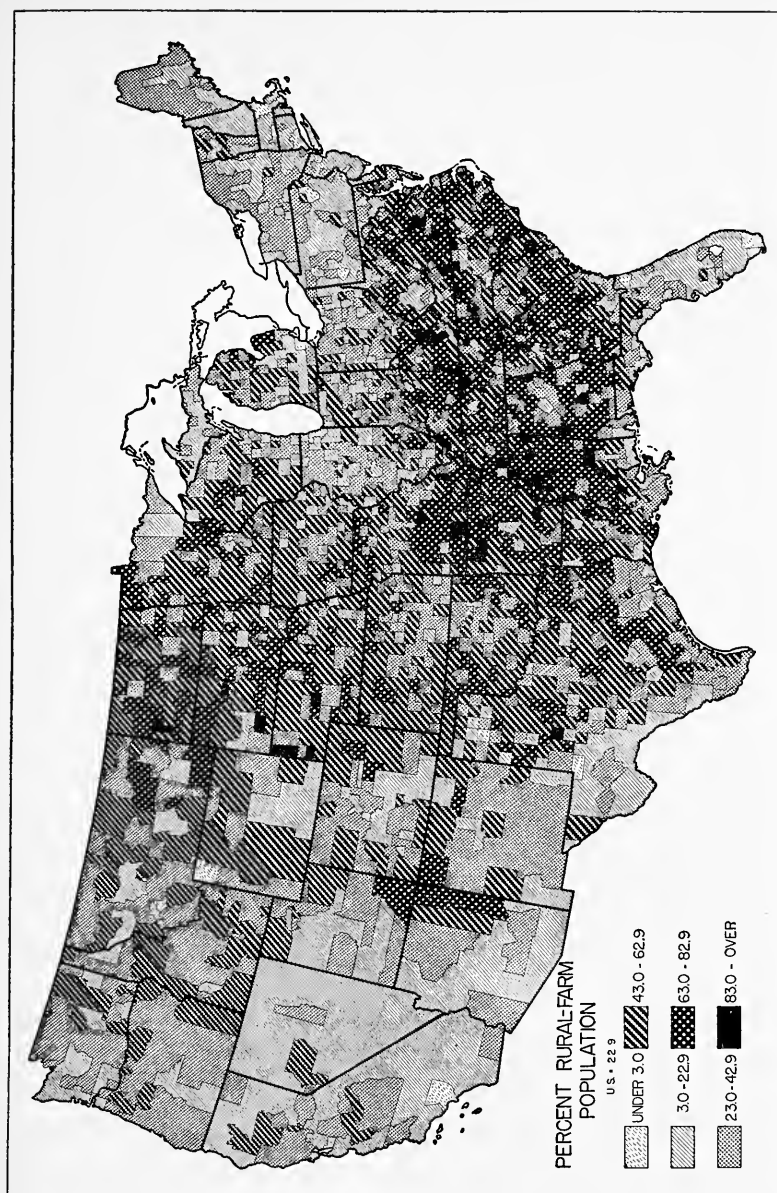


FIG. 60. Percentage rural-farm population in the United States, by county, 1940. (Data from the Sixteenth Census of the United States.)

more important than the change from an agricultural to an industrial nation. From 1820 to 1940, workers engaged in agriculture declined from 72 percent to 18 percent, and the percentage of population living in places of 2,500 and under decreased from 93 to 44. This change was accompanied by a tremendous increase in the efficiency of the worker. Whereas in 1820, the average amount of food and fiber produced by an agricultural worker was sufficient to feed and clothe five persons (including himself), in 1940 each agricultural worker produced enough for fifteen persons (including himself). Among the most important changes accompanying industrialization was the shifting of much of the processing of agricultural products, such as preserving, canning, storing, slaughtering, and production of butter and cheese, from farm to nonfarm establishments.¹

THE METROPOLIS

Since field and center activities each presuppose the other, brief attention must be given the urban aggregate. As indicated previously, large parts of the population of the nation live out their lives in urban social systems. More than 40 percent of all persons live in cities of 25,000 or more, and 29 percent of the total reside in cities having at least 100,000 population. Such data, however, give only a partial and incomplete view of urban aggregates. They tell us nothing about the extent to which people arrange themselves at the fringes of the cities and who are concerned with center activities no less than the urbanites themselves. The poly-nucleated urban district, already in evidence, appears to be the future form of urban life. The National Resources Committee makes the following comments and recommendations with regard to the future urban community:

. . . The question of a desirable urban environment lies not in wholesale dispersion, but in the judicious reshaping of the urban community and region by systematic development and redevelopment in accordance with forward-looking and intelligent plans. In this, advantage would be taken of the natural trends in the shifting of industry between established industrial areas and its diffusion within such areas, of the

¹ Louis J. Ducoff and Margaret J. Hagood, "Occupational Patterns of Rural Population" in Carl Taylor, *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, pp. 246-247. The foregoing discussion of field and center activities may be found in more amplified form in "The Highway and Rural Areas," in *The Highway in Our National Life*, edited by the Bureau of Urban Research, by Walter Firey, C. P. Loomis, and J. Allan Beegle.

drift of population from congested central districts to outlying sections, of the improved means of transit and the general fluidity of the population—to loosen up the central areas of congestion and to create a more decentralized metropolitan pattern. Such a moderately decentralized and yet integrated urban structure should have greater stability and should offer economies in production and in the provision of public facilities and services. It may be expected to extend the material and cultural advantages of urban life to a larger number of the population; to allow them to enjoy the benefits of a more healthful environment and a richer personal and communal life; and to offer to the lower income groups the possibility of the somewhat less tenuous existence afforded by village and small-town living.

. . . The realization of a community with such characteristics can be furthered, among other means, by the organization of the urban area as a whole into neighborhoods and satellite communities, each of which provides for a maximum of opportunity to care for the daily activities and needs of its inhabitants, each of which possesses a social and political coherence which can arouse and hold community loyalty and participation, inspire responsible civic leadership, and can perform effectively its specialized function in the metropolitan region.²

A total of 140 metropolitan districts were counted in 1940. Each metropolitan district includes one or more urban aggregate containing at least 50,000 persons as well as the surrounding territory having at least 150 persons per square mile. The distribution of these metropolitan centers is shown in Figure 61. They embrace nearly 63 million persons and have an average density of 1,411 persons per square mile.

In what respects do those engaged in center activities differ from those associated with field activities? How do they differ with regard to age and sex? It is now well established that the urban areas contain large proportions of persons in the active, economically productive ages. It is also well known that the cities contain large proportions of females. The farm areas, on the other hand, contain large percentages of young and large proportions of males, as shown in Figure 143, Chapter 14.

Such typical center activities as processing and distributing require many more workers in the active ages than do the field pursuits. While 63.0 percent of all urban residents in 1940 were between 20 and 65

² The National Resources Committee, report of the Urbanism Committee, *Our Cities*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937, pp. 84-85.

years of age, only 50.7 percent of the farm residents were in these ages. On the other hand, 42.7 percent of the farm population and 30.1 percent of the urban population in 1940 were under 20 years of

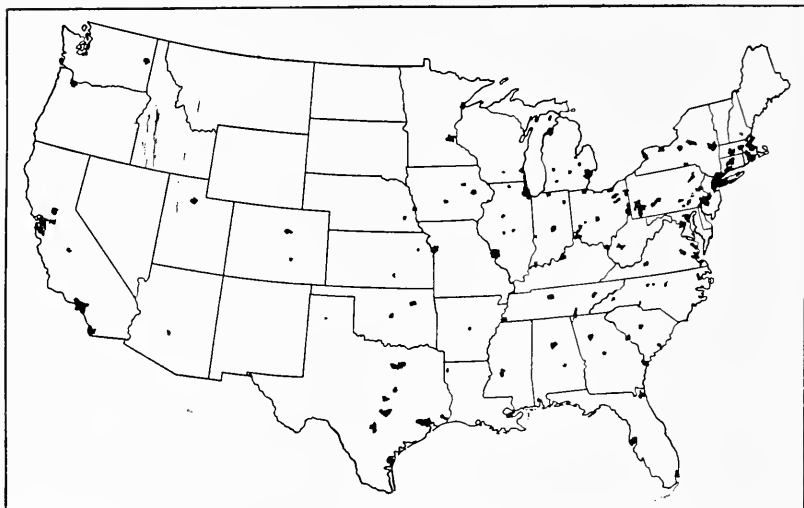


FIG. 61. Location of the 140 metropolitan districts in the United States, 1940. (Adapted from the Sixteenth Census of the United States, *Number of Inhabitants*, United States Summary, p. 5.)

age. The proportions of urban and farm residents who were 65 years old and over differed but slightly, the percentages being 6.9 and 6.6, respectively.

Because of the nature of field pursuits, males usually outnumber females in rural areas. The reverse is true of the urban population. While the sex ratio, the number of males per 100 females, was 100.7 for all population groups in 1940, the urban ratio was 95.5 and the rural-farm ratio was 111.7.

An examination of such relevant population data is sufficient to demonstrate the inter-relationship between the field and the center. It is obvious that many of the productive-aged workers in the city originate in rural areas. It is also clear that the low urban sex ratio is due to selective migration from rural sections. Probably in no country in the world is the contact between the field and center as easy and frequent as in the United States. The National Resources Committee rightfully points out that the city is largely a product of migration

and that "a considerable proportion of the urban inhabitants are but recent recruits from rural areas. . . ."³

As indicated in Figure 62, the movement of farm people to the

MOVEMENT TO AND FROM FARMS, UNITED STATES, 1920-46*

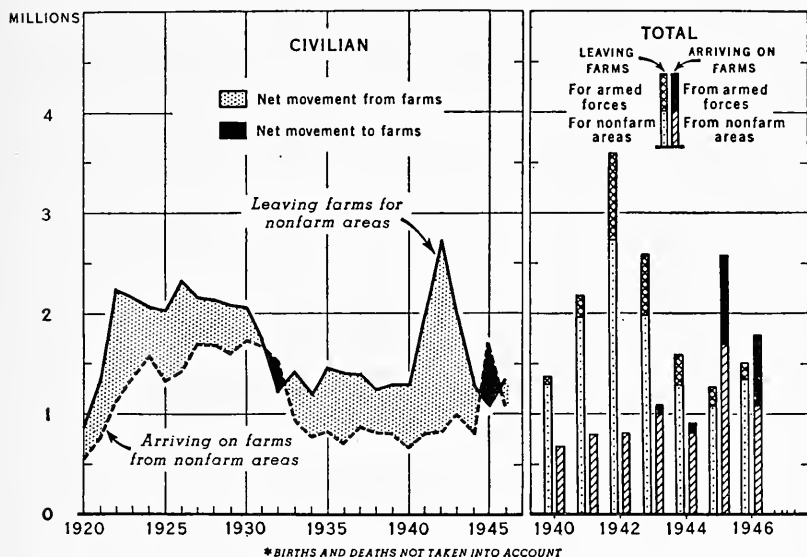


FIG. 62. Movement to and from farms, United States, 1920-1946. (Diagram from Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948, p. 183.)

urban areas has exceeded the reverse movement for many years. Since 1920, the only exception to this trend came in the depression years, 1931 and 1932.⁴ In fact, during the 25-year period between 1920 and 1945, there was an average net migration from farms of

³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 176. The direction of this movement grows directly out of the nature of fertility differentials. "The farms and villages are the producers of population. . . . Cities of over 100,000, in which nearly a third of the population live, have a natural decrease of over 25 percent in a generation." William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology*, Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1946, p. 503. The percentage of natural decrease per generation for communities of 2,500 to 25,000, 25,000 to 50,000 and 50,000 to 100,000, respectively was 6, 11, and 17 in 1930. Some estimate that in 50 years, 80 percent of all urban people will have come directly out of a farm background. See Joseph Ackerman and Marshall Harris, *Family Farm Policy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947, p. 399.

600,000 per year. In spite of increases in the farm population in 1945 and 1946 due to reconversion and demobilization, Taeuber feels that the farm population will be smaller in 1950 than in 1940.⁵

The major areas of origin of migrants to the urban areas have been: (1) the southern states south of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi River, except for Florida, and (2) the states between the Mississippi River and east of the Rocky Mountains, except Arizona and Texas. The former includes the Southeastern Plantation region of the Cotton Belt and the Appalachian region of the General and Self-Sufficing areas; the latter, largely the Wheat and Range-Livestock areas. The main areas receiving migrants have been: (1) New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey, (2) the Great Lakes states, and (3) the Far West.⁶ The net migration from the rural-farm population between 1930 and 1940 for the various states is shown in Figure 63. The

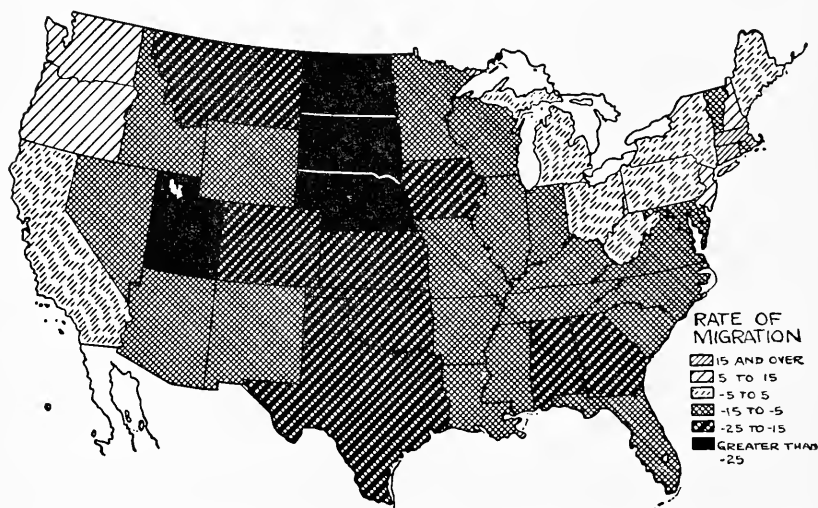


FIG. 63. Net migration from the rural-farm population, 1930 to 1940. Note that the farm populations of the Plains States and the South suffered heaviest losses. (Reproduced from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

⁵ Conrad Taeuber, "Recent Trends of Rural-Urban Migration in the United States," in *Postwar Problems of Migration*, New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1947, pp. 124-125.

⁶ Report of the Committee on Population Problems to the National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. 89-90.

change due to net migration is expressed as a percentage of survivors to 1940 of persons living in 1930 in each state.

The amount of wartime migration, much of which consisted of temporary moves, was tremendous. Shryock estimates that 13 percent of the civilian population migrated at least once between April 1940 and August 1945. Since a migrant was considered one who crossed a county line, the definition omits many moves made within a county or within a city. The estimate also does not attempt to assess the number of moves within this period. The inter-regional migrations shown in Figure 64 indicate that the West registered heavy gains. The farm population lost by 13.2 percent in this period.⁷

Among the most interesting literature in the field of demography is that dealing with the selectivity of the rural-urban migrants. The

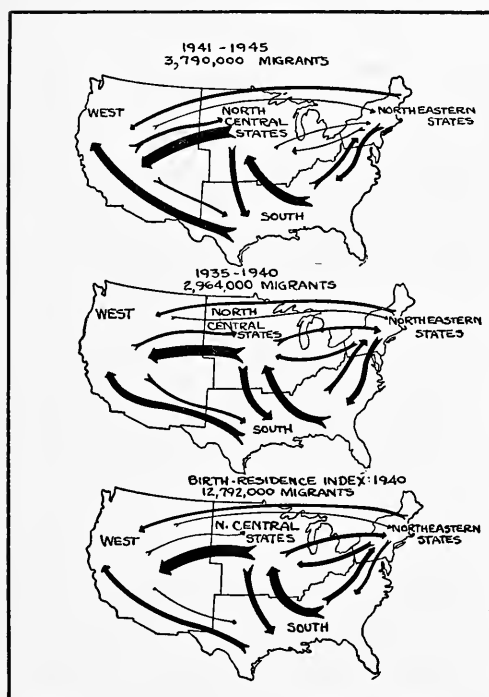


FIG. 64. Interregional migration in the United States. The width of the line indicates the volume of flow. The top flow chart shows interregional movements of the civilian population for the period from Pearl Harbor to March 1945; the middle chart shows movements between 1935 and 1940; and the last shows the "lifetime migration" of the native population in 1940. This chart is based upon a comparison of the region of birth and the region of residence in 1940. (Adapted from Henry S. Shryock, Jr., and Hope Tisdale Eldridge, "Internal Migration in Peace and War," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XII, No. 1, February 1947, p. 28.)

⁷ Henry S. Shryock, Jr., "Wartime Shifts of the Civilian Population," in *Post-war Problems of Migration*, p. 142.

details are excellently recorded elsewhere.⁸ Consequently, we shall summarize the most significant selective features. The following are among the most important and clear-cut:

(1) Rural migrants are selected from among the younger age groups. Farm youth between the ages of 15 and 25 appear to be the most highly mobile.⁹ Persons between 20 and 24 in 1944 had contributed proportionately more migrants than any other age group. Fifty-four percent of those in these ages was lost to the farm population through migration. Furthermore, 25 percent of those who were 14 to 19 years old in 1944 had migrated from rural areas since 1940.¹⁰ In the period from 1940 to 1947, the median age of all migrants was 30.5 as compared with 36.1 for all non-migrants. Furthermore, the longer the distances covered, the younger the average age of the migrant. The median age of the migrant, if migration took place "within a state," was 31.0; if "between contiguous states," 30.4; and if "between non-contiguous states," 30.0.¹¹

(2) Farm females tend to migrate to urban areas in somewhat larger proportions than farm males. Partly because of earlier marriage, they leave at an earlier age than do the males. The wartime migration of males, however, exceeded that of females.¹² The median age of all female migrants between 1940 and 1947 was 29.7 as compared with 31.5 for males. Comparable averages for the period 1935 to 1940 were 27.8 and 29.7.¹³ In the seven-year period previous to 1947, larger proportions of females than males between the ages of 14 and 35 left farm residences in 1940 and were living in non-farm areas in 1947. At ages beyond 35, however, male migrants exceeded female migrants.¹⁴

(3) The nature of the selectivity according to differences in intelli-

⁸ See, for example, Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*, Social Science Research Council Bulletin 43, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938; C. Horace Hamilton, *Rural-Urban Migration in North Carolina, 1920-1930*, Raleigh: North Carolina AES Bulletin 295, 1934; Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929, pp. 540-557.

⁹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

¹⁰ Taeuber, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

¹¹ *Internal Migration in the United States: April, 1940, to April, 1947*, Series P-20, No. 14, Washington: Bureau of the Census, April 15, 1948, Table 2.

¹² Taeuber, *op. cit.* p. 129.

¹³ *Internal Migration in the United States*, Table 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Table 4.

gence is controversial and additional research is necessary. According to Smith, the following appear to be well established: (a) migrants from the farms to the cities receive more formal educational training than the sedentees; (b) intelligence test scores definitely favor the migrant to towns and urban places; and (c) persons who migrate from farms are more likely to attain eminence than those remaining in rural districts.¹⁵ To draw the conclusion that migrants are more intelligent, however, cannot be done, as Smith shows.¹⁶ The hypothesis that the cities draw the extremes while the rural areas retain the means is frequently accepted as a fair description of the nature of this selectivity.¹⁷

Transportation. As one journeys from one metropolis to another in many parts of the world today, one comes to a point which definitely is no longer urban. The transition is sometimes abrupt because an abyss exists between that which is rural and that which is urban. It has been observed that during the water era, New Orleans was literally closer to Memphis than it was to its own Louisiana hinterland; and during the railroad era, in many respects Cheyenne was nearer to Chicago than it was to nearby rural villages that had been stranded when the railroad was built through Cheyenne.

The highway changed all this. Studies of the birth, growth, and death of trade centers prove that in recent decades it is the highway that is the most important factor in the change.¹⁸ With the coming of the highway and widespread automobile ownership by rural people, urban and rural mentalities no longer are essentially different. Along with the highway came contact between the rural and the urban. That is, for the first time contact between the people engaged in field and those engaged in center activities was possible. Since the fusing process of this development, although by no means complete, is

¹⁵ T. Lynn Smith, *Population Analysis*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company Inc., 1948, p. 366.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 365-368.

¹⁷ Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

¹⁸ Paul H. Landis, "Washington Farm Trade Centers, 1900-1935," Washington AES Bulletin 360, July 1938; C. E. Lively, *Growth and Decline of Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota*, St. Paul: Minnesota AES Bulletin 287, July 1932; Carle C. Zimmerman, *Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota, 1905-1929*, St. Paul: Minnesota AES Bulletin 269, 1930; T. Lynn Smith, *Farm Trade Centers in Louisiana, 1901-1931*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana AES Bulletin 234, 1933; and C. R. Hoffer, *Changes in the Retail and Service Facilities of Rural Trade Centers in Michigan, 1900 and 1930*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Bulletin 261, 1935.

underway, the future development of air-freight and passenger service is of great concern to those interested in the development of trade-center communities.¹⁹

HIGHWAY DEVELOPMENT AND RURAL-URBAN FUSION

In those areas of the world in which the general use of the automobile and improved highway has made its greatest impact, four main alterations in rural settlement patterns can be observed.²⁰ They are: (1) The emergence of fringe areas on the outskirts of cities, areas that partake of both the rural and the urban character; (2) The appearance of string-along-the-road settlement patterns resembling the French line village in some respects; this development includes country-dwelling city people and farmers who wish to be near the market.²¹ Figure 65 indicates this type of development for Flint, Michigan. Where a large proportion of the people have automobiles, the cities are extending their tentacles out into the country in string-along-the-road developments. (3) The development of service areas surrounding towns and cities, generally greater than the area of the fringe and differing in that the residents beyond the fringe area may be primarily engaged in field activities in distinction to center activities;²² (4) The formation of sub-center satellites beyond the central service area, each of these satellites having a small fringe, string-along-the-road development, and service area.²³

If one considers the total flow of traffic going into the various centers on the network of highways, the traffic from those areas dealing with the field and the center activities would pyramid about the cen-

¹⁹ William F. Ogburn, "Inventions of Local Transportation and the Patterns of Cities," *Social Forces*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, May 1946, pp. 373-379.

²⁰ Firey, Loomis, Beegle, *op. cit.*; Walter Firey, *Social Aspects to Land Use Planning in the Country-City Fringe: The Case of Flint, Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 339, 1946; Richard R. Myers and J. Allan Beegle, "Delineation and Analysis of the Rural-Urban Fringe," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. VI, No. 2, Spring 1947, pp. 14-22; J. Allan Beegle, "Characteristics of Michigan's Fringe Population," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 3, September 1947, pp. 254-263; and C. P. Loomis, J. A. Beegle, and W. Firey, "Michigan's Country-City Fringe," *Michigan Farm Economics*, No. 42, June 1946.

²¹ L. A. Wolfanger, *Your Community and Township Zoning*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Bulletin 184, February 1945.

²² Calvin F. Schmid, *Social Saga of Two Cities*, Minneapolis: Council of Social Agencies, 1937, p. 90.

²³ Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, *Urban Society*, Second Edition, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1941, p. 171.

ters and the traffic indices for the smaller satellites would occupy places higher in the structure.²⁴

Urban, semi-urban, and strictly rural land use is brought into sharp

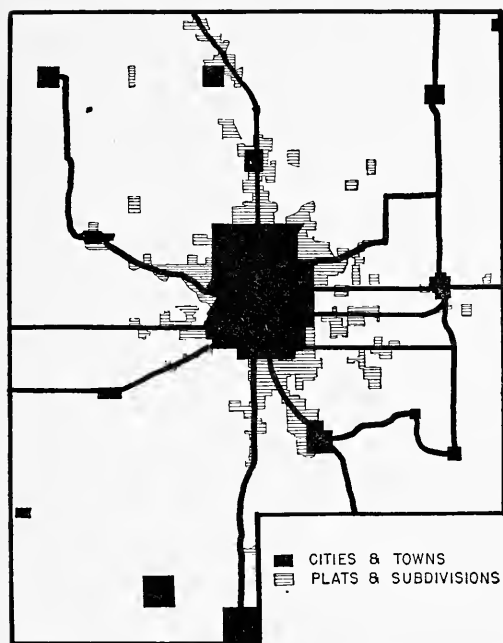


FIG. 65. The star-like configuration and string-along-the-road patterns of Flint, Michigan. The ease of communication, afforded by the highways, coupled with numerous other influences, fosters settlement along the highway. (Adapted from Walter Firey, *Social Aspects to Land Use Planning in the Country-City Fringe*, East Lansing, Michigan AES Special Bulletin 339, June 1946, p. 15.)

focus in the metropolitan areas of the United States. The urban residents merge imperceptibly into those living in the fringe and suburban areas; and the suburbanite finds himself with farmer neighbors. The "crazy patchwork" of residence in our suburban, fringe areas is among the most fascinating ecological phenomena.

Considerable attention has been given to the area surrounding Detroit. As Figure 66 suggests, modern transportation has been basic to the residence pattern which developed. Rapid access to the city is largely responsible for string-along-the-road developments. Much of the land within a radius of 25 to 50 miles of Detroit has been withheld from agricultural uses. The cross-hatched areas shown in Figure 66 have a population density of at least 43 persons per square mile, and land use is primarily non-agricultural. Such areas represent

²⁴ G. A. Hubert, "A Framework for the Study of Peripheral Economic Areas," *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, August 1946.

promising possibilities for study of locality group structure.

Some Results of Rural-Urban Fusion. What was once considered urban is being transplanted to the rural areas everywhere. It is not

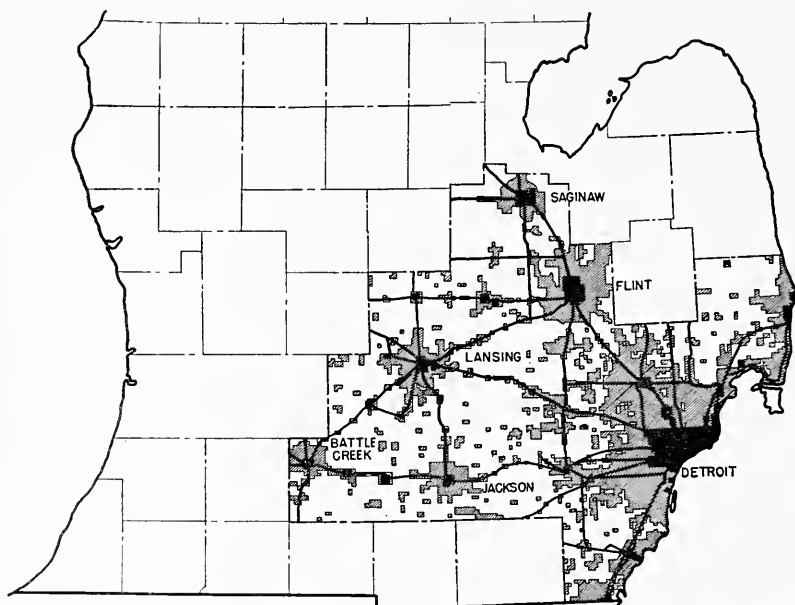


FIG. 66. Fringe development in relation to transportation lines in the Detroit area. The black portions show urban areas linked by a highway system. The cross-hatched portions may be termed "semi-urban," with a population density of at least 42 persons per square mile. Although much of the land in this area is of good quality, a large part has been withheld from agricultural uses. (Adapted from data supplied by George D. Hurrell, Conservation Institute, Michigan State College.)

difficult to study the extent of this diffusion of urban cultural traits. One of the most dramatic illustrations of the diffusion shows up in the plotting of fertility ratios for small units such as townships. Not only does the presence of a city in a township serve to depress the birth rate in that township, but also the birth rate drops gradually as one moves into a metropolis. In their study of areas surrounding 16 large cities in the United States, Thompson and Jackson²⁵ found that dis-

²⁵ Warren S. Thompson and Nelle E. Jackson, "Fertility in Rural Areas in Relation to Their Distance from Cities, 1930," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 2, June 1940, pp. 143-162; also a summary of the same work in *Population Statistics*, 3, *Urban Data*, National Resources Committee, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937, pp. 21-23.

tance from the center was significantly and positively correlated with the birth rate in 10 of the 16 areas. In five more areas, the association was positive but below the level of significance. In only one area was the association inverse.

Data on fertility in Louisiana suggest that urban cultural traits may often be diffused in unsuspected ways. A group of low-fertility townships which run lengthwise across the toe of eastern Louisiana seemed to defy explanation until it was discovered that the Illinois Central Railroad passes through these townships. This low rate is especially striking since fertility rates rise again on either side of the low-fertility townships.²⁶

SURVIVAL CHANCES OF HAMLETS, VILLAGES, TOWNS AND CITIES

For individuals who have businesses in non-urban places, and for officials who must plan for future developments, few considerations are more important than growth and decline trends for centers of various sizes and types. With modern implements of war and superb transportation, may we expect the small service center to pass out of existence completely? Or may we anticipate the decentralization of the largest centers? No one can give a certain answer to these questions, but we can discuss the trends.

A committee established to plan the settlement pattern of the Columbia Basin found that the basic pattern of settlement, resulting from the horse and rail transportation of the past, was "village locations every four to eight miles."²⁷ With these villages as the basic pattern, there was a tendency to place schools, churches, meeting halls, and all types of services in such trade centers. Changes in transportation and other factors have made such centers obsolete. After study of the available literature and after special investigations of its own, the committee concluded that centers smaller than 1,000 population could not offer enough of the usual services. Furthermore, the committee felt that very often centers of over 5,000 were not satisfactory, because their residents had a value orientation different from that of the surrounding farm population. Consequently, it was felt that rural-urban cleavages might result if larger centers were created.

²⁶ J. Allan Beegle and T. Lynn Smith, *Differential Fertility in Louisiana*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana AES Bulletin 403. See especially Figure 8, p. 22.

²⁷ Report on Problem 27 of the Columbia Basin Joint Investigations, Mimeographed, Washington: USDA and Cooperating Agencies, 1944, p. 13.

The report concludes that "the healthy towns are those with a population of not less than 1,000 and which offer at least 25 commercial services."²⁸ In the irrigated areas of Idaho and Oregon, 700 farms and 2,800 farm people are required to maintain such agricultural trade centers.

In a study of the relation between the size of the town and the number of services offered, it was concluded that "the economic efficiency of towns above 1,000 population insofar as providing services is concerned, does not increase as rapidly as population."²⁹ This is particularly true of centers over 1,500. On the other hand, the committee felt that the establishment of general service centers of less than 1,000 inhabitants could not be recommended. It also maintained that an enrollment of at least 300 to 400 is required in combined junior and senior high schools in order to provide specialized, well-trained teachers, adequate school equipment, and facilities for extra-curricular activities. Since the committee calculated that five percent of the population attend high school in western rural areas, a high school of 200 would require 4,000 persons per district, somewhat less than half of whom might live in the center.

Incorporated Places. In 1940 the United States census reported 13,288 incorporated villages, hamlets, and towns. These places accounted for 9,342,677 people. As Table 6 shows, more persons resided in incorporated villages in 1940 than in either of the previous decades. The actual number of villages, however, declined in the decade 1930 to 1940. In his study of incorporated villages during the period 1900 to 1930, Landis³⁰ shows an increase each decade in the number of small villages (250-999 population) and large villages or towns (1,000-2,499 population), while the number of hamlets (under 250 population) decreased.

Brunner and Smith³¹ have investigated in some detail the trends of incorporated villages, according to size, for the decade ending in 1940. Table 7 summarizes their findings for the past decade. It will be noted from this table that most villages, regardless of size class,

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

³⁰ Paul H. Landis, "The Number of Unincorporated Places in the United States and Their Estimated Populations," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, Vol. VI, No. 4, December 1938, p. 166.

³¹ Edmund deS. Brunner and T. Lynn Smith, "Village Growth and Decline, 1930-1940," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. IX, No. 2, June 1944, pp. 103-115.

were relatively stable. The smallest villages, however, were most likely to suffer losses. These writers conclude "that incorporated villages show a tendency toward steady growth or at least stability . . .

TABLE 6
*The Number and Total Population of Incorporated Villages,
Classified by Size, 1920-1940*

Year	Number of Villages	Total Population	Number of Villages Under 1,000	Population	Number of Towns and Villages 1,000-2,499	Population
1920	12,857	8,969,241	9,825	4,254,751	3,032	4,714,490
1930	13,433	9,183,453	10,346	4,362,746	3,087	4,820,707
1940	13,288	9,342,677	10,083	4,315,843	3,205	5,026,834

SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940.

seems to be even more clear on the basis of the 1930-1940 data than in previous decades."³²

The work of Gillette³³ in the analysis of village growth and decline has been outstanding. His findings show that the chances for a village to survive are directly related to its size. He has also demonstrated that the percentage of villages of all sizes suffered increasingly greater decline in population each decade from 1890 to 1930. In the last decade, however, the percentage of declining villages was less great.

After detailed study of the question of village growth or decline, Kolb and Brunner come to conclusions different from Gillette's. The former point out that villages are characterized by ". . . a steady growth at about the general national rate of increase."³⁴

It has been estimated that in 1940 there were 17,703,027 people living in the hamlets, villages, and towns under 2,500, both incor-

³² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

³³ See J. M. Gillette, *Rural Sociology*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931, Chapter 19, and "Some Population Shifts in the United States 1930-1940," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VI, No. 5, October 1941, pp. 619-628.

³⁴ J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1935, p. 93.

porated and unincorporated. This figure represents a population decrease of 1 percent since 1930. Actually, the number of such places had decreased by 5 percent during the 10-year period. Thus, the per-

TABLE 7
*Trends in Incorporated Villages in the United States,
According to Size, 1930-1940*

Size Groups	Number of Villages 1930	Percentage losing population by 1940		Percentage relatively stable	Percentage gaining population by 1940		
		10-25%	Over 25%		10-25%	25-50%	Over 50%
1- 99	374	11.8	13.9	18.2	14.7	16.3	25.1
100- 249	2,404	15.0	6.7	38.1	21.3	13.0	5.9
250- 499	3,779	14.9	4.1	44.8	21.9	10.0	4.1
500- 749	2,116	11.1	3.1	48.4	23.3	10.5	3.5
750- 999	1,329	8.5	2.3	50.3	26.4	9.3	3.2
1000-1249	938	8.4	1.9	47.4	26.0	11.7	4.4
1250-1499	657	7.8	1.7	45.8	28.8	11.1	4.8
1500-1749	458	7.6	1.7	45.8	27.9	12.0	4.8
1750-1999	397	6.3	1.0	45.8	29.0	12.3	5.6
2000-2249	340	4.7	1.2	53.2	22.6	13.9	4.7
2250-2499	263	5.3	2.3	46.8	26.6	13.7	5.3

SOURCE: Brunner and Smith, "Village Growth and Decline, 1930-1940," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. IX, No. 2, June 1944, p. 109.

sistence of these small places proves their usefulness. This small town population constituted 13 percent of the total population of the United States, 31 percent of the total rural population, and 65 percent of the total rural-nonfarm population in 1940.³⁵

Data for the incorporated villages in Michigan show rather consistent growth tendencies. Of the 347 incorporated villages having less than 2,500 population in 1920, 230, or two-thirds of them gained population by 1930. Of the 356 incorporated places in 1930, 287 or four-fifths gained population by 1940. The tendency toward gain is indicated in each of the size classes as shown by Figure 67. Neither in the period 1920 to 1930 nor in the period 1930 to 1940 did the num-

³⁵ Douglas Ensminger and T. Wilson Longmore, "Rural Trade Areas and Villages," in Carl Taylor, *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, pp. 78-79.

ber of places losing population in any of the size categories exceed the number gaining population. In the decade 1920-1930, the population of these villages grew more rapidly than the rural population

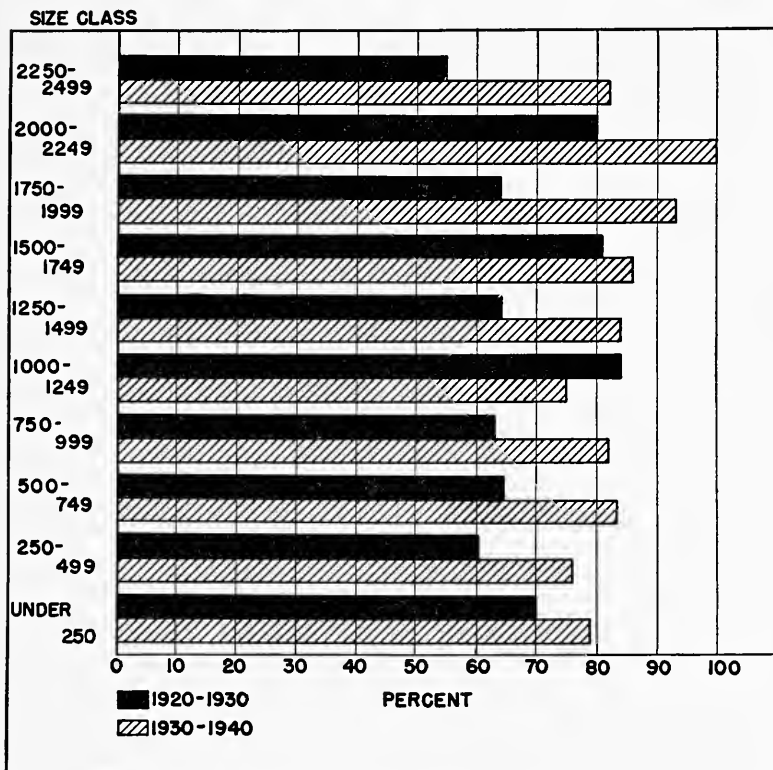


FIG. 67. Percentage of the incorporated villages increasing in size in two decades, according to size of village, Michigan 1920-1940. (Data from the Federal Census.)

generally, and only slightly less rapidly than the state's urban population. In the last decade, the incorporated villages gained in population more rapidly than the state's urban population and nearly as rapidly as all rural residents. The number of persons residing in each of the size categories shown in Figure 67 actually increased during both decades. In the period between 1920 and 1930, all size groups except one gained by more than 10 percent; between 1930 and 1940, all except three gained by more than 10 percent.

Unincorporated Places. Several attempts have been made to esti-

mate both the number of unincorporated places and the number of people living in such places.³⁶ Unfortunately, precise data are not available and most of the usual methods of estimation are subject to criticism.³⁷ Landis' estimate of the number of unincorporated vil-

TABLE 8
Number of Unincorporated Villages, 1900-1930

Year	Unincorporated			
	Total	Hamlets (under 250)	Small Villages (250-999)	Large Villages (1,000-2,499)
1900	65,127	56,795	7,073	1,259
1910	63,617	54,436	7,925	1,256
1920	50,266	41,248	7,755	1,263
1930	43,137	34,221	7,601	1,315

SOURCE: P. H. Landis, "The Number of Unincorporated Places in the United States and Their Estimated Populations," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, Vol. VI, No. 4, December 1938, p. 166.

lages, classified by size, is presented in Table 8. This table shows a gradual decline in numbers from 65,127 in 1900 to 43,137 in 1930. The hamlets, or places under 250, declined, whereas the villages and towns which were incorporated increased in number. While he did not try to determine the number of such places, Smith estimates that 5,350,000 persons resided in unincorporated villages as of 1940.³⁸

FUNCTIONS OF THE VILLAGE

The role and function of the village in America have long been favorite subjects for discussion among sociologists. To what extent is its function distinct? Perhaps the best definition of village functions

³⁶ See Landis, "The Number of Unincorporated Places in the United States and Their Estimated Populations"; Edmund deS. Brunner and John H. Kolb, *Rural Social Trends*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, p. 84. For incidental estimates for restricted areas, see Smith, *Farm Trade Centers in Louisiana, 1901-1931*; Zimmerman, *Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota, 1905-1929*; and Lively, *Growth and Decline of Farm Trade Centers in Minnesota, 1903-1930*.

³⁷ Glenn T. Trewartha, "The Unincorporated Hamlet; An Analysis of Data Sources," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 1, March 1941, pp. 35-42.

³⁸ T. Lynn Smith, "The Role of the Village in American Rural Society," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VII, No. 1, March 1942, p. 16.

has been provided by Smith,³⁹ who says that the most important function is that of trade, or what may be called the economic function. Although this function varies regionally and according to its location with respect to other centers, the majority of American villages came into being as trade and service centers for farmers surrounding them. A second function of the village, being both economic and social, is that of serving as nucleus for the emerging rural community. The village is coming to serve as center for more and more community and neighborhood agencies. The evidence is to be found in the increasing tendency for high schools, churches, and recreational activities to locate in the village. The third function of the village is that of providing a home for the aged. In comparison with the urban and farm populations, an unduly large proportion of old persons reside in American villages. The final function of the village is that of providing a locus for rural-urban conflict. According to Smith, "the village serves as the focal point in which urban values, attitudes, and patterns of living clash head on with those from the country. . . ."⁴⁰

ECONOMIC SYSTEMS AND THE VILLAGE

The functions of the village are likely to be reflected in its occupational structure. Zimmerman,⁴¹ for example, has attempted an occupational classification of villages on the basis of his study of Wake County, North Carolina.

The principal occupation of the village in America is manufacturing. Although villages do not often contain the so-called heavy industries, lumber and paper mills and food and beverage establishments are frequently located there. According to Kolb and Brunner,⁴² the following six occupations characterize the village: (1) manufacturing, (2) trade or merchandising, (3) domestic and personal services, (4) agriculture, (5) professional service, and (6) transportation. The percentages of gainfully employed persons in these occupations were 29, 19, 13, 10, 11, and 10, respectively.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-21.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁴¹ Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938, pp. 57-64. Zimmerman's village classification, while largely based upon occupation, is adapted to a single area and cannot be generalized. His village classification includes: (1) retired-farmer villages; (2) farm-operator villages; (3) open-country centers; and (4) isolated institutions in the open country.

⁴² Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-100.

As villages increase in size, there is a tendency for the number and variety of services to expand.⁴³ This tendency is shown clearly in Table 9, based upon Michigan data.⁴⁴

TABLE 9
*Average Number of Retail Stores in Michigan Villages,
Grouped by Size, 1900-1930*

Type of Store	Size of Trade Center and Year					
	1-500		501-1,000		1,001-2,500	
	1900	1930	1900	1930	1900	1930
Drug	1.1	.8	1.8	1.1	2.5	1.9
Furniture	.6	.4	1.1	.7	1.7	1.1
General	2.8	1.8	3.2	1.5	2.4	1.1
Grocery	1.5	1.5	2.6	3.3	5.0	5.9
Hardware	1.2	1.0	1.7	1.6	2.0	2.1
Jewelry	.6	.2	1.1	.6	1.9	1.2
Men's Clothing and Furnishings	.3	.1	.5	.6	1.8	1.7
Dry Goods	.4	.2	.7	.9	2.0	1.5
Shoes	.4	.2	.8	.9	1.8	2.1
Notions	.2	.1	.5	.2	.9	.7
Millinery	.9	.1	1.3	.3	2.0	.8
Meat Markets	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.4	2.1	2.6
Total	11.0	7.3	16.8	13.4	26.0	22.6

SOURCE: Hoffer, *Changes in the Retail and Service Facilities of Rural Trade Centers in Michigan, 1900 and 1930*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 261, September 1935, p. 15.

⁴³ See for example Bruce L. Melvin, *Village Service Agencies*, New York, 1925, Ithaca: Cornell AES Bulletin 493, 1929, p. 113. ". . . There is a rather consistent increase of different types of economic agencies as the population of the villages becomes larger. Most villages with a population of 1000 or more in the farming counties are fully supplied with the following agencies: general store, grocery, coal and ice, garage, mill and feed store, blacksmith, hardware, hotel, produce, confectionery, milk plant, bank, lumber yard, factory, men's furnishings, dry goods, drug store, electric appliance, stationery, cigars, shoe store and furniture store."

⁴⁴ Hoffer, *Changes in the Retail and Service Facilities of Rural Trade Centers in Michigan, 1900 and 1930*.

As the farmer becomes less and less space-bound, the villages are forced into a greater degree of specialization. In Michigan, Hoffer found that over a thirty-year period the number of drug stores, furniture stores, variety stores, and millinery shops decreased in the villages. On the other hand, men's clothing stores, shoe stores, grocery stores, and meat markets increased. Hoffer concludes that "these changes indicate that a certain degree of specialization is developing among rural trade centers." Hoffer also lists the minimum populations of towns necessary to support the following types of stores: general stores, 500 and less; grocery stores, hardware stores, and drugstores, approximately 500; furniture stores, jewelry stores, dry goods stores, shoe stores, and millinery stores, approximately 1,000; variety stores, approximately 1,500; and clothing stores occur irregularly in larger towns.⁴⁵

The kinds of retail establishments in rural and urban areas are of interest. Table 10 shows the number of businesses in urban and rural areas as well as the population per business in both areas. It will be noted that for the country as a whole, there are 74 persons per store. For urban areas, there are 63 persons per business, while in rural areas there are 97 persons per business.

It will be noted from an analysis of the table that the more specialized the store, the greater the likelihood that it will be found in urban areas. In fact, there are only a few kinds of businesses that are more prevalent in rural than in urban areas. These are general stores with food, farm implement stores, farm and garden supply stores, lumber and building material dealers, filling stations, and grocery stores which do not sell fresh meats. In the rural parts of the country, there are 1,531 persons for every general store, whereas in the urban places there are 32,514 persons for every store of this variety. This contrast is much less sharp in the case of grocery stores and filling stations.

Such businesses as the department store and fur establishment are strictly urban phenomena. There are only 18,681 urban persons for each urban department store, whereas there are 636,061 rural persons for each department store located in rural areas. For every urban furrier there are 34,186 urban people, whereas there are 1,547,178 rural persons for every store of this variety in rural areas.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

TABLE 10

Number of Retail Stores and Population per Retail Store in Urban and Rural Areas, United States, 1939*

Kind of Business	Total		Urban		Rural	
	Number	Population per Store	Number	Population per Store	Number	Population per Store
<i>United States Total</i>	1,770,355	74	1,178,583	63	591,772	97
<i>Food Group</i>						
Grocery stores (without fresh meats)	200,303	657	107,677	691	92,626	618
Combination stores (groceries-meat)	187,034	704	130,796	569	56,238	1,018
Dairy product stores, milk dealers	16,834	7,822	11,071	6,722	5,763	9,933
Meat markets, fish markets	42,360	3,108	35,229	2,113	7,131	8,028
Candy, nut, confectionery stores	48,015	2,742	41,433	1,796	6,582	8,697
Delicatessen stores	9,909	13,287	9,506	7,829	403	142,049
Fruit stores, vegetable markets	27,666	4,759	23,905	3,113	3,761	15,221
Bakeries, caterers	16,985	7,752	14,642	5,083	2,343	24,433
Egg and poultry dealers	6,532	20,158	5,275	14,109	1,257	45,541
Other food stores	4,911	26,811	4,157	17,903	754	75,923
<i>General Stores (with food)</i>	39,688	3,318	2,289	32,514	37,399	1,531
<i>General Merchandise Group</i>						
Department stores	4,074	32,319	3,984	18,681	90	636,061
Dry goods and general merchandise stores	29,247	4,502	19,890	3,742	9,357	6,117
Variety stores	16,946	7,770	12,085	6,158	4,861	11,777
<i>Apparel Group</i>						
Men's-boys' furnishings, hat stores	5,924	22,226	5,612	13,262	312	183,479
Men's-boys' clothing stores (and furnishings)	15,577	8,453	13,749	5,413	1,828	31,316
Family clothing stores	10,053	13,098	7,675	9,697	2,378	24,073
Women's ready-to-wear stores	25,820	5,010	23,019	3,233	2,801	20,438
Furriers, fur shops	2,214	59,471	2,177	34,186	37	1,547,178
Millinery stores	10,799	12,193	10,301	7,225	498	114,951
Women's accessories stores	6,494	20,276	6,332	11,754	162	353,368

Infants', other apparel stores	3,917	33,615	3,793	19,621	124	461,658
Custom tailors	5,674	23,206	5,459	13,633	215	266,259
Shoe stores (all kinds)	20,487	6,427	19,028	3,911	1,459	39,236
<i>Furniture- Household-Radio Group</i>						
Furniture stores	19,902	6,616	16,107	4,621	3,795	15,084
Floor coverings, drapery stores	2,916	45,154	2,774	26,829	142	403,138
Other home-furnishings stores	9,096	14,476	7,682	9,688	1,414	40,485
Household appliance dealers	11,095	11,867	8,388	8,873	2,707	21,147
Radio — household appliance stores	6,907	19,063	5,436	13,691	1,471	38,916
Radio stores — other	2,911	45,232	2,283	32,599	628	91,155
<i>Automotive Group</i>						
Motor-vehicle dealers (new)	33,609	3,918	21,102	3,527	12,507	4,577
Used-car dealers	6,980	18,864	5,637	13,203	1,343	42,625
Accessory, tire, battery dealers	18,525	7,108	14,256	5,221	4,269	13,410
Other automotive	1,018	129,341	842	88,389	176	325,259
<i>Filling Stations</i>	241,858	544	112,338	663	129,520	442
<i>Lumber-Building Group</i>						
Lumber and building materials dealers	25,067	5,253	12,367	6,018	12,700	4,508
Heating-plumbing equipment dealers	4,262	30,894	3,347	22,236	915	62,563
Paint, glass, wallpaper stores	8,480	15,527	7,934	9,380	546	104,845
Electrical supply stores	1,858	70,866	1,373	54,205	485	118,032
<i>Hardware Group</i>						
Hardware stores	29,147	4,517	16,553	4,496	12,594	4,545
Farm implement, tractor, hardware dealers	10,499	12,541	3,612	20,605	6,887	8,312
<i>Eating Places</i>						
Restaurants, cafeterias, lunch rooms	99,068	1,329	75,430	987	23,638	2,422
Lunch counters and stands	62,673	2,101	40,752	1,826	21,921	2,611
Soft drink, juice, ice cream stands	8,051	16,354	5,430	13,706	2,621	21,841

* Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, *Census of Business, 1939, Retail Trade, Analysis by City-Size Groups*, Table 12C.

(Continued on next page)

TABLE 10 (Continued)

Kind of Business	Total		Urban		Rural	
	Number	Population per Store	Number	Population per Store	Number	Population per Store
<i>Drinking Places</i>	135,594	971	86,068	865	49,526	1,156
<i>Drug Stores</i>	57,903	2,274	42,743	1,741	15,160	3,776
Drug stores with fountain	39,452	3,337	29,586	2,516	9,866	5,802
Drug stores — other	18,451	7,136	13,157	5,657	5,294	10,813
<i>Liquor Stores (packaged goods)</i>	19,136	6,881	13,909	5,351	5,227	10,952
<i>Other Retail Stores</i>						
Fuel, ice, fuel-oil dealers	41,172	3,198	28,912	2,574	12,260	4,669
Hay, grain and feed stores	16,772	7,851	6,439	11,558	10,333	5,540
Farm and garden supply stores	4,915	26,789	2,324	32,024	2,591	22,094
Jewelry stores	14,559	9,044	12,830	5,801	1,729	33,109
Book stores	2,845	46,281	2,691	27,657	154	371,725
Stationery stores	3,497	37,652	3,185	23,367	312	183,479
Cigar stores, cigar stands	18,504	7,116	17,331	4,294	1,173	48,803
Florists	16,055	8,201	13,269	5,609	2,786	20,548
Gift, novelty, souvenir shops	7,429	17,724	5,943	12,523	1,486	38,523
News dealers	7,407	17,776	6,666	11,165	741	77,254
Office, school supply and equipment dealers	5,139	25,622	5,030	14,796	109	525,189
Opticians	5,995	21,963	5,668	13,131	327	175,063
Photographic supply — camera stores	1,112	118,408	1,063	70,013	49	1,168,277
Sporting goods stores	2,605	50,545	2,228	33,404	377	151,845
<i>Second-hand Stores</i>	23,962	5,495	20,086	3,705	3,876	14,769

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND THEIR
RELATIVE MERITS

There are still some relatively untouched areas in the world suitable for agricultural settlement. In view of the fact that such areas are relatively unpopulated, it would be possible to develop either the village, the isolated settlement, or some combination of these types. One could divide the land in various ways based upon geometric principles, or one could use less formal divisional methods. Since certain unsettled land areas remain, and since the settled areas are continually changing, we shall discuss problems of land division, layout of roads, and location of dwellings.⁴⁶

VILLAGE VERSUS THE ISOLATED-HOLDING
FORM OF SETTLEMENT

The Prevalence and Form of Village Settlements. Although many people in the United States believe that any settlement form other than the isolated-holding type is unnatural, most of the farm and peasant peoples in the world live in villages, with their homes located some distance from their farm and grazing lands. The prevailing form of settlement in Europe and Asia, which contain most of the farm and peasant peoples of the world, and in much of Latin America and Africa, is the agricultural village. Among the Spanish-speaking farmers and ranchers of the Southwest, the French farmers of Louisiana, the Mormons of Utah and Idaho, the village form prevails even in this country. Elsewhere, the isolated holding or scattered homestead form, in which families are located on the land they farm, is the characteristic type.

German and English Forms. More has been written about the German and English agricultural villages and their diffusion throughout the world than about any other types. Figure 68 describes the typical form of the original German village. It was this type of village that the Germanic peoples have known for at least 1,000 years.⁴⁷ The

⁴⁶ See "The Modern Settlement Movement in Germany," "Social Relationships and Institutions in Seven New Rural Communities in the United States," and "Extension Work at Tinga Maria, Peru," in Charles P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 1-115 and pp. 245-262.

⁴⁷ Max Sering, *Deutsche Agrarpolitik auf geschichtlicher und landeskundlicher Grundlage*, Leipzig: Hans Buske Verlag, 1934. For other forms of the German village, see Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, pp. 176-177, and Smith, *Sociology of Rural Life*, p. 212.

basic traits of the Anglo-Saxon village, and later, of many New England villages, come from this form.

As in the various agricultural villages throughout the world, the

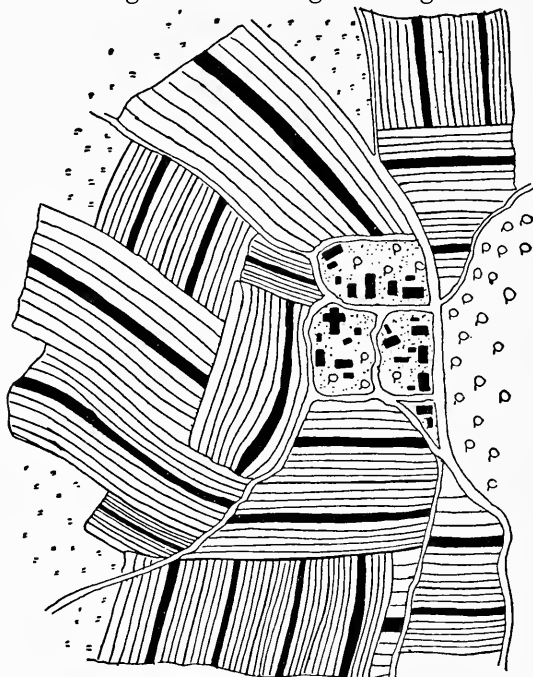


FIG. 68. The *Gewanndorf*. In this type, the residents form a compact village group. Each resident is allotted strips of land such as those shown in black. Since the lands have different qualities and values, each resident may be assigned a large number of segmented holdings. Pasture lands and forest may be held in common. This village form was found in such areas as southern Sweden, Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein, between the Elbe and Weser rivers, and southern Germany. (Reproduced from Max Sering, *Deutsche Agrarpolitik*, Leipzig: Hans Buske, 1934, pp. 35-38.)

Saxon village required that the individual family submerge its activities and interests to those of the village.⁴⁸ Cooperation was centered around many such activities as handling the common lands, operation of the large Germanic plow, harvesting, seeding, and pasturing the fields. The result was the development of a cooperative system seldom equaled in its facility for making individual initiative and group ac-

⁴⁸ Sering, *op. cit.*

tivity compatible with the control of the individual and his family by the interests of the village.⁴⁹

In the relationship between house, barn, church, and other buildings, the German village assumed many forms. In larger villages, the street pattern was not geometrically ordered as in the case of the Spanish and Portuguese villages. In the Germanic village as it existed on the European continent, England, and elsewhere in the world, there was a core of homes and buildings. Extending out from this core were first the small garden plots, then the cultivated lands, then pasture lands, and finally the wastelands and woods which were usually on the outer boundary of the community.⁵⁰

Figure 69 shows a modified form of the German village which resulted when, because of the many waves of Slavic settlers, the Slavic village of the east was injected into the culture of the west. This form also was characteristic when the Germans carried their culture eastward.

Figure 70 exemplifies the pattern of the New England village. As may be seen from the rectangular form of the blocks and the location of the buildings, this village form, even though retaining many of the Germanic features, is quite different.

Spanish-Portuguese Forms. In the Spanish and Portuguese village form, the core unit is the plaza, which contains the church and important service agencies. Figure 71 illustrates the Spanish village pattern in the United States. One of the most obvious differences between the Iberian and Germanic forms is the square plaza and the regular quadrangle pattern. This pattern results in the village or town being laid out in square blocks. For this reason the crooked streets

⁴⁹ Although there is a voluminous history and literature on the German village, the student will find the following useful. Max Weber, "Der Streit um den Charakter der altgermanischen Sozialverfassung," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1924, pp. 508-556; see also Paul Honigsheim, "Max Weber as Rural Sociologist," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XI, No. 3, September 1946, pp. 207-218; A. Meitzen, *Siedlung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen, der Kelten, Römer, Finnen, und Slaven*, Berlin: Besser, 1895, 4 volumes; and A. W. Ashley, "Meitzen's Siedlung und Agrarwesen der Germanen," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, 1898, pp. 143-145.

⁵⁰ See Newell L. Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1940, Chapter 2; Smith, *Sociology of Rural Life*, Chapter 10; Frederic Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1915; and Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1904.

common in villages and town patterns of Germanic origin are less common in countries of Iberian culture.

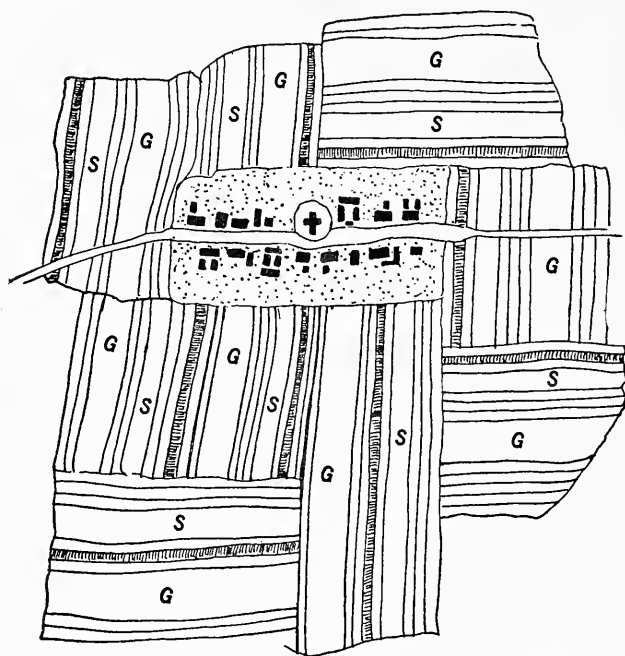


FIG. 69. The northeast German colonial village. This form resulted from the mixture of traits from the Slavic line village and the German *Gewanddorf*. The strips marked G belong to the *Rittergut* (knight's land); those marked S belong to the *Erbschulzenhof* (village magistrate's land). (Reproduced from Max Sering, *Deutsche Agrarpolitik*, Leipzig: Hans Buske, 1934, pp. 35-38.)

This pattern resembles the Mormon form (Figure 72) or the American form that grew up generally in this country after 1785. At about this time the practice of dividing land into square miles began, and gradually the rectangular form of land division was generally adopted. The original Portuguese form was spread less successfully through Brazil than was the Spanish form through other portions of Latin America. Smith writes that the line village is more prevalent in Brazil than the nucleated village, and that the isolated-holding form common to the United States is not uncommon there.⁵¹ Taylor found

⁵¹ T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil: People and Institutions*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946, Chapter 13.

that the Spanish form was not established in many parts of Argentina.⁵²

The French Form. As anyone who flies over France will note, the

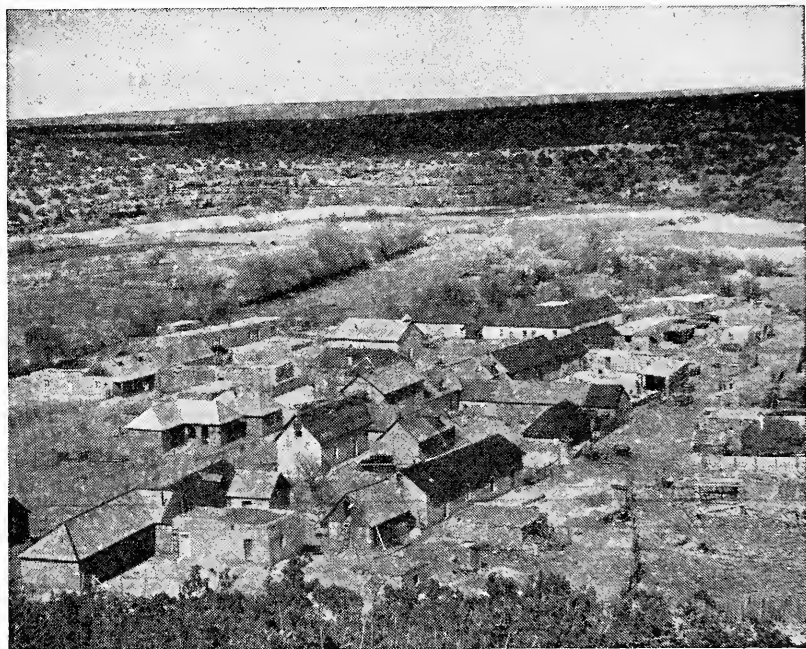


FIG. 71. A typical Spanish-American village in the Southwest. (Photograph from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

French villages vary greatly. This form of settlement is characterized by long, narrow strips of land with the houses at one end of the holding, most frequently along a road, river, or stream. This arrangement yields what can very correctly be termed a "line village." Wherever the French went, whether to Canada, Louisiana, or elsewhere, this form tends to prevail.⁵³ (See Figure 73.) Of course, the line village is to be found in many places in the world not influenced by French culture.

⁵² Carl C. Taylor, "Rural Locality Groups in Argentina," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. IX, No. 2, April 1944, pp. 162-170.

⁵³ Smith, *Sociology of Rural Life*, p. 219.

FIG. 72. The village pattern of settlement as exemplified by Escalante, Utah. (Reproduced from Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village*, Provo: Brigham Young University Studies 3, 1930, p. 28.)

than any other pattern.⁵⁴ Actually, a study of the sites farmers chose for their dwellings reveals that even when the checkerboard system is imposed on the farm people, they do not tend to locate in the cen-

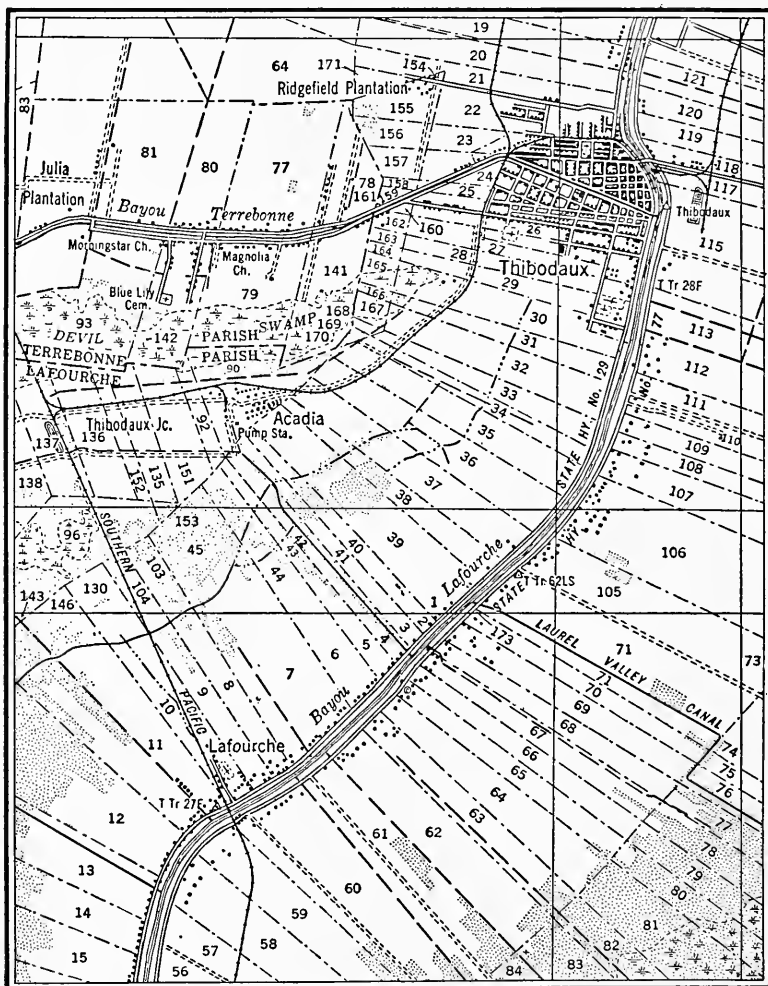


FIG. 73. The line-village settlement pattern as exemplified by a portion of Lafourche Parish, Louisiana. Note the river-front system of land division and the characteristic arrangement of farm homes. (Reproduced from T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 218.)

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 264 ff.

ter of the units, but along the roads and within reasonable distance of neighbors.⁵⁵ Furthermore, land division subsequent to settlement tended to result more frequently in long strips than in smaller squares.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS FOR PLANNED RURAL COMMUNITIES

The various irrigation projects related to the Grand Coulee Dam in the Columbia River Basin will make over a million acres available for settlement. The work of the Columbia Basin Joint Investigations, particularly that led by Carl Taylor of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, has made available information about concrete advantages and disadvantages of various types of settlement, land division, and community organization.⁵⁶ The reports are based upon special studies and summarization of results of "140 years of the westward movement and 40 years of reclamation settlement experience."⁵⁷ This was deemed important by the committee, which reported that "probably at few places in the world have various forms of social structure shown less capacity to maintain themselves in competition with opportunistic adaptations than in the United States."⁵⁸

The following four possibilities of settlement were explored: (1) isolated-holdings or the scattered settlement; (2) crossroad settlement; (3) line settlement; and (4) village settlement. The first three forms permit the placement of the farmer's dwelling on the land he farms, whereas the latter, as previously indicated, does not.

Figure 74 portrays the scattered settlement pattern. It is the most prevalent form in the United States; and although it was facilitated by the various regulations concerning sale and settling, "its growth is largely indigenous and can in a way be said to be an American

⁵⁵ W. R. Goldschmidt, "Some Evidence on the Future Pattern of Rural Settlement," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, December 1943, pp. 387-395.

⁵⁶ Of particular interest in this respect are the reports on Problem 10, stated as follows: "What advantages, economic and social, and what disadvantages, if any, in farm lay-out and farm work might result from the concentration of settlers in small communities or nuclear hamlets?"; and Problem 27, entitled "To plan the location (first for the northern and the southernmost parts of the area) and, insofar as practicable, the improvement of sites for rural schools, churches, community halls, market centers, athletic fields, and the like." Report on Problem 10 of the Columbia Basin Joint Investigations, *op. cit.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

creation.”⁵⁹ Although the farm dwelling could be located in the center of the unit for convenience in getting to the fields, the practice of locating the dwelling near the road became almost universal in the

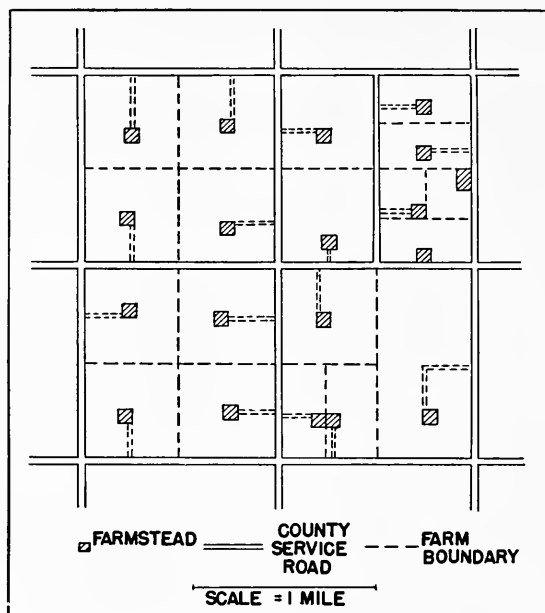


FIG. 74. Schematic diagram showing the scattered settlement pattern. Note the relatively great isolation of families. (Adapted from *The Pattern of Settlement in the Columbia Basin*, Washington, 1944, p. 5.)

United States. In many areas, when houses were first built near the center of the unit, there has been a tendency to move them or to rebuild nearer the road and edges of the farms. The scattered settlement form “first practiced by squatter settlers . . . became institutionalized by preemption and homestead laws and regularized by standard civil surveys. The typical American farmer in early homestead areas was separated from his nearest neighbor on the average of about one-half a mile in each direction.”⁶⁰ As larger units were granted for homesteads, the distance separating houses became

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

greater. In referring to the checkerboard system of land surveys, Smith admits its advantages from the standpoint of surveying and recording, but states that, "from the standpoint of the social and economic welfare of the population on the land it is one of the most vicious modes ever devised for dividing lands."⁶¹ Smith further states that this form, coupled with scattered settlement with irregular boundaries, "has greatly handicapped the rural population of the United States for the past century and a half."⁶²

With the checkerboard system of land division it is possible to have nuclear settlements of four farmsteads at the crossroads. Figure 75

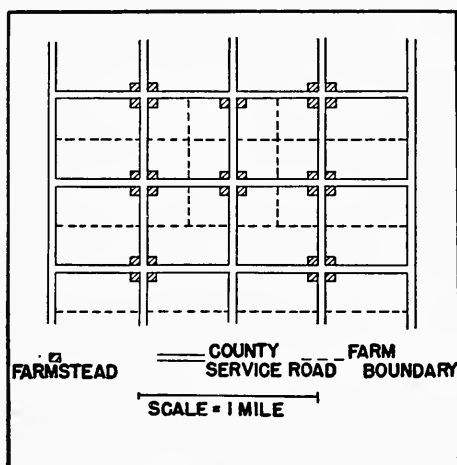


FIG. 75. Schematic diagram showing the crossroad settlement pattern. (Adapted from *The Pattern of Settlement in the Columbia Basin*, Washington, 1944, p. 6.)

shows this pattern in graphic fashion. Another crossroad nucleated pattern is the so-called "F" pattern, illustrated in Figure 76.

In the re-settlement work in Germany under the Nazis, an attempt was made to combine efficiency in farm management practices with the advantages which grouping the homesteads brought in the economy of public services as well as in social advantages. Out of

⁶¹ Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, p. 267.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 267.

this, the so-called "kernel" settlement developed.⁶³ In this system a half-dozen or more building units are grouped on the more intensively used land, and the more distant pastures and other types of land are divided among the settlers. This permits interaction among

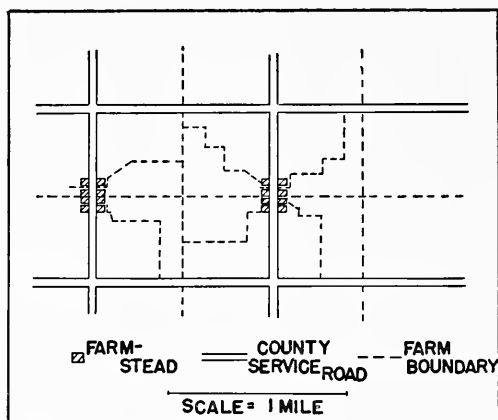


FIG. 76. Schematic diagram showing the cross-road settlement "F" pattern. (Adapted from *The Pattern of Settlement in the Columbia Basin*, Washington, 1944, p. 7.)

the families and allows them to remain on their farm land. All these forms for most situations are inefficient, and studies have shown that when left to their own devices, farmers seldom construct their dwellings so that they form close, crossroad, or other more or less close groupings.

In sample studies of counties, based upon aerial photographs taken in Washington, Idaho, and Oregon, it was found that of 1,441 dwellings, there were only ten three-house clusters and no four-house clusters. Only 13 percent of all houses were built on the road corners. However, there was a tendency to cluster the houses into groups by placing them along both sides of the road. In the sample areas studied, one-third of the units were within ten rods of some other units, and there were some groups of five or more houses, but most frequently there were only two houses close together. It is interesting to note

⁶³ C. P. Loomis, *The Modern Settlement Movement in Germany*, Washington: USDA, 1935. Partly reproduced in *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, pp. 20 ff.

that 86 percent of the farmsteads lie on the road, and one-half are in the corner of the land holding presumably closest to the most frequently used trade center.

Village Settlement. Figure 77 shows the village pattern, with each

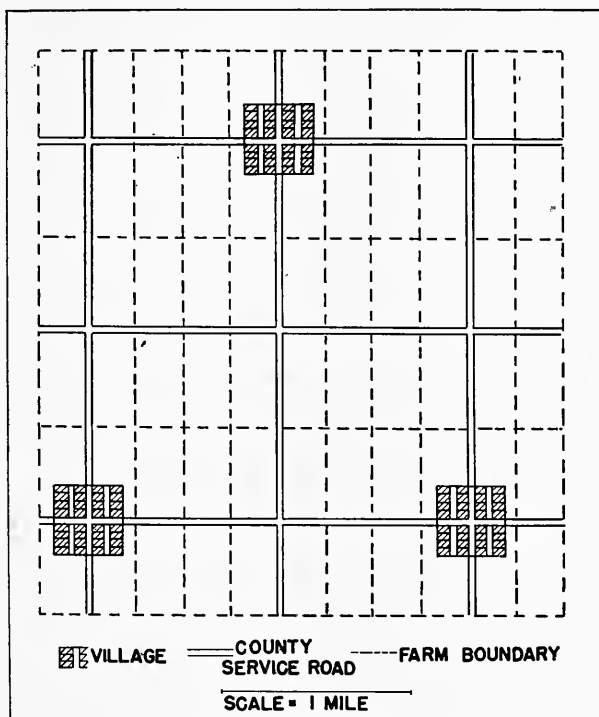


FIG. 77. Schematic diagram showing the village pattern of settlement. (Adapted from *The Pattern of Settlement in the Columbia Basin*, Washington, 1944, p. 9.)

plot containing 80 acres. Although often admitting that the agricultural village with buildings separated from the land had some social and economic advantages in the utilization of public facilities, agricultural economists have long condemned the village as an inefficient means of relating the family labor to the land and livestock.⁶⁴ Al-

⁶⁴ For a classic statement, see F. Aereboe, *Allgemeine landwirtschaftliche Betriebslehre* (Sechste Auflage), Berlin: Paul Parey, 1923, and a longer discussion of the settlement by Aereboe in *Agrarpolitik, Ein Lehrbuch*, Berlin: Paul Parey, 1928, Chapter 7, pp. 570 ff.

though the Spanish village is common in the Southwest, and the Mormon village in Utah and southern Idaho, and various other groups, such as the utopian communities of Mennonites and Dukhobors have survived in the United States, the efficiency of nonvillage operations is being demonstrated more and more as families move out from the village to settle on their land.

Studies made by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life in eight Utah villages demonstrate that when new farm houses are built, there is a greater tendency to locate in the open country than in the village. The most common reason given for moving from the village was the greater ease and efficiency in conducting farm operations and farm management. The most frequent reason given for moving from the open country to the village was to gain the social advantages, chiefly church and school services, of the village.⁶⁵ Over ten years ago, Professor Geddes classified Utah residents into three groups: (1) village, (2) open country, and (3) edge of town. Although the three groups compared favorably in their participation in all social affairs combined, the farm dweller had less contact with school and church and service activities than did either the village or edge of town families.⁶⁶

Line Settlement. The line-village type of settlement exists in many parts of the world. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, it is becoming more and more prevalent as cities develop string-along-the-road settlements in the rural areas, and as farm dwellings tend more and more to be clustered along the highways. Smith⁶⁷ has emphasized the importance of this form in Louisiana, where it developed as a result of French influence. It is also common in French Canada, and remnants can be found in the Lake States area. Figure 78 indicates proposed resettlement patterns based upon this general scheme. In some French line villages, strips of land a few yards wide may extend for miles. Where land is of equal quality and other conditions are favorable, this form may be practical if strips are not too long and narrow. In Figure 78 it is assumed that all farms are of 80 acres in size, and four times as long as they are wide. Since the long form of farming unit is more compatible with the line village than with the square

⁶⁵ Report on Problem 10, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁶⁶ Joseph A. Geddes, *Farm Versus Village Living in Utah*, Logan: Utah AES Bulletin 269, March 1936.

⁶⁷ Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, pp. 236-239.

checkerboard unit, attention was given to the matter of land division after settlement in one Washington and two Idaho counties which were previously laid out in checkerboard pattern. In some divisions,

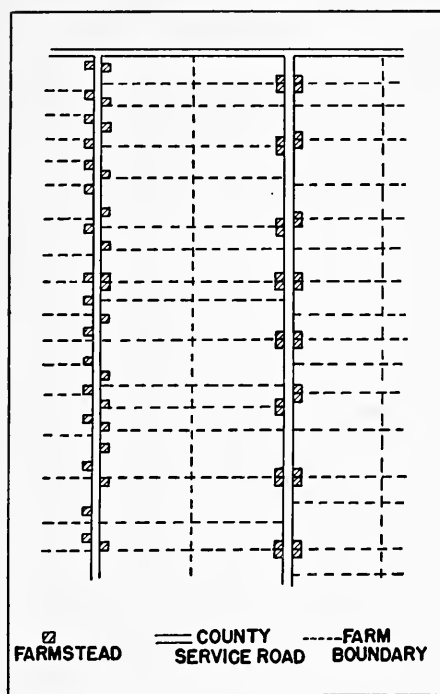


FIG. 78. Schematic diagram showing the line-settlement pattern, free and clustered. (Adapted from *The Pattern of Settlement in the Columbia Basin*, Washington, 1944, p. 11.)

square units did result, but many long, rectangular and L-shaped units also resulted. That the form of holding is extremely important may be shown by comparing Figures 79 and 80. Figure 79 represents a sample area in Canyon County, Idaho, as it is today, and Figure 80 represents a hypothetical redivision of the land so that all units remain the same, but 80-acre tracts are split into long forties. In this way road mileage has been reduced 9.5 miles. To accomplish this economy for the 78 farms, the shape of only 24 and the house location of only 14 would have to be changed.

Still greater economies would be made if both size and shape were flexible, as is the case in new settlement areas. By changing the square checkerboard plan into the long rectangular units, and by varying the sizes of units according to the land types, it was estimated in the

Columbia Basin that roads could be reduced by approximately 50 percent and houses placed at 40- and 60-rod intervals. Specifically, this would be possible if: (1) farms were between 40 and 70 acres;

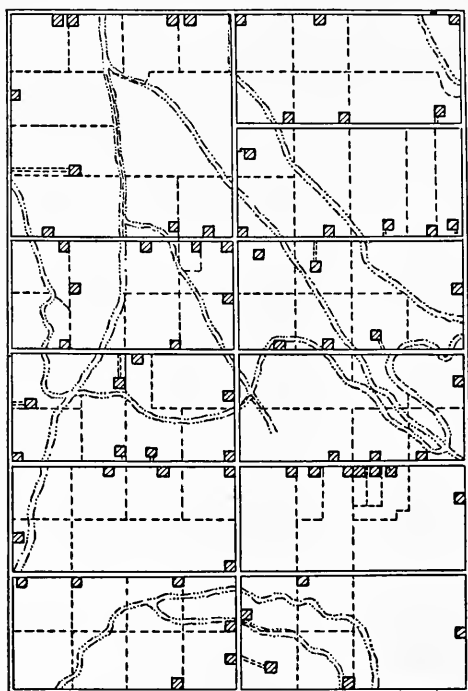


FIG. 79. Diagram showing the present settlement pattern of part of Canyon County, Idaho. (Adapted from *The Pattern of Settlement in the Columbia Basin*, Washington, 1944, p. 28.)

==== COUNTY ROAD === PRIVATE ROAD -.-.- WATERWAY
 -.-.- FARM BOUNDARY ◻ FARMSTEAD

(2) service roads were one mile apart and crossroads came at 2- or 3-mile intervals; and (3) width-depth ratios were allowed to vary from 1:2 to 1:4.⁶⁸

The cost of other services, including water, piping, and electricity, is reflected by the type of settlement. The relative costs and savings of three primary utilities for the different settlement patterns are given in Table 11. It will be noted that the line village offers econo-

⁶⁸ Report on Problem 10, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

mies almost equal to the agricultural village in which the farmer is removed from his land. This fact is at least partially responsible for

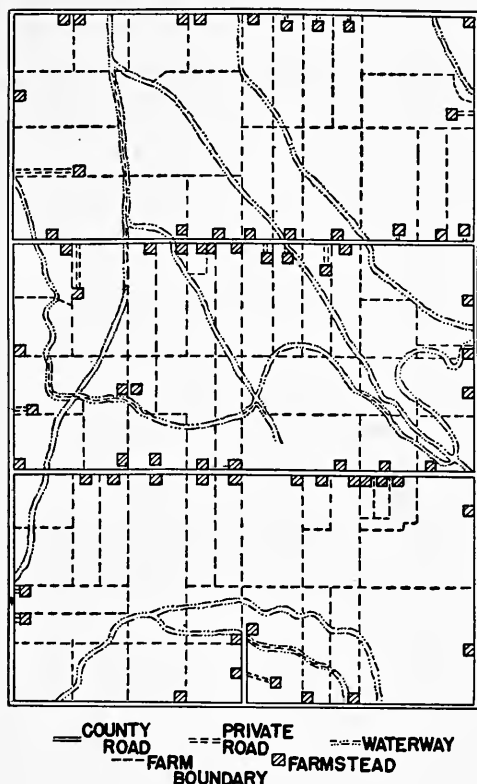


FIG. 80. Diagram showing how economies might have been effected, part of Canyon County, Idaho. (Adapted from *The Pattern of Settlement in the Columbia Basin*, Washington, 1944, p. 29.)

the Columbia River planners' advocating the line village and rectangular strip.

Table 12 indicates the savings of the line village over the isolated settlement type in milk collection and school bus operation. Although these calculations are made for irrigated land areas in which units range from 40 to 70 acres, and although they would obviously not be practical for areas such as the Wheat and Range-Livestock areas of the great plains, great economies might have been possible if more of the country had been settled in accordance with principles being developed in the Columbia Basin.

TABLE 11

Investments for Various Items According to Pattern of Settlement

Pattern of Settlement	Investments per Farm				Saving over Scattered Settlement
	Water Costs	Road Costs	Electricity Costs	Total	
Scattered	Dollars 1,385	Dollars 439	Dollars 193	Dollars 2,017	Dollars 0
Four-farm Cluster	502	439	126	1,067	950
Free-line	340	234	171	745	1,272
Clustered-line	305	234	88	627	1,390
Village Pattern	133	234	74	441	1,576

SOURCE: A Report on Problem 10 of the Columbia Basin Joint Investigations, p. 44.

TABLE 12

Savings in Annual Costs of Various Items According to Pattern of Settlement

Settlement Pattern	Savings per Farm						
	Water Costs	Interest on Investment for Water	Road Maintenance	Electric Service	Milk Collection	School Bus	Total
Scattered Settlement	Dol. .00	Dol. .00	Dol. .00	Dol. .00	Dol. .00	Dol. .00	Dol. .00
Four-farm Cluster	25.00	17.66	.00	7.27	.00	.00	49.93
Free-line Settlement	37.50	20.90	24.47	9.27	3.78	2.34	98.26
Clustered-line settlement	55.00	21.60	24.47	9.27	3.78	3.00	117.12
Village Pattern	70.00	25.10	24.47	11.64	3.78	3.50	138.49

SOURCE: A Report on Problem 10 of the Columbia Basin Joint Investigations, p. 44.

SUMMARY

From an ecological point of view, the activities of a nation may be classified as "center" activities or those related to refining and distributing products, and "field" activities or those related to the procurement of the raw products. If we assume that all persons living in

places of 2,500 or more are engaged in center activities, about 57 percent of the people of the United States are concerned with center pursuits. Over 40 percent of all persons live in cities of 25,000 or more and 29 percent live in cities having at least 100,000. This, however, is merely suggestive of the population employed in center pursuits, for thousands who live in the urban fringes are primarily concerned with center activities.

Large proportions of urban people have come directly from farm backgrounds. Cities would die out if there were no migration from the rural areas. The selectivity of rural-urban migration shows that there is a greater tendency for the younger age groups, especially those between 15 and 25, to leave the country for the city. Farm women and girls migrate more than farm males, a characteristic of all groups under 35 years of age. Although the data on migration as related to intelligence are controversial, there is evidence that on the whole farm-to-city migrants have more formal education and higher intelligence quotients than those who remain on the farm. However, these facts do not prove that those who remain on the farms are any less intelligent. No facts have been presented which disprove the hypothesis that rural-urban migration draws the extremes.

In the study of locality groups nothing is more important than transportation. In those countries of the world which have good highways and a wide distribution of automobiles among rural people, there is no great abyss between the city and the country. One characteristic of urban centers in the United States is the string-along-the-road settlement, extending threads into the rural hinterland. In other areas, the break between the rural and the urban worlds is sharp and distinct. In general, however, even in the United States the closer the rural township is to a city, the lower will be its birth rate and the more urban will be its culture.

Although much has been written about the relative merits of the various types of land division and settlement patterns, few facts have been gathered to demonstrate the superiority or inferiority of the various forms. Facts are presented to indicate that up to 50 percent may be saved in the cost of roads, electric and telephone lines, and other services, if the farm units are rectangular rather than square and if the residences are located along the road. A very interesting study, made through aerial photographs of an area laid out in the checkerboard pattern, proved that 86 percent of the farmers, when free to locate their dwellings where they pleased, located along the

road. One-half built residences at a corner of the holding. One-third of the dwellings were within 10 rods of other homes, but only 13 percent of all houses were erected on road corners. These facts suggest that farmers want some contact with neighbors but that they are unwilling to sacrifice efficient operation for crossroad settlement.

Regardless of the pattern of settlement, the improved highway and the automobile have increased the importance of the trade center. Planners recommend centers of 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants for rural areas. Smaller centers fail to embrace enough children to offer a first-class high school. Such small centers also fail to offer the 25 economic services deemed necessary in effective centers. Although size is not the only important criterion, planners consider places of over 5,000 as "urban-minded." Using the authors' concepts, they are submerged in the value orientation of the contractual Gesellschaft.

CHAPTER 8

RURAL REGIONS AND THEIR ECONOMIC ASPECTS

SINCE IT IS OUR THESIS that the value orientation is determined in large measure by the interaction of people, a derivative of the structure of social systems, we may well ask this question: "Is the South or any other region a social system?" The regions that we shall discuss here are not social systems in the sense that the term is used elsewhere. These regions in most cases, however, are potential social systems. The attitude of the average southern white and Negro farmer toward race, religion, and politics has been found to differ considerably from attitudes of other sections of the country.¹ During the Civil War, the North and the South definitely became separate social systems. A crisis situation can, and sometimes does, lead to concerted action on the part of the regions. Participation in concerted action, it will be remembered, is one characteristic of social systems. A serious attempt by the Federal government at present to make fundamental changes in race relations in the South would bring the existing political and social structure of that region into action.

Aside from the attempt to force quick changes in race relations in the South or the threat of invasion, the most likely crises that could serve to mobilize a region into a social system would probably be related to the problem of making a living. For most farm and rural people, this problem centers around growing and marketing crops. Threatened ruin or starvation resulting from poor crops or low prices has served to mobilize farmers of many areas in farmers' movements and uprisings. Reflections of such conditions are likely to be found in the voting behavior of farmers' representatives in Congress. Because of similar interests, value orientations, work patterns, and social structures in areas having similar farming practices, agricultural regions are potential social systems. We may say, therefore, that the dairy, cotton, corn, wheat, range, subsistence, or livestock farmers

¹ S. H. Britt, *Social Psychology of Modern Life*, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1941, pp. 444 ff.

constitute potential social systems. They may become systems in times of crisis.²

When the farmers in a given area specialize in and are dependent in a large measure for their livelihood upon a single crop or combination of crops, we may call this area a type of farming area. It is a region because of its homogeneity of physical and cultural features which result from the growing of this crop or special combination of crops and livestock.

The Frontier and Sectionalism. The importance of the frontier in our national life, and its relation to the development of regional loyalties resulting in sectionalism, have been described by Frederick Jackson Turner. He writes: "The frontier and the section are two of the most fundamental factors in American history. The frontier is a moving section, or rather a form of society, determined by the reactions between the wilderness and the edge of expanding settlement; the section is the outcome of the deeper-seated geographical conditions interacting with the stock which settled the region. . . . We must remember that each of the sections of this continental nation—New England, the Middle States, the Southeast, the Southwest, the Middle West, the Great Plains, the Mountain States, the Pacific Coast—has its own special geographical qualities, its own resources and economic capacities, and its own rival interest, partly determined in the days when the geological foundations were laid down. . . . We in America are in reality a federation of sections rather than of states."³

Turner criticizes historians for being so "impressed by artificial political boundary lines of states" and for having given undue attention to such political units. He thinks of sections as true social systems: "The American physical map may be regarded as a map of potential nations and empires, each to be conquered and colonized, each to rise through stages of development, each to achieve a certain social and industrial unity, each to possess certain fundamental assumptions, certain psychological traits, and each to interact with the others, and in combination to form that United States. . . ."⁴

Insofar as the farm population is concerned, the day-to-day ex-

² See Chapter 1 for a discussion of the general attributes of social systems. Refer also to Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, "A Typological Analysis of Social Systems," *Sociometry*, Vol. IX, No. 3, August 1948, pp. 147-151.

³ Frederick Jackson Turner, "Significance of Sections in American History," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. VIII, March 1925, p. 183.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

perience of growing and marketing a common product has become much more important than the integrating experiences of the frontier. Far more important elements in shaping the social structure and value orientation of regions in the future unquestionably will be the physical and cultural components of the types of farming areas. The most important physical factors determining type of farming are soil zones, temperature, and precipitation.

TYPES OF FARMING AREAS AS DETERMINED BY PREVAILING ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

For the rural sociologist and anthropologist, no regions are more important than those delineated as type of farming areas.⁵ Elliott classified all the farms of the United States into types, as determined by the source from which 40 percent or more of the income was derived. Using this procedure, 514 areas and sub-areas were delimited and the following conclusion concerning type of farming areas was drawn: "Types of farming are regional manifestations of the principle of economic specialization. They result from man's efforts to adjust himself and his resources to his environmental conditions. Type of Farming, specifically, is a term descriptive of the kind of farming followed on a group of farms having a high degree of uniformity in the kind, relative amount, and proportion of the crops and livestock handled, and in the methods and practices followed in production. Types of farming are identified, therefore, by the form which the farm business takes with respect to size, productive factors used, lines of production carried on, and the general policy adopted in the conduct of the business. When a type of farming is fairly well concentrated in one area, so that it is the prevailing or dominant type in

⁵ See Foster F. Elliott, *Types of Farming in the United States*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933; and Carl C. Taylor *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, p. 340, for a special adaptation dated 1944. The basic descriptions of major types of farming areas in the United States were developed by F. F. Elliott in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. This work remains classic in the field. Elliott classified as general farms those which had no particular source which accounted for 40 percent of the total income in the year of enumeration. If a farm had two sources, each accounting for 40 percent or more of the income, the farm was classified as general, except in specialized combinations where land was classified with the dominant type of the area. When the value of farm products used by the family was 50 percent or more of the total value of all farm products, the farm was classified as self-sufficing.

that area, usually associated with a set of reasonably homogeneous, natural, and economic conditions occurring throughout a definite geographic area, an area so characterized may be called a type of farming area."⁶

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ECOLOGY OF THE TYPES OF FARMING AREAS—SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

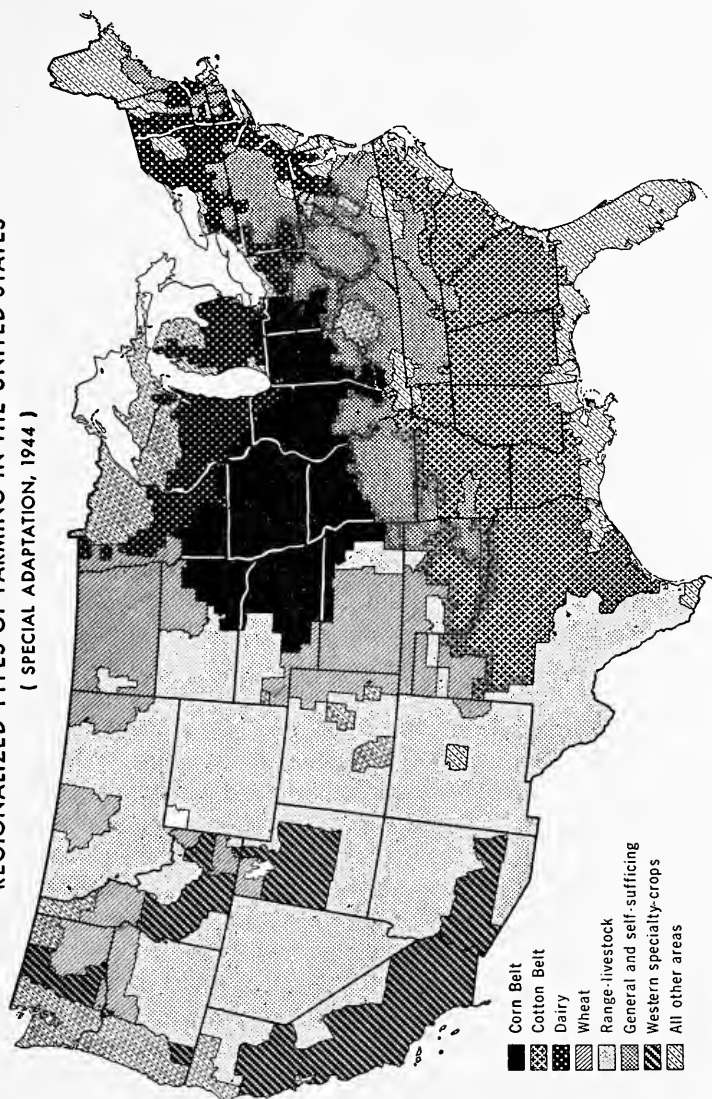
Seven Major Types of Farming Areas. Raper and Taylor's⁷ types of farming areas, depicted in Figure 81, include the: (1) Cotton Belt; (2) Wheat Areas; (3) Corn Belt; (4) Dairy Areas; (5) General and Self-Sufficing Areas; (6) Range-Livestock Areas; (7) Western Specialty-Crop Areas; and (8) All Other Areas, a residual category.

Since we rely for our statistical data and general analysis on Taylor, Raper, and their associates in the United States Department of Agriculture for the discussion of major types of farming areas, it is fitting to quote from his and Raper's discussion of rural cultural regions and types of farming areas. After indicating some of the shortcomings of the cultural regions, they write: "It remains quite correct, however, to emphasize that, except for the cultural island and for the type-farming situations that contrast sharply because of soil and topographical factors, the boundary lines between rural cultural areas are quite indistinct and usually cover a considerable area. The very indistinctness of these boundaries throws into relief three significant facts: first, that cultural areas have cores or hearts; second, that the core or heart of one cultural area differs from the core or heart of all others; and third, that the indistinct boundaries of cultural areas are but the overlapping fringes of two or more distinct core-centered areas. . . . The major type-farming areas of the country constitute meaningful regional universes. Their delineation is the end

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁷ Taylor, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Part IV. Carl C. Taylor was among the first of the rural sociologists to recognize the importance of considering types of farming areas for administration, research, and description. One of the authors and other associates joined him in teaching courses in rural sociology at the American University and at the United States Department of Agriculture Graduate School in which the regional analysis came to be centered more and more on the types of farming areas. Elliott's major divisions are: Mixed Farming, Fruit and Mixed Farming, Range-Livestock, Wheat and Small Grains, Dairy, Corn Belt, General Farming, Cotton Belt, Self-Sufficing, Special Crops, Tobacco and General Farming, Truck and Non-Agricultural.

REGIONALIZED TYPES OF FARMING IN THE UNITED STATES
(SPECIAL ADAPTATION, 1944)



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 45661-1 BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

Fig. 81. Major types of farming areas in the United States. (Source: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A.)

product of a number of years of careful research by agricultural economists who have attempted to group areas within which exist a marked uniformity of production-economic behavior. And to the information used in this delineation, economists and physical scientists are constantly adding data that are useful in social analysis.”⁸

We shall describe each of the major types of farming areas somewhat in detail later in this chapter, but first, in order to make this description more meaningful, we wish to explain another concept, cultural regions. Cultural regions are usually smaller than the major types of farming areas and frequently may be considered as components of them, as Figure 82 demonstrates. An understanding of the nature of cultural regions and the manner in which they are delineated will assist in understanding the types of farming areas and the regional nature of the United States.

CULTURAL AREAS

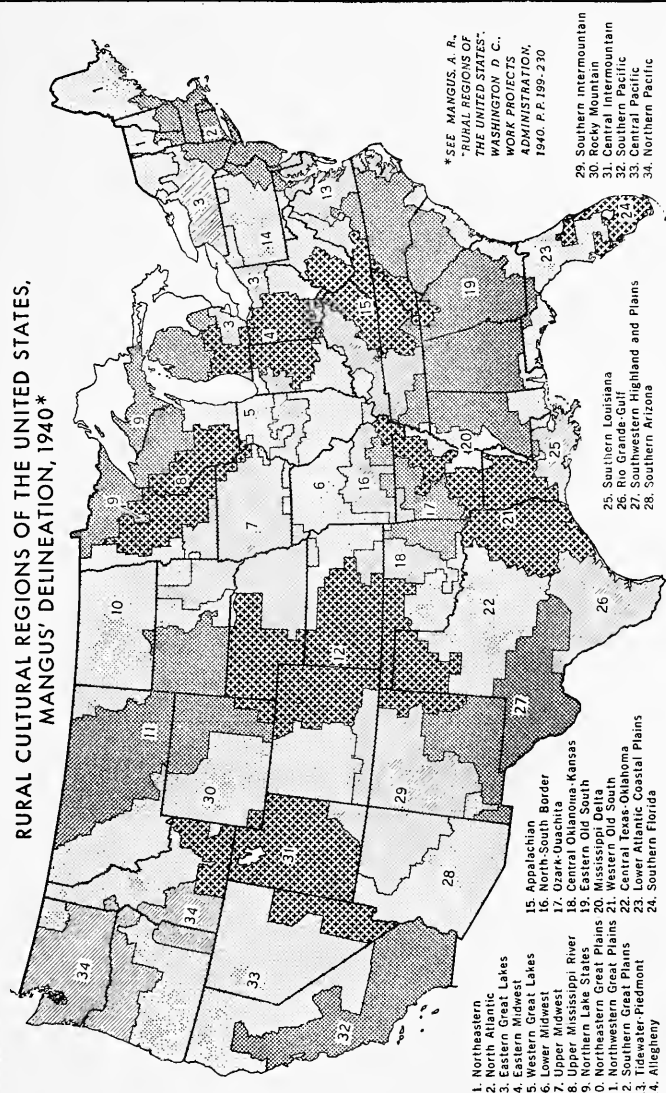
One of the most important sociological monographs to come out of the depression is entitled, *Six Rural Problem Areas*.⁹ These encompass the winter wheat area, centering in western Kansas, and the spring wheat area, centering in North Dakota (together comprising a major part of the Wheat Areas), the Eastern Cotton Belt and the Texas and Oklahoma Cotton Areas (both of which are included in the Cotton Belt), the Appalachian-Ozark Area (a significant part of the General and Self-Sufficing type of farming area), and the Lake States Cut-Over Area of northern Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, a residual area not included in Taylor's seven major types of farming areas. These six areas encompassed approximately one-half of the rural relief families, but they contained only 36 percent of the rural population. Since four of the areas are practically coterminous with the types of farming areas we have used, our belief that types of farming areas are important for general descriptive and administrative purposes gains considerable support.

For sampling investigations and research designs directed toward a description of cultural characteristics, cultural areas may be more useful than types of farming areas. The cultural area concept was

⁸ Arthur F. Raper and Carl C. Taylor, "Rural Culture," in Taylor *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-339.

⁹ P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, *Six Rural Problem Areas*, Research Monograph I, Washington: Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 1935.

RURAL CULTURAL REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, MANGUS' DELINEATION, 1940*



*SEE MANGUS, A. R.,
"RURAL REGIONS OF
THE UNITED STATES",
WASHINGTON, D. C.,
WORK PROJECTS,
ADMINISTRATION,
1940. P. P. 199-230

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Fig. 82. Rural cultural regions of the United States as delineated by Mangus. (SOURCE: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A.)

developed by American ethnologists. Wissler¹⁰ mapped the cultural regions of the American Indians, and Kroeber defined the cultural area as "an area set off from others by relative internal homogeneity of culture and differentiation against outside."¹¹ The most extensive mapping and regional studies were made by Odum and his associates at the University of North Carolina.¹² Unfortunately, the six major regions used by Odum—the Northeast, Middle States, Southeast, Southwest, Northwest, and Far West—cut across the major types of farming areas just described, and do not depict "organic wholes," in the sense that the type of farming area, the sub-area, or the cultural region do.

Lively and Almack¹³ developed statistical techniques for determining the significant factors for delineating regions based on rural cultural characteristics in Ohio. They inter-correlated some 175 items concerning each county to determine which were related. The fertility ratio, for instance, was closely related to many other indices of social structure and value orientation. By using this ratio, they could drop many others, because the fertility ratio represented other factors or variables in the matrix. In this manner, it was possible to reduce the number of indices used in delineating regions from 175 to 25.

Using somewhat similar methods, Mangus mapped the farm and rural cultural areas of the nation. See Figure 82. Mangus describes his procedures as follows:

On the basis of the results of such factor analyses seven nationally distributed variables and three less widely distributed factors were selected for delineating rural-farm regions and subregions. The nationally distributed variables were as follows:

(1) A rural-farm plane-of-living index combining the average value of the farm dwelling, the percent of farms having automobiles, the percent of farm homes having electric lights, the percent having running

¹⁰ Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, Third Edition, New York: Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 220–248.

¹¹ A. L. Kroeber, "Culture Area," in *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937, p. 646.

¹² Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936; and Howard W. Odum and Harry E. Moore, *American Regionalism*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1938.

¹³ C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, "A Method of Determining Rural Social Sub-Areas with Application to Ohio," Wooster: Ohio AES Mimeograph Bulletin No. 106, January 1938.

water piped into the house, the percent having telephones, and the percent having radios, 1930.

(2) A rural-farm population fertility index constructed by computing the ratio of children under 5 years of age to women 20-44 years of age, 1930.

(3) Percent of farms producing less than \$1,000 gross income, 1929.

(4) Percent of farm tenancy, 1935.

(5) Land value per capita of the rural-farm population, 1930.

(6) Percent of farm produce consumed on farms, 1929.

(7) Percent of rural families residing on farms, 1930.

The factors of more localized importance were:

(1) Percent Negroes constituted of the total rural-farm population in the South, 1930.

(2) Percent "other races" constituted of the total rural-farm population in the Southwest, 1930.

(3) Percent farm wage workers constituted of all agricultural workers in the West, 1930.

In addition, physiographic features were taken into account in places where these were prominent elements.¹⁴

In describing how the regions and sub-regions were delineated, Mangus brings to light very important relationships. The relevant passage follows:

. . . It was found that when cards containing county ratios representing broadly significant factors are brought together on the basis of homogeneity, they represent counties that tend to fall together or in the same general locality. Moreover, they often represent counties that are known to be located within a distinct culture area. This may be illustrated by reference to the two factors representing the rural-farm plane of living and population fertility. . . . If, from the cards which record these factors for all counties in the United States, those that represent counties with the lowest plane of living and at the same time the highest ratio of children to women are sorted out, their regional pattern when plotted on a map is most striking. Such counties make up the Southern Appalachian Highland divided by the Tennessee Valley, the Ozark and Ouachita Highlands, various parts of the Old South, a large section of the Southwest where Indians and Mexicans form the ethnic basis for a distinct culture area, and the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

If the extreme opposites of these counties are plotted, that is, counties

¹⁴ A. R. Mangus, *Rural Regions of the United States*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940, pp. 79-80.

with highest plane of living and lowest population fertility, equally striking results appear. These counties are found in the great manufacturing area along the Eastern Seaboard, in central New England and central New York, in the Midwest, in California, in the Puget Sound area, in the Columbia-Willamette Valley, and in the plateau wheat country of Washington and Oregon, all of which constitute recognized regional realities.¹⁵

Actually there are only two major areas in the United States in which the usual relationships between fertility rates and levels of living do not apply. One exception is found in the Mormon culture, where high birth rates are associated with high levels of living, and the other is in the Mississippi Delta area, in which low birth rates are associated with low levels of living.

Relationships between Cultural Regions and Type of Farming Areas. When the major rural regions delineated by Mangus are compared with the seven major types of farming areas described in the preceding section, it will be noted that there is a remarkable amount of convergence. (See Figure 83.)

THE COTTON BELT

More people in the United States are dependent upon cotton than upon any other crop. Over three-tenths of the nation's farm population reside in the 690 counties that Raper¹⁶ discusses as constituting the Cotton Belt, and these counties produce nine-tenths of the cotton grown. (See Figure 84.) In the Cotton Belt, cotton is truly king.¹⁷ In no type of farming area are the lives of the people, whether they live on the land or in town, so thoroughly dominated by the planting, harvesting, and handling of a single crop. As Raper¹⁸ implies, this is symbolized by the frequent response to inquiries concerning the state of one's health in the lingo of the cotton-grader, "fair to middlin'!"

The development of the cotton plantation is largely responsible for the fact that the Cotton Belt has the highest proportion of its total population living on farms, the highest farm tenancy rate, the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

¹⁶ Arthur F. Raper, "The Cotton Belt," in Taylor *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

¹⁷ Rupert B. Vance, *Human Factors in Cotton Culture: A Study in the Social Geography of the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1929.

¹⁸ Raper, *op. cit.*, p. 345.

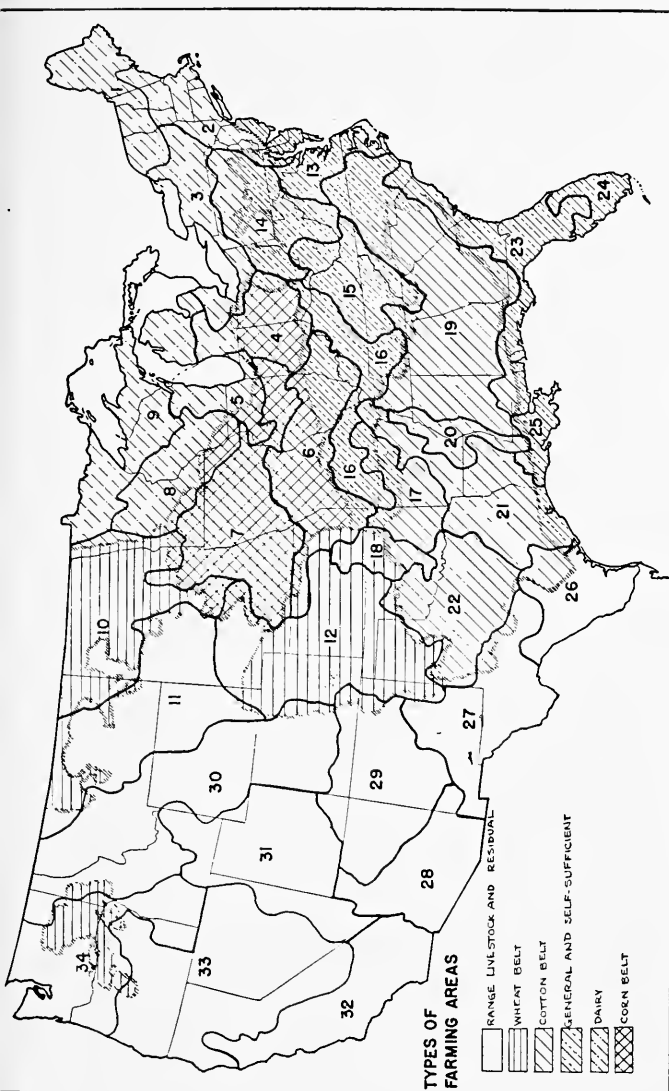


FIG. 83. Major types of farming areas and rural cultural regions. Cotton, for example, is king in the Cotton Belt, where social life has distinctive features. Geographic and cultural factors condition the economic systems of all the types of farming areas. Each of the major types of farming areas contain one or more cultural regions. Often the boundaries of the cultural areas coincide with those of the types of farming areas. Birth rates, levels of living, tenure, and racial composition reflect a homogeneity in attitudes and social structure. The types of farming areas and their cultural regions constitute potential social systems, which in times of crisis may acquire formal structure through farmers' movements or special interest groups.

lowest rural-farm level of living index, and the largest proportion of non-whites. This crop and the plantation system that went with it placed such a large premium on commercial and agricultural man-

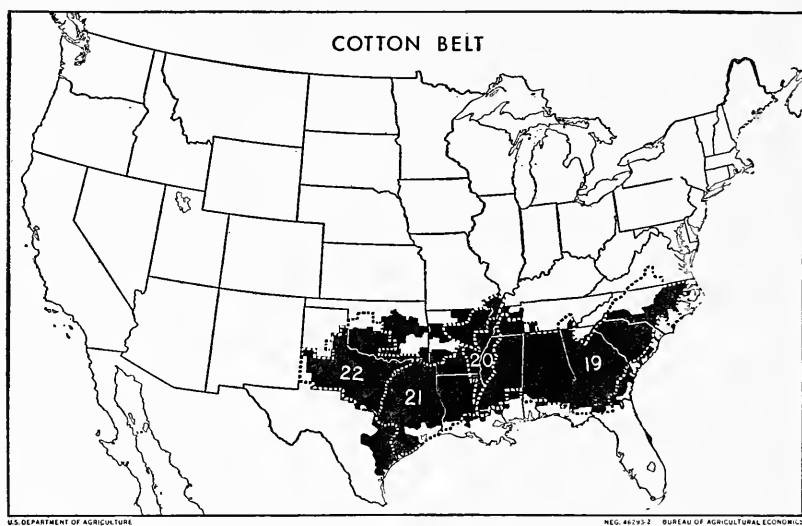


FIG. 84. The Cotton Belt and Rural Cultural Regions. (SOURCE: Adapted from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A.)

agement that it invited the development of slavery—the precursor of the present class-caste system and the most important single element in the culture of the South. As would be expected, the Cotton Belt with its huge proportion of farm laborers, sharecroppers, and tenants is more dependent upon hand labor than any other area. Most of the cotton is grown with the use of plows, hand labor, and without the use of tractors. Undoubtedly the slowness with which the Cotton Belt has been mechanized, although due in part to the difficulty in inventing an effective cotton picker and to the elements of terrain, is primarily due to the cheap labor supply resulting from a surplus of population. The strangle hold that cotton has upon the people of the Cotton Belt is increased by the dependence of the various classes upon borrowed money. In plantation areas, lower classes are “furnished” provisions by the plantation operator pending the harvesting of the crop, and plantation operators in turn borrow for huge outlays of commercial fertilizer and other requirements from town merchants

and bankers.¹⁹ In areas where family operations are more prevalent, credit is extended by the town merchants. Unbelievably high interest rates are often paid for these services.

Possibly the most important trend in the Cotton Belt in recent years is the shifting of the center of production from the Southeast to the Southwest and the rather slow mechanization of some processes such as picking. At present, over half of the cotton is produced west of the Mississippi River. In the Southeastern Plantation section of the Old South, Area 19 in Figure 84, the plantation system sets the pace and pattern of life. Its influence is far greater than its geographic extent, and the percentage of farms operated by tenants closely parallels the extent to which farming in the South is a plantation operation. In the newer cotton sections of Texas and Oklahoma, Areas 21 and 22, the tenancy rate is lower, large scale family-owned farms are more common, and mechanical strippers, multiple-row machinery, and Spanish-American labor are used. In the Southeastern Plantation sections, Area 19, subsistence farming of the thin soil and hilly areas by white owner-operators is common. In many of the northern and western fringes of the Cotton Belt, from the Carolinas to western Texas, the inhabitants often exclude all Negroes. In general, the largest proportion of the people are non-white in the Southwestern, Southeastern, and Delta Plantation Areas, Areas 21, 19, and 20 in Figure 84.

Within the Cotton Belt fall the major portions of four rural cultural regions. (See Figure 83.) These regions are the Southeastern Plantation (Area 19), the Delta Plantation (Area 20), the Southwestern Plantation (Area 21), and the Cattle Trails (Area 22). The Southeastern Plantation Area (Area 19) is inhabited by old southern white stock and about 40 percent Negro population. Nearly two-thirds of the farmers are tenants and are characterized by one of the lowest planes of living. It is an area in which high birth rates prevail. The Delta Plantation section is largely rural and is one of the densest in the nation. It has the highest percentage of Negroes of all the cultural regions. Birth rates for Negroes in this area are low, an outstanding exception to the general rule that low-level-of-living areas are associated with high birth rates. The Southwestern Plantation, Area 21, was settled from the Old South and consists of about one-third Negro

¹⁹ In 1945 the cotton commercial fertilizer bill was nearly \$50,000,000. It was heaviest on the eroded uplands east of the Mississippi alluvial plain and immediately west of it. The river bottoms require relatively little fertilizer. Raper, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

population. The plane of living is low, the birth rate is slightly above average, and more than half the farmers are tenants. The Cattle Trails region, Area 22, was also settled from the Old South and is largely native-white. The level of living is below average, the birth rate slightly high, and more than half the farmers are tenants.

THE WHEAT AREAS

The Wheat Areas,²⁰ as delineated in Figure 85, include 250 coun-

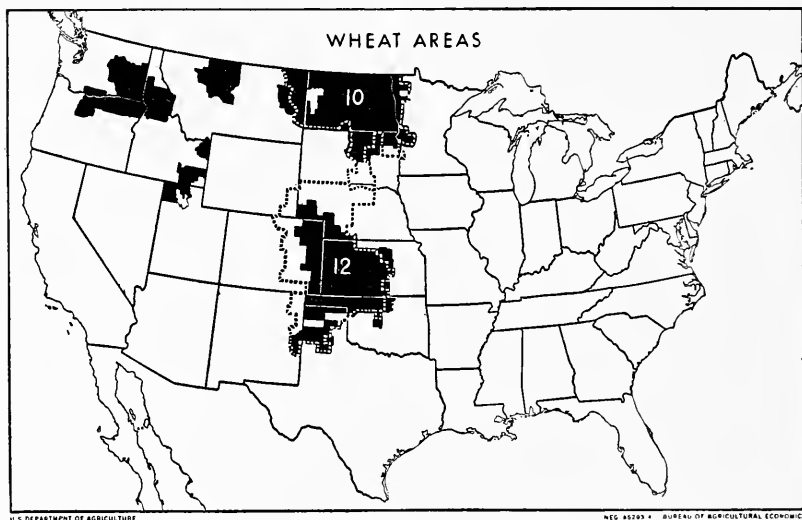


FIG. 85. The Wheat Areas and Rural Cultural Regions. (SOURCE: Adapted from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A.)

ties with about 300,000 farms on which three-fourths of the wheat produced in the United States is grown. The areas, as indicated by the illustration, are scattered.

Although one-fourth of the wheat is produced outside the five areas shown in Figure 85, wheat production is concentrated in the great wheat regions of North Dakota, western Kansas, and the Columbia Basin or "Big Bend" area of northern Idaho, eastern Washington, and Oregon. The chief wheat-producing areas outside the 250 coun-

²⁰ See Carl C. Taylor, "The Wheat Areas," in Taylor *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Chapter 22; and Earl H. Bell, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Sublette, Kansas*, Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Rural Life Studies No. 2, 1942.

ties designated as the Wheat Areas are the Corn Belt and the General and Self-Sufficing Areas.

The major Wheat Areas have some of the geographical characteristics of that part of the Range-Livestock Areas located on the Great Plains. Settlement is generally sparse; the density of population is less than six persons per square mile. The Wheat Areas are treeless, windy, and receive little rainfall. During the drought of the great depression, the winter and spring wheat areas of the Great Plains constituted one of the "six problem areas" of the nation. The southern winter wheat area centering in western Kansas comprised the "Dust Bowl," from which dust particles were blown thousands of miles. When precipitation increased, however, these areas again produced large yields of wheat.

Perhaps one of the principal characteristics of the value orientation of the people of the major Wheat Areas is a type of optimism. Town people and farm dwellers alike talk of "playing" at wheat, and the risks resulting from the unpredictability of the weather and pests have caused the farming of the Wheat Areas to be dubbed "slot machine agriculture."

The Wheat Areas have always been the most highly mechanized of the rural areas. The planting and harvesting are the peak work seasons, making it possible for some farmers to manage farms through the investment of only a few months each year. Some have called these operators "suitcase farmers," and although they constitute only a small portion of the wheat farmers they illustrate the extent of mechanization and the dependence upon one crop. The areas are characterized by big farms, few large cities, farm residences with no groves or orchards, few large barns, sheds, or cribs, and large farming equipment.

With the exception of one relatively small wheat-producing area in northern Idaho, eastern Washington, and Oregon, two rural cultural areas coincide with this major type of farming area. These two areas are the Northeastern Homestead, Area 10 in Figure 85, and the Southern Homestead, Area 12. The former is centered in North Dakota, the heart of the spring wheat area; the latter in western Kansas, the center of the winter wheat area. The Northeastern Great Plains consists of mixed homestead settlements in which half of the population is foreign born or of mixed parentage. The plane of living is average, the farm birth rate is relatively high, and nearly one-half of the farmers are tenants. As will be indicated later, the more radical farm or-

ganizations, including the Farmers' Alliance, American Society of Equity, and the Non-Partisan League, have been strong in this area. The southern Great Plains area is thinly settled by mixed stocks. Although this area is subject to severe drought, the plane of living is above the national average. The birth rate is near average and almost one-half of the farmers are tenants. However, throughout the Wheat Areas many tenants occupy a social and economic status comparable to that of owners.

THE CORN BELT

The Corn Belt,²¹ described by Figure 86, contains approximately

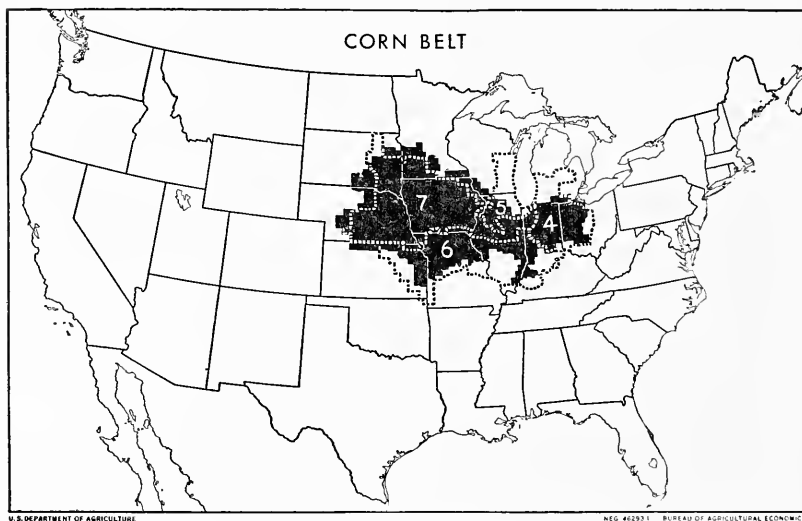


FIG. 86. The Corn Belt and Rural Cultural Regions. (SOURCE: Adapted from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A.)

900,000 farms. In no other commercial farming area, except perhaps for the Dairy Areas, is the family-sized farm operation so dominant. The Corn Belt contains the largest proportions of the farmers, with gross incomes ranging between \$1,500 and \$4,000, and in no other area is the proportion of extremely rich and poor lower. Even on the commercial farms of the Corn Belt, the volume of home-produced family consumption items is greater than in other areas, except for the General and Self-Sufficing Areas. With the exception of the

²¹ See Carl C. Taylor, "The Corn Belt," in Taylor *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Chapter 21.

Wheat Areas, a smaller proportion of the farm operators work 100 days or more off the farm. Furthermore, the Corn Belt farmers employ fewer man days of hired labor than any other area, with the exception of the farmers of the General and Self-Sufficing Areas. The farm operators of the Corn Belt have the highest level of living index in the nation. Apparently the devotion of the family to work on the farm, production of consumption items for home use, efficient operation, moderate employment of outside labor, and good soils and markets have made it possible for the farmers of this area to purchase home necessities and conveniences to a greater extent than elsewhere.

As would be expected in a stable, prosperous area, there are few of the more emotional religious sects. Older-established and conservative Protestant religious groups predominate. Although mechanization and commercialization of the farming of the Corn Belt have increased the risks involved in farming, the Midwest operator, like the dairy farmer, has fewer of the gambler's attitudes toward his operations than does the operator in the Wheat or Range-Livestock Areas. The work load of the families, although less even than that of the dairy farmers, contains few peaks. As in the Dairy Areas, it is easier to predict what a given investment of effort and money will produce than it is in other areas. As a result of these and other factors, the Corn Belt farmers are among the world's hardest working, thriftiest, and most well-to-do.

Unlike the farmers in most areas, Corn Belt farmers quite frequently retire to towns of the area, or, in some instances, to the West Coast. Earlier generations who educated their children for non-farming occupations were often replaced by hard-working, thrifty foreign stock who, after becoming acculturated, fell into the same pattern and began educating their children for the professions and other non-farm occupations. With improved transportation, the importance of the local neighborhoods of the Corn Belt declined and the farmer's dependence on the trade center for social and economic services increased, so that the trade center is the most important locality group in the area. Despite the gradual development of the trade-center community, particularly those having county-seat centers, there has been great resistance to the consolidation of the neighborhood district schools. These schools are often the most important integrating element of local neighborhood life and constitute a symbol of group solidarity which older, more well-to-do farmers frequently wish to retain. The symbols of the area—the corn fields, hog lots, white

painted houses, large barns, corn cribs, and the rectangular system of land division—prevail throughout the Corn Belt. Although we have designated the area as the Corn Belt, livestock feeding and production, particularly the breeding and fattening of hogs, also center in this area. In addition, the Corn Belt produces oats, hay, soy beans, wheat, cattle, poultry, sheep, and other products.

Cultural Area 7, shown in Figure 86, like the type of farming area called the Corn Belt, accounts for the bulk of the land area in this type of farming area. Here one-third of the population is of foreign or mixed parentage. This cultural area is near the top in plane of living and below average in birth rate, and more than one-half of the farmers are tenants. The eastern part of the Corn Belt is composed of several cultural areas and is not culturally homogenous. As may be noted from Figure 86, Areas 4, 5, and 6 cut into the Corn Belt. The southern fringe of the area, including a considerable portion of the lower Middle West or Cultural Area 7, has smaller farms, fewer foreign-born residents, lower levels of living, and larger percentages of farm operators who work off the farm than in the Corn Belt generally. The northern fringe, which includes part of Lake Shore Metropolitan cultural region, Area 5, extends into the milksheds of large cities. A large proportion of the population is of Scandinavian origin, a characteristic of the western part of the Dairy Areas.

THE DAIRY AREAS

If there is need for proof that the value orientation and significant social relationships of farm people are influenced by the manner in which they produce what provides them with their economic basis for life, the Dairy Areas provide this proof. The 268 counties that Raper²² designates as the Dairy Areas, shown in Figure 87, include wide variations in soil type, climate, and terrain. The history, length of settlement, settlement pattern, form of local government, ethnic composition, and other similar cultural factors vary greatly throughout the Dairy Area, which extends halfway across the continent from the East Coast to the Spring Wheat Area of the northern Great Plains. In spite of all these topographical and cultural differences, the activities involved in producing dairy products stamp the farmers of the area with distinctive characteristics not found elsewhere.

If we were dealing in opposites, we could contrast in detail the

²² Arthur F. Raper, "The Dairy Areas," in Taylor *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 414 ff.

Dairy and the Wheat Areas. In the former, the income and work load are relatively constant and predictable throughout the year and from generation to generation; in the latter, principally because of the

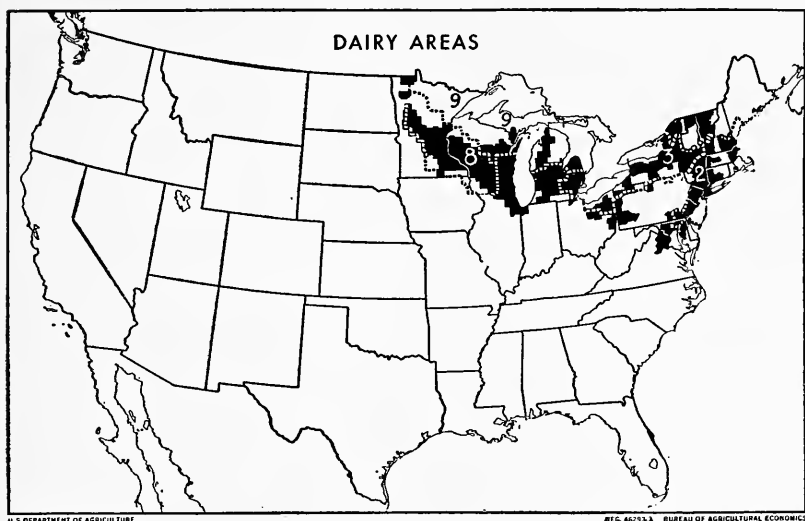


FIG. 87. The Dairy Areas and Rural Cultural Regions. (SOURCE: Adapted from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A.)

vicissitudes of the market and weather, great fluctuations occur within the year and through the years. The work and marketing pattern of the Dairy Areas lead to a value orientation that places a high premium upon thriftiness and hard work, the demonstration of which is solvency and attainment. Here one finds little chance "to make a killing" in a short period of time. Consequently, one seldom encounters the gambling spirit of the Wheat or Range-Livestock Areas. Such values are reflected in greater permanence of residence and in greater interest in retaining the enterprise in the family from generation to generation. One also finds greater interest in soil building and conservation, which is facilitated by the availability of animal manure. In this respect, the Dairy Areas resemble the Corn Belt Areas except insofar as the latter are involved in livestock feeding and considerable risk.

The work load on the dairy farm is constant throughout the seasons. The daily milking periods on Sundays and week-days alike; the careful twice-a-day washing of pails, milking machine parts, and other

containers; the daily cleaning and caring for animals and stables; and similar details confine the dairy operator and his family to the enterprise more than do most other occupations, whether rural or urban. It is this very constancy of the work pattern and predictability of the income that make the dairy farmer and his family the hardest-working farm family in the country. The typical pattern in one area known to the authors is for the farm family to rise at 5 A.M. and to retire at 10 P.M., a year-round practice. Such work patterns are rare among farmers in other types of farming areas.

In no other major type of farming area do farm families come into such close and frequent contact with urban life. This is particularly true where the farmer delivers fluid milk to town and city residents in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Even in the butter and cheese areas of Wisconsin and Minnesota, however, the dairy farmer goes to town relatively frequently. Only in the Scandinavian-American region, Area 8, is the population predominantly rural. Elsewhere in the Dairy Areas the population is predominantly urban. For the Dairy Areas as a whole, only a tenth of the population live on farms, two-tenths in rural-nonfarm places, and seven-tenths in cities.²³ Included in the Dairy Areas are four of the nation's largest cities. It is in this area that the country-city fringe development is most prevalent. In these areas the farm residences are scattered among the tar-paper shacks and modest homes of migrants from the General and Self-Sufficing Areas and the Cotton Belt. One may also find the homes of industrial workers near those of wealthy estate owners whose sources of income are urban.²⁴

In the Dairy Areas there are jobs suited to all ages and to both sexes, and the family works as a unit more than in any other commercial type of farming area. Family operation is the rule. "Milk factories" or "dwarf operations" are the exception rather than the rule. Ordinarily, the dairy herds range from 10 to 40 cows, depending on the number a farmer, his family, and some hired help can handle.

²³ Raper, "The Dairy Areas," *op. cit.*, p. 416. See also Frank D. Alexander and Lowry Nelson, *Rural Social Organization in Goodhue County, Minnesota*, St. Paul: Minnesota AES Bulletin 401, February 1949. Goodhue County is one of the five dairy counties selected for study in cooperation with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life. The other dairy types of farming counties include Litchfield, Connecticut; Hampshire, Massachusetts; Oneida, New York; and Frederick, Maryland.

²⁴ Walter Firey, *Social Aspects of Land Use Planning in the Country-City Fringe*, East Lansing: Michigan State College AES Special Bulletin 339, 1946.

The mechanization of milking operations, stable cleaning, and feed production make it possible to increase the size of operation. Typically, the dairy farm is diversified because of the need for feed. Modern scientific farming — with tractors, manure spreaders, silos, pasture fertilization, balanced feeding, improved breeding and selection, and milking machines — is widespread. Only one-eighth of the farmers in the 268 counties in this type of farming area are tenants. An exceptionally large percentage of the farms have such conveniences as electricity, refrigeration, running water, central heat, and telephones. The pride of the dairy farmer, particularly the German and Scandinavian, is the dairy herd. Each cow is affectionately referred to by a "pet name." The dairy farmer also takes pride in well-repaired and painted farm buildings, large barns and silos, and well-kept pastures and fences.

The upper-class dairy farmers, like the equivalent Corn Belt farmers, follow the pattern of the American middle class. They tend to be "joiners," and in no other area is the cooperative movement stronger. Farm organizations such as the Farm Bureau and the Grange, as well as many special interest groups such as breed associations and dairy herd improvement associations, are widespread throughout the Dairy Areas. The middle-class religious denominations such as Congregational and Presbyterian are common in rural New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, especially in those sections where the old American stocks still predominate. Methodist and Baptist churches are common throughout the area, and the Lutheran and Catholic churches are found among ethnic groups such as the Polish, Scandinavian, Finnish, Bohemian, and German in the central and western part of the area. The Amish, Mennonites, and other Plain People live in the Philadelphia-Baltimore milk shed. There are relatively few emotional sects such as the Jehovah's Witnesses or holiness groups among the farming people. These groups are spreading, however, among the rural-nonfarm population in fringe areas where industrial laborers reside.

The township is the most important local governmental unit in the New England Upland and the Eastern Metropolitan cultural regions, Areas 1 and 2 in Figure 87. Elsewhere in the Dairy Areas, the counties are the strongest units. Consolidated schools are becoming the rule throughout the Dairy Areas. Gradually, as the center of activity shifts to the trade centers, farmers have tended to lose control of the social and economic service agencies and political positions.

Five cultural areas cluster to form this type of farming area. (See Figure 87.) Area 1, the New England Upland cultural region, consists of Old American and Canadian stocks. The rate of ownership is very high, and the birth rate is fairly low. The plane of living in this area is high. The Eastern Metropolitan cultural region, Area 2 in Figure 87, contains nearly one-third of the nation's urban and nearly one-eighth of the nation's rural-nonfarm population. One-third of the population is foreign-born or of foreign parentage. As might be expected in such an urbanized region, birth rates are very low and the average plane of living is the highest in the nation. The proportion of tenancy is very low. The Erie Canal—Lake Shore cultural region, Area 3 in Figure 87, was settled early from New England. Over one-fourth of the population is foreign, birth rates are low, the plane of living is high, and rates of ownership are high. Cultural Region 8, the Scandinavian-American, contains many of northern European descent. The plane of living is moderately high, the birth rate is intermediate, and less than one-third of the population are tenants. To the north of the Scandinavian area is Cultural Area 9, the Lake States Cut-Over. Over half of the residents of this area are foreign-born or of mixed parentage. Although a large amount of produce is consumed by the farm family in this area, the plane of living is average and tenancy rates are low. The birth rate is average in this area.

GENERAL AND SELF-SUFFICING AREAS

With the exception of the Spanish-Americans and Indians in the Range-Livestock Areas of the Southwest, isolation probably plays a more significant role in the lives of the people of the General and Self-Sufficing Areas²⁵ than in any other area in the United States. (See Figure 88.) These areas contain the most rugged terrain east of the Rockies; it is this feature that explains much of the isolation. The area is characterized by limited land resources, small, uneven fields, and badly eroded, hilly land. Population pressure is great and many marginal lands have been opened for cultivation, resulting in the depletion of game and forest resources. There is a large amount of out-migration. In general, the area has the lowest incomes, and a relatively large proportion of the total value of family living is produced on the farm. Tools are simple, life is unhurried, leisure is no luxury

²⁵ See Arthur F. Raper, "The General and Self-Sufficing Areas," in Taylor *et al.*, Chapter 26.

but rather the accepted rule, and relationships in business and politics are extremely personal. Formal organizations or special interest groups are less widespread than in other areas. Family relationships

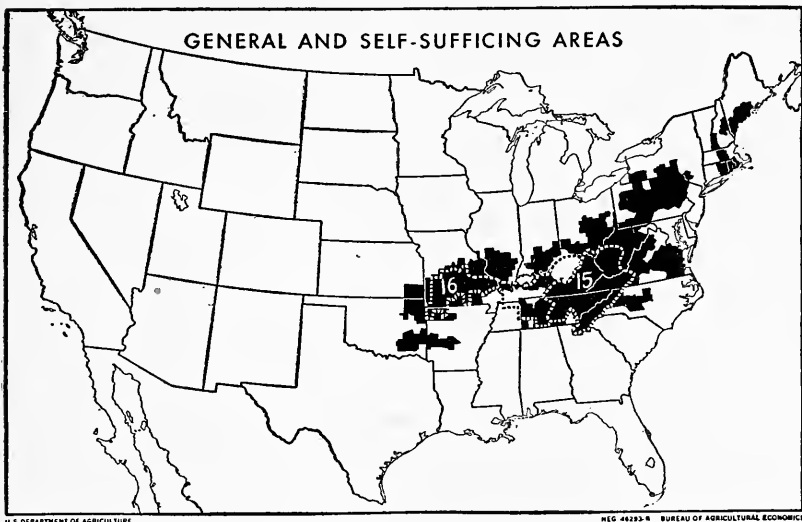


FIG. 88. General and Self-Sufficing Areas and Rural Cultural Regions. (SOURCE: Adapted from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A.)

are very important in all activities, as indicated by the family feuds of earlier years. The bulk of the farm work comes in the spring plowing and planting season and in the fall harvesting period. Prior to the harvest, it is customary to hold emotional revival meetings. In light work seasons, hunting is a favorite pastime. More farmers supplement their incomes from off-farm work than in any other major type of farming area.

The nature of locality groupings is conditioned in large measure by the terrain. Many strong neighborhood groups may be found in small coves between the mountain ranges. This condition serves to make larger service areas for consolidated schools and churches less common than in other areas of smoother terrain. Folk dances, music, and crafts still live among the people in the most isolated areas. Everywhere, a high premium is placed on independence and there is a general suspicion of economic relationships that make for dependency or "being beholden to" another. People cling to the ways of their forefathers and are suspicious of the new or different ways of strangers or "furriners."

The farmers of the General and Self-Sufficing Areas, as a whole, seem to retain more of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* orientation than those of the other major types of farming areas. The commercialization and mechanization of farming in other areas has brought about a condition in which relationships are less personal, kinship bonds have become less meaningful, and a higher premium has been placed upon values other than friendship and blood relationship. As a result, the responsibility of neighbor to neighbor is more specific and less all-inclusive and limited than in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas. These socializing influences are tempered by the great emphasis placed on independence, an apparent heritage of the Anglo-Saxon rural culture that produced men like Daniel Boone, David Crockett, and Andrew Jackson. Most of the farmers in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas can trace their ancestry to England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland, although some can trace their origins to Germany, Wales, Holland, and the French Huguenots. Cultural Areas 15 and 16, the Appalachian and the North-South Border Areas, fall almost completely into the General and Self-Sufficing farming region.

THE RANGE-LIVESTOCK AREA

The Range-Livestock Area produces 14 percent of the nation's cattle and 45 percent of the nation's sheep. Its cultural heritage yields an impact upon American life greatly out of proportion to the number of people and the value of the products within its boundaries. (See Figure 89.) Generation after generation of youth go through periods of cowboy dress and regalia. Young and old alike flock to see motion picture villains rustle cattle and steal horses, mete out Western justice, wrangle bucking broncos, rope and bulldog steers, and perform superhuman feats with six-shooters and knives. The fictional drama of the life of the ranch country is the only agricultural life of the United States generally known and respected in many countries of the world. Unquestionably, many persons identify themselves with the heroes of Western movies, and for many the cowboy and rancher are ideals. The cowboy is portrayed as highly moral. Most important, he will not be "pushed around"; accustomed to the wide open spaces, he is independent to the extreme. The latter trait is subtly combined with that of sociability and hospitality not equaled in other regions.

The Range-Livestock Area, of course, was opened by the cow-

boys and ranchers, who made generous use of the Colt six-shooters, Winchester or Sharps rifles, branding irons, and regalia of the Mexican *vaqueros* and *charros* who developed the first livestock industry in what is now the United States.

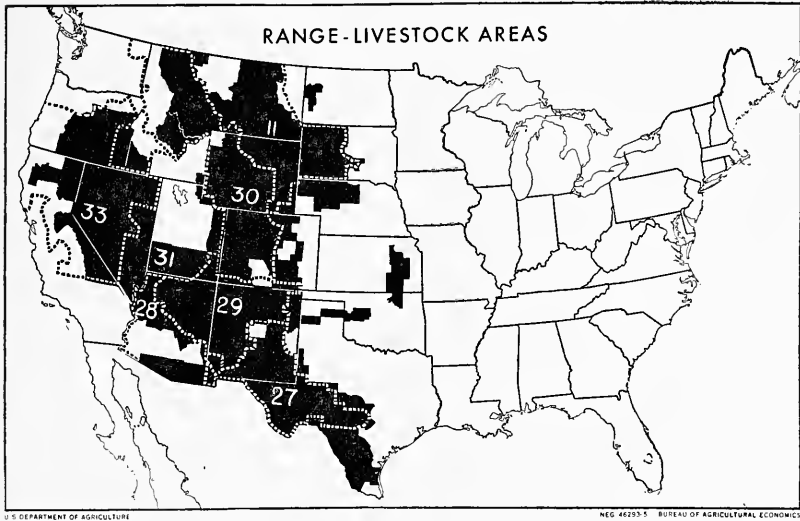


FIG. 89. Range-Livestock Areas and Rural Cultural Regions. (SOURCE: Adapted from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A.)

The livestock culture emerged in the Gulf-Spanish American region (Area 26 on Figure 83); the cattle kingdom is the rectangle formed by the Gulf of Mexico, the Rio Grande on the south, and bounded on the west by lines running from Laredo and Indianola to San Antonio. In this area and to the north, Anglos learned from the Mexicans to ride western style, rope, cut, and herd cattle, as well as to perform other activities and skills associated with the cattle kingdom. The contributions of Mexican and Spanish cultures can be illustrated by everyday words from the language of the area. Ranch comes from the Spanish word *rancho*, lariat from *la reata*, lasso from *lazo*, chaps from *chaparreras*, hackamore from *jáquima*, quirt from *cuarta*, surcingle from *cingulo*, cinch from *cincha*, stampede from *estampida*, and such words as rodeo, bronco, latigo, corral, and others

have come into English use in the Range-Livestock Area without change.²⁶

Of great importance in the culture of the Range-Livestock Area are the great distances between homes in most of the areas outside the villages of the Spanish-Americans and Indians. High winds and light precipitation characterize the area. Isolation of individual families plays a more important role in shaping the personalities of people in this than any other area. Sheep herders and others who work long periods alone learn to live with a minimum of social stimulation.

A group of seven separate cultural areas forms part of this type of farming area, an expanse which includes about 30 percent of all land in the United States. These rural cultural regions include some of the roughest terrain in America. Parts or all of the Northwestern Homestead, the Central-Spanish American, the Desert Mexican-Indian, the Mexican-Navajo-Pueblo, the Rocky Mountain, the Mormon, and the Pacific Forest Grazing regions (Numbers 11, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 33, respectively) portrayed in Figure 89, comprise this great area. Three of these areas, numbers 27, 28, and 29, are heavily influenced by the Spanish-Americans and Indians. Here the holdings are generally small, especially among the Spanish-American villagers, where irrigated farming is combined with grazing. These are the only areas having an increasing population. Interspersed throughout the area, however, are the nation's largest ranches.

The remaining areas contain about one-third foreign-born population, except the Mormon Area, which falls partly in the Western Specialty-Crops and partly in the Range-Livestock Areas, where the proportion is somewhat lower. Some of the largest cattle ranches may be found in the southwestern highlands and plains area, a part of which is the Edwards Plateau of Texas. (See Area 27 on Figure 89.) In this part of the country, size is often reckoned in square miles rather than in acres. On the larger operations, particularly where there are Spanish-Americans, the social pyramid contains many poor laborers at the bottom and a few well-to-do at the top. In the ranching areas to the north, especially in areas 11 and 30 in Figure 89, the family-sized but expansive operations are the rule.

²⁶ Charles P. Loomis, "Deporte del Caballo, El 'Cowboy' Tomo del Charro Mexicano su Destreza y Habilidad," *Mexico*, Vol. X, No. 141, Feb. 1943, pp. 11 ff. Published in Mexico, F. D. See also Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico, The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States*, New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1949, p. 154.

Relatively low tenancy rates characterize all the cultural regions of the Range-Livestock Farming Areas, with the exception of the Mountain Region, a section which is average in nearly all cultural indices. In general, the birth rates throughout the areas under consideration are high. However, all except the Spanish-American and Indian areas are decreasing in population. Only in the Pacific Forest Grazing regions is the birth rate low. Birth rates in the Northwestern Homestead (Area 11) and in the Rocky Mountain (Area 30) are near to the national average. Areas 27, 31, and 33 are characterized by above-average or high levels of living, whereas Area 30 is average. Levels of living in the Spanish-American and Indian areas are very low.

WESTERN SPECIALTY-CROP AREAS

The Western Specialty-Crop Areas as delineated by McKain²⁷ are alike primarily because they are irrigated areas in an arid region. McKain states that in the 88 counties comprising 8,000,000 acres of irrigated crop land, the major portion of the nation's almonds, apricots, alfalfa, asparagus, carrots, cantaloupes, cherries, lettuce, prunes, walnuts, lemons, and grapes are grown. As would be expected, there are wide variations in climate and soil in the various areas outlined in Figure 90.

The Mormon culture of Utah and Idaho has produced a distinct social and economic life of its own. One of the nation's highest farm levels of living coupled with a relatively high birth rate are to be found here. Again, we find an exception to the general rule that high levels of living are associated with low birth rates. In this area the family-type farm prevails and the experiences of the people have made it possible to retain many of the elements of the familistic Gemeinschaft. All social life is permeated by the religious life, which places a high premium on education.

The California area is practically coterminous with the Factory-Farm Area, Cultural Area 32 on Figure 90. This area is characterized by urbanization, a very high plane of living, a very low birth rate, and by 40 percent foreign-born population. Just as in the other non-Mormon areas of the Western Specialty-Crop Areas, farming is a business. Approximately 35 percent of the crops harvested in California are grown on farms of 1,000 acres or larger. Four-fifths of the farms in

²⁷ Walter C. McKain, Jr., "The Western Specialty-Crop Areas," in Taylor *et al.*, Chapter 25.

the United States are between 70 and 259 acres, but only two-fifths are of this size in California.

Large associations of citrus fruit, vegetable, and nut producers at-

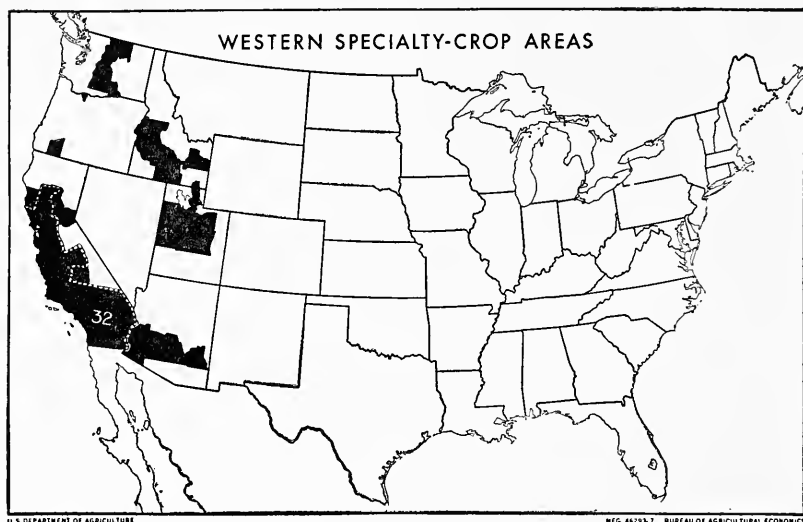


FIG. 90. The Western Specialty-Crop Areas and Rural Cultural Regions. (SOURCE: Adapted from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A.)

tempt to regulate and control marketing conditions. These are very important organizations. Although irrigation reduces the dependence on climate, the perishable crops place the producer at the mercy of the markets. The value orientation of the growers in these associations is revealed by the fact that contractual arrangements with some associations enables supply to be adjusted, an achievement that co-operatives have not been very successful in attaining in other parts of the country. The Farm Bureau, Grange, and Associated Farmers are also strong organizations on the West Coast.

The most important characteristic of production other than irrigation is specialization. In all the non-Mormon areas, class distinctions are great and the large factory farms in particular are largely dependent upon transient labor. Tenants occupy approximately the same social-class position as owners. Transient laborers are not accepted as equals by the established residents. Therefore, towns are often divided into a "right" and "wrong" side of the tracks. Migrants from the Cotton Belt and the Winter Wheat Areas, often called

"Arkies" and "Okies," who had been Methodists and Baptists, often join the Nazarene, Holiness, Four Square Gospel, and other emotional sects. The Mexican, Filipino, Italians, and Portuguese workers generally are members of the Roman Catholic Church. In spite of excellent schools, the children of the migrant laborers have little chance to obtain a good education or to become well integrated into the communities in which their families work.

TYPES OF FARMING AREAS OUTSIDE THE SEVEN MAJOR AREAS

The Lakes States Cut-Over Area is characterized by low incomes, relatively high birth rates, and large proportions of foreign-born. (See Figure 81.) This section contains a large proportion of rural-nonfarm inhabitants who depend on off-farm work, especially in the mines. In many respects, the Lake States Area is like the General and Self-Sufficing Areas. The tourist and recreation industries are opening up additional sources of income. As stated previously, this was one of the six problem areas during the last depression.

The tobacco-growing counties of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, and North Carolina stand out on Figure 81 as major sections not included in the seven major type of farming areas. In these tobacco areas people are dependent upon the intensive cultivation of a cash crop that requires a great deal of carefully directed labor. Seeding, transplanting, cultivating, hoeing, harvesting, curing, and marketing set the rhythm of life in the area. The associational life of the people in these areas is not unlike that of the General and Self-Sufficing Farming Areas.

The largest district outside the seven major types of farming areas is the Gulf Coast Fringe and much of Florida. Sugar cane, citrus fruits, and vegetables are grown here. In some respects, especially in the need for transient labor, the Gulf Coast Areas resemble the Western Specialty-Crop Areas. However, in the former, the small family operator is more common. The Atlantic Seaboard, although not a large area, is an important vegetable-producing section.

The northern portion of Maine, outside the major types of farming areas, is noted for its potato and timber production. A part of the northern Pacific coast, also outside the seven major types of farming areas, includes many dairy enterprises, commercial orchards, and part-time farming operations for rural-nonfarm dwellers.

GENERALIZED CHARACTERISTICS OF MAJOR TYPE OF FARMING AREAS

Population Composition and Change. The types of farming areas differ greatly in population number and composition. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13

Percentage of Total Population of United States by Nativity and Major Type of Farming Area, 1940

Regions	Percent- age Total Popula- tion	Percentage of Population, by Nativity			
		Total	Native- born Whites	Foreign- born Whites	Non- whites
U. S. TOTAL	100	100	81	9	10
Corn Belt	10	100	93	4	3
Cotton Belt	16	100	68	1	31
Dairy Areas	24	100	82	14	4
General and Self-Sufficing Areas	15	100	89	5	6
Wheat Areas	2	100	92	6	2
Range-Livestock Areas	3	100	88	7	5
Western Specialty-Crop Areas	6	100	85	11	4
All Other Rural Areas	13	100	79	8	13
Urban Counties, Virginia Cities and D. C.	11	—	—	—	—

SOURCE: Compiled from the United States Census by Taylor, *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, p. 466.

As might be expected, nearly one-fourth of the total population of the nation is located within the boundaries of the Dairy Areas. The Cotton Belt and the General and Self-Sufficing Areas rank next in population, with 16 and 15 percent, respectively. As is well known, the Cotton Belt contains a very large proportion of Negroes. In fact, 31 percent of the total population of this area is non-white. None of the other major areas contains more than 6 percent Negro population.

The distribution of foreign-born whites is interesting. Table 13 shows that 9 percent of the total population is foreign-born white. Foreign-born whites account for 14 percent of the population in the Dairy Areas and 11 percent in the Western Specialty-Crop Areas. In the fruit and trucking enterprises of the latter areas, the peasant traditions of many lands add to the diversity of both population and

products. On the other hand, the foreign-born whites are least important in the Cotton Belt, where only one percent may be found. The importance of this group in the rural-farm population is indicated in Figure 91. This map shows the importance of foreign-born persons

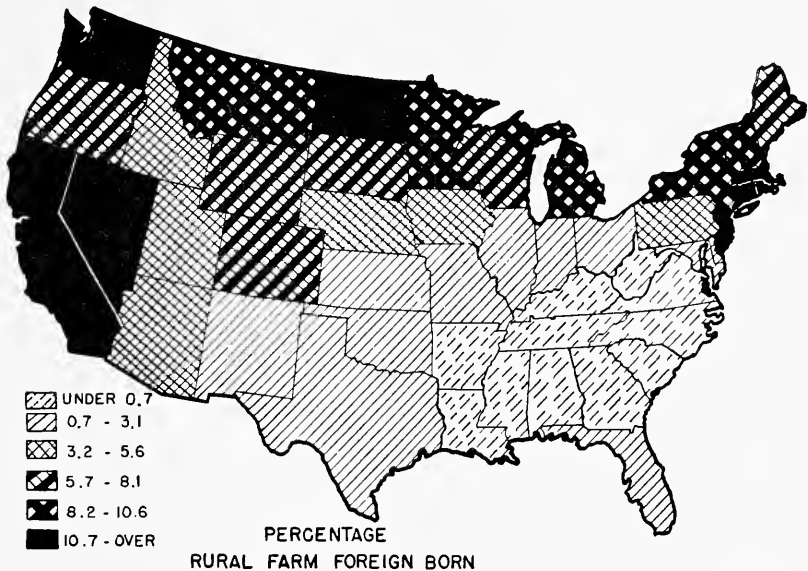


FIG. 91. Percentage of foreign-born persons in the rural-farm population of the United States, 1940. Note that few foreign-born are to be found in the Cotton Belt, the Corn Belt, and the General and Self-Sufficing Areas. Large proportions are to be found in the Dairy Areas and Wheat Areas.

in the farm populations of northeastern states and in states located in the Far West. The Cotton Belt and the Corn Belt contain relatively few. States such as Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Jersey contain more than 150 foreign-born per 1,000 farm population. At the other extreme, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee contain less than one foreign-born person in each 1,000 farm residents.

Rurality. As emphasized in the preceding chapter, the interaction of rural and urban populations is one of the most important conditioning factors in rural life in the United States. The more intensive such interaction is in a given area, the more the farm families will have taken over the characteristics of the small, isolated, middle-class urban family described in Chapter 3; also the greater will be the

emphasis on rationality, social climbing through urban channels, and professionalization. Rural neighborhood solidarity declines and numerous other changes occur as rural areas come under the influence of cities. Relevant data on the rurality of the types of farming areas are presented in Table 14.

TABLE 14

Percentage Distribution of Total Population by Residence and Major Type of Farming Area, 1940; and Percentage of Farm Operators Who Did 100 Days or More of Off-farm Work in 1939 and 1944

Regions	Percentage of Population				Percentage of Farm Operators Who Did 100 Days or More Off-Farm Work	
	Total	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm	1939	1944
U. S. TOTAL	100	57	21	23	16	18
Corn Belt	100	46	23	31	10	11
Cotton Belt	100	31	21	48	10	13
Dairy Areas	100	72	17	11	18	22
General and Self-Sufficing Areas	100	41	30	29	24	28
Wheat Areas	100	31	27	42	9	8
Range-Livestock Areas	100	35	35	30	15	17
Western Specialty-Crop Areas	100	65	22	13	22	25
All Other Areas	100	55	25	20	21	25

SOURCE: Compiled from the United States Census by Taylor, *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, p. 467.

The Dairy and Western Specialty-Crop Areas have the largest proportions of urban inhabitants, and the Cotton Belt has the largest proportion of rural-farm residents. The farm people of Dairy and Western Specialty-Crop Areas are brought into intimate contact with urban values and modes of life. Along with the Corn Belt, which is nearly half urban, these three areas have the nation's lowest birth rates and the highest levels of living. The tendency to seek work away from the farm is most pronounced in the General and Self-Sufficing and in the Western Specialty-Crop Areas. In such areas we see the tremendous pressure placed upon farmers to have cash avail-

able for manufactured and processed items. The amount of off-farm work is relatively insignificant in the Cotton Belt because it is unavailable, and in the Corn Belt and Wheat Areas because farmers do not need it or are occupied with their enterprises. An important fact concerning the rural-nonfarm population is emphasized in Table 14. The types of farming areas having the largest proportions of rural-nonfarm population are the Range-Livestock, General and Self-Sufficing, and Wheat Areas, none of which is among the most highly urbanized. In these areas, it is clear that the fringes of the large urban centers are not responsible for the large rural-nonfarm populations. In both the Range-Livestock Areas and the Wheat Belt, there has been a pronounced movement of people away from farms, in some instances amounting to a decrease of from 20 to 50 percent in the rural-farm population. As mentioned elsewhere, the areas in the Range-Livestock Regions which are inhabited by Spanish-Americans and Indians are an exception and have registered a continued increase in the number of people on farms. Many ranchers and wheat farmers live in towns that are too small to be classified as urban centers. These people are engaged largely in "field" activities other than agriculture, such as mining, trade, and transportation.

Level of Living, Income, and Value Orientation. With the exception of the Mississippi Delta Area and sections settled by the Mormons, there is a very high negative correlation between levels of living and the birth rate. A similar relationship is found between incomes and the birth rate. If high incomes, high levels of living, and large investments in land, buildings, and equipment are indications of increasing rationality, the data found in Tables 15, 16, and 17 will permit us to indicate the types of farming areas most characterized by the contractual *Gesellschaft*. Lowest levels of living and lowest incomes are found in the Cotton Belt and in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas. The latter areas have higher levels of living than the former even though the cash income is lower. This is explained by the relatively large cash outlays for interest and commercial fertilizer. These are the portions of the country in which the largest proportions of produce are consumed by the farm family at home. As indicated by Table 17, these are the areas least influenced by mechanization; their inventories of farm machinery are also low. They are the areas in which most elements of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* prevail.

Tables 15 and 16 fail to bring out some major differences in the Cotton Belt and the General and Self-Sufficing Areas. A few planta-

TABLE 15

Gross and Net Value of Farm Products per Farm, and Percentage of Gross Farm Incomes by Size, 1944

Regions	Av. Gross Value of Farm Products per Farm	Av. Net Value of Farm Products per Farm	Percentage Distribution of Gross Income				
			Total	Under \$600	\$600 to \$1,499	\$1,500 to \$3,999	\$4,000 and over
U. S. TOTAL	\$3,148	\$1,700	100	24	26	29	21
Corn Belt	4,781	2,500	100	12	14	32	42
Cotton Belt	1,810	1,100	100	24	38	31	7
Dairy Areas	3,427	1,700	100	23	17	32	28
General and Self-Sufficing Areas	1,619	900	100	40	30	22	8
Wheat Areas	6,116	3,200	100	7	10	31	52
Range-Livestock Areas	4,942	2,600	100	21	19	29	31
Western Specialty-Crop Areas	9,256	4,400	100	19	15	22	44
All Other Areas	2,994	1,400	100	29	25	30	16

SOURCE: Compiled from the United States Census of Agriculture by Taylor, *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, p. 469.

TABLE 16

Rural-Farm Level of Living Index and Farm Products Consumed by Farm Household by Major Type of Farming Area

Regions	Rural-Farm Level of Living Index 1940	Farm Products Consumed by Farm Households			
		Value per Farm		Percentage of Total Value of Farm Products	
		1939	1944	1939	1944
U. S. TOTAL	100	\$190	\$326	15	10
Corn Belt	123	199	333	10	7
Cotton Belt	77	177	324	23	18
Dairy Areas	120	206	326	13	9
General and Self-Sufficing Areas	89	210	351	28	22
Wheat Areas	118	176	340	9	6
Range-Livestock Areas	105	180	300	8	6
Western Specialty-Crop Areas	117	120	217	4	2
All Other Areas	96	184	317	15	11

SOURCE: Compiled from the United States Census by Taylor, *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, p. 470.

tion operators in the Cotton Belt have high levels of living, and a relatively small middle group exists between the plantation owner and the cropper, wage hand, and small farmer. The tenure differences in this section are emphasized in Table 18, but the fact that plantation operators can change croppers to wage laborers and back again at will leads to an underestimation of the agricultural poor in the Cotton Belt. The large proportion of owners and the large equity in real estate in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas prove that only in this major region live the poorer, more prolific, free-holding farmers whom Jefferson felt to be the bulwark of democracy. As previously

TABLE 17

Value of Land and Buildings, Implements and Machinery, and Livestock, and Percentage of Farmers Having Tractors, Selected States Representing the Major Types of Farming Areas, 1945

Regions	Average Value of				Percent- age of Farms Having Tractors
	Land and Build- ings	Imple- ments and Machin- ery	Live- stock	Land and Buildings, Improvements, Machinery, and Livestock	
U. S. TOTAL	\$ 7,916	\$1,094	\$1,446	\$10,456	34
3 Corn Belt States ^a	15,392	1,710	2,332	19,434	63
8 Cotton Belt States ^b	4,669	604	865	6,138	16
6 Dairy Area States ^c	7,444	1,571	1,939	10,954	53
5 General and Self-Suffic- ing Area States ^d	4,485	627	800	5,912	17
2 Wheat Area States ^e	12,717	1,920	2,265	16,902	71
4 Range-Livestock Area States ^f	12,740	1,563	4,044	18,347	45
3 Western Specialty-Crop Area States ^g	20,508	1,980	2,266	24,754	39

^a Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa.

^b South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas.

^c Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

^d Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and Pennsylvania.

^e Kansas, and North Dakota.

^f Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, and Nevada.

^g California, Utah, and Idaho.

SOURCE: Compiled from the United States Census of Agriculture by Taylor, *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, p. 480.

indicated, the rural-farm level of living is highest in the Corn Belt; thereafter, listed from highest to lowest, are the Dairy Areas, Wheat Areas, Western Specialty-Crop Areas, Range-Livestock Areas, General and Self-Sufficing Areas, and the Cotton Belt.

TENURE STATUS

As Table 18 indicates, there are relatively high proportions of owners in the Western Specialty-Crop and the Dairy Areas and a relatively low proportion in the Cotton Belt. From an economic and social point of view, these owners resemble urban businessmen and are often members of the small, isolated, middle-class trade-center society. The status of renters varies in the different areas. In the Corn Belt and Wheat areas, tenants or renters have status equal to that of

TABLE 18

Percentage Distribution Tenure Status of Operators and Percentage of Farm Operators Reporting Expenditures for Hired Labor, by Major Type of Farming Area, 1945

Regions	Percentage Distribution by Tenure				Percent of Farms Reporting Some Hired Labor, 1945 ^a	Av. Man Days of Hired Labor per Farm Reporting Hired Labor, 1945
	Total	Owners	Tenants (Including croppers)	Croppers only		
U. S. TOTAL	100	68	32	7	47	182
Corn Belt	100	62	38	*	45	125
Cotton Belt	100	47	53	21	47	170
Dairy Areas	100	84	16	*	42	252
General and Self-Sufficing Areas	100	82	18	3	37	116
Wheat Areas	100	69	31	*	64	158
Range-Livestock Areas	100	77	23	1	52	238
Western Specialty-Crop Areas	100	86	14	*	72	401
All Other Areas	100	79	21	6	52	192

* Less than one-half of 1 percent.

^a Estimates based on data from enumerative surveys of the BAE.

SOURCE: Compiled from United States Census by Taylor, *et al*, *Rural Life in the United States*, pp. 473-474.

many owners, but tenants and croppers in the Cotton Belt have a relatively low status. The plantation owners in the relatively unmechanized South may associate with and be a part of upper- and upper-middle-class society. The mass of the poor in the Cotton Belt, including most of the croppers who furnish only their labor, resemble the proletariat of the city in status and level of living. In many of their values and attitudes, however, they remain un-urbanized. The freeholder of the General and Self-Sufficing Areas is in many ways the most rural. In general, the larger the proportion of farm laborers, the less the importance of the family-sized operations and the greater the social distance between the groups comprising the class structure. As indicated by Table 18, the proportion of farmers hiring farm laborers ranged from 37 percent, with an average of 116 days of hired labor during the year in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas, to 72 percent, with an average of 401 days of hired labor in the Western Specialty-Crop Areas.

In the General and Self-Sufficing Areas the small percentage of farmers reporting tractors is at least partially offset by the prevalent practice of custom work. As indicated by Table 17, only the Cotton Belt and the General and Self-Sufficing Areas rank low in the proportion having tractors. It is surprising that less than half of the cotton-farm operators, including both large and small units, hire labor. This fact reflects the prevailing attitude characteristic of the South, an attitude that is much less prevalent elsewhere. Since cheap Negro labor is available and since social status is dependent upon one's ability to have others in one's employ, the northern farmer's feeling that he should hire labor only when he cannot do otherwise is rarely found in the South. The authors have frequently seen small southern operators resting on their porches or visiting in town while their hired laborers worked in the fields.

The Functioning of the Family as a Producing and Consuming Unit. Table 16 indicates the contribution that home produce makes to the farm families' level of living in the various areas. In the General and Self-Sufficing Areas, where the farm makes the greatest contribution, the wife and children customarily tend the garden, poultry, and livestock. In the Range-Livestock Area, however, where the production enterprise also contributes substantially to family living, the wife is less involved, since the cattle and sheep are herded largely by the men and boys. The farm operator's family works together as a unit most frequently in the Dairy, Wheat, Corn, and General and Self-

Sufficing Areas. Farm children in these areas begin to do meaningful work at an early age, often by the time they are 16, boys can do a man's work and girls can do a woman's work. Field work for women is probably most common in the Cotton Belt, but it is almost entirely confined to the lower classes. On the large farms of the Cotton Belt and Western Specialty-Crop Areas, the operators' families do not customarily work as units. As in factories and large businesses, the husband acts as manager and financier and the wife and children perform few of the chores and field work. These are not family farms.

Governmental and Political Systems. As will be indicated in subsequent chapters, the important units of government vary with the type of farming area. The county is least important in northern New England, in the Dairy Area, and in parts of the Range-Livestock, and Western Specialty-Crop Areas. "Court week" in the Cotton Belt and in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas is considered a general holiday period. County units (the parish in Louisiana) are the most important political units in the Cotton Belt.

The class structure of the South permits and encourages landlords to hold office in county governments, and these officials play important roles in preserving the class-caste system. Elsewhere, rural residents are infrequently office-holders, since the trade-center residents dominate the political organization. Thus, well-to-do Corn Belt or Dairy Area farmers seldom offer their services as local government office-holders. They do not consider these offices as symbols of prestige and are too busy with other activities to be bothered with them. Considering the relative economic level, surprisingly few politicians of note come from the farms of the Corn Belt; on the other hand, a relatively large number come from the Cotton Belt.

Trade-Center Communities and Neighborhoods. Variations in trade-center groupings were discussed in the preceding chapters, but it should be noted here that "going to town" is an important practice that may have non-economic objectives in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas, in the Cotton Belt, and in other local areas. Going to town is a more routine business matter in the more commercialized and mechanized areas.

The handling and processing agencies in the various types of farming areas influence the appearance and character of the trade center. Such establishments as cotton warehouses, grain elevators, livestock yards, fruit and vegetable packing sheds, cheese factories, creameries, and cold storage plants suggest the influence of the prevailing

type of farming on an area. Fertilizer dealers are more prevalent in the Cotton Belt and less numerous in the Wheat Areas. Labor contractors are more prevalent in the Dairy Areas and in the Western Specialty-Crop Areas and less common in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas.

The degree of intimacy between farm families and urban middle-class business and professional men varies greatly from area to area. In the Dairy Areas, Range-Livestock, and Western Specialty-Crop Areas, a close association prevails and in the Corn Belt and Wheat Areas the large operator is at home with the urban business and professional groups. In the latter, however, farmers very frequently are businessmen themselves and often have experience with cooperatives. In the Cotton Belt, only the larger operators or planters are at home with the middle classes of the trade centers. They are frequently county-wide leaders in economic, civic, and social organizations. They frequently hold offices in town churches and perform other important official functions. In general, the less the amount of agricultural commercialization, the less familiar farmers are with the business and professional groups in the trade center.

As indicated in Chapters 14 and 15, the modern trade-center consolidated school is bringing the rural and urban people together. Rural-urban cleavages exist in all parts of the nation, but when economic levels in the country and the town are comparable, a merging of rural and urban groups occurs. School consolidation, as shown in subsequent chapters, has proceeded least rapidly in the Corn Belt, in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas, and among Negroes in the Cotton Belt. Neighborhood, community, and organizational participation of farmers and their families differ in many other respects in the different types of farming areas. Only in the New England village of the Dairy Areas do the township political boundaries conform to the boundaries of social and economic services. In the bi-racial Cotton Belt, Negro and white neighborhoods have different boundaries. The agencies that form the center of the Negro neighborhoods are often located on the fringes of the white neighborhoods. Neighborhood groupings everywhere are weakening under the impact of better roads, improved transportation, and the increased importance of the trade center. The neighborhoods have retained their solidarity and vitality to a greater extent in the more isolated areas in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas, among the Negroes of the Cotton Belt, and among the Spanish-Americans and Indians of the Range-Livestock

Areas. Residents of these neighborhoods lack either facilities for transportation, good roads, or both.

Other Aspects of Social Structure and Value Orientation. To what extent are the producers in the various types of farming areas organized into special interest groups? The largest number of special interest groups that have as their objective attaining economic and political advantages for their members are located in the Dairy, Corn, Wheat, Western Specialty-Crop, and Range-Livestock Areas. Such organizations are least common in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas and in the Cotton Belt. As will be indicated in Chapters 10 and 11, the organization of these special interest groups is characteristic of middle-class society in the United States. Elsewhere, the informal, friendship, kinship groups predominate.

The extent to which farmers' movements build up and retain experience in organizations is related to felt need for formal structures as a basis of security. As will be shown in subsequent discussions of farmers' organizations, the Farm Bureau is centered in the Corn Belt; the Farmers' Union in the Wheat Areas; and the Grange in the Dairy Areas and in the Northwest.

The relative importance of cooperative marketing in the types of farming regions is given by Raper,²⁸ who ranks the seven areas, in order of the importance of cooperative marketing, as follows: Dairy Areas, Corn Belt, Wheat Areas, Western Specialty-Crop Areas, Range-Livestock Areas, Cotton Belt, and General and Self-Sufficing Areas.

In general, the informal, friendship group plays a relatively more important role in the life of the community in the General and Self-Sufficing Area and in the Cotton Belt than in other sections. The sparse population of the Range-Livestock Areas reduces the importance of these groups in day-to-day activities, not to mention schools and churches in these areas. In the Corn Belt, the one-teacher neighborhood school still prevails. As indicated in Chapter 14, the greatest opposition to further consolidation is to be found in the Midwest and Northern Plains Regions. The one-room school is more characteristic of the Corn Belt than of other areas, with the possible exception of the Negro areas in the Cotton Belt. Schools and churches tend to be town-centered in the Dairy and Corn Belt Areas. There are also few

²⁸ Arthur F. Raper, "Comparisons and Contrasts of Major Type-Farming Areas," in Taylor *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

strong open-country churches in the Range-Livestock, Western Specialty-Crop Areas, and in the more recently settled areas of the West. Libraries and hospitals, which require larger population concentrations than churches or schools, are relatively few in the Range-Livestock and Wheat Areas.

Differences in Value Orientation and Living Levels of Sections. Unfortunately, the available results from public opinion and attitude surveys are not classified by the types of farming areas or cultural regions used in this chapter. Nevertheless, some of the surveys are of interest. The Cotton Belt dominates the South so thoroughly that attitudes held generally by southern farmers may be attitudes derived from cotton culture itself.

In an interesting study of average and marginal living, Taylor and Longmore²⁹ demonstrated that although levels of living were lower, southern farmers less frequently than farmers in other areas spent more than they earned. Dickins³⁰ found similar conditions in Mississippi. The institutional structure, of course, does not permit the masses in the South to live beyond their means even though they live from year to year on borrowed money. The low, inflexible living levels of the masses in the Cotton Belt, coupled with many other factors, are related to a fundamentalistic and fatalistic religion. How this is related to the class structure is discussed in a subsequent chapter. Apparently it is not the lowest class that puts greatest stress upon formal and sect religion.

The fact that the trade center and town is the pace-setter and focal structuring point for class differentiation would lead one to expect that urban levels of living might be higher than farm levels. As indicated in Figure 92, however, there appears to be greater disparity in the South than in other regions.

In a nation-wide survey,³¹ it was found that nearly one-half of the southern operators reported receiving no magazines. The comparable proportions for northern and western operators was one-fourth and

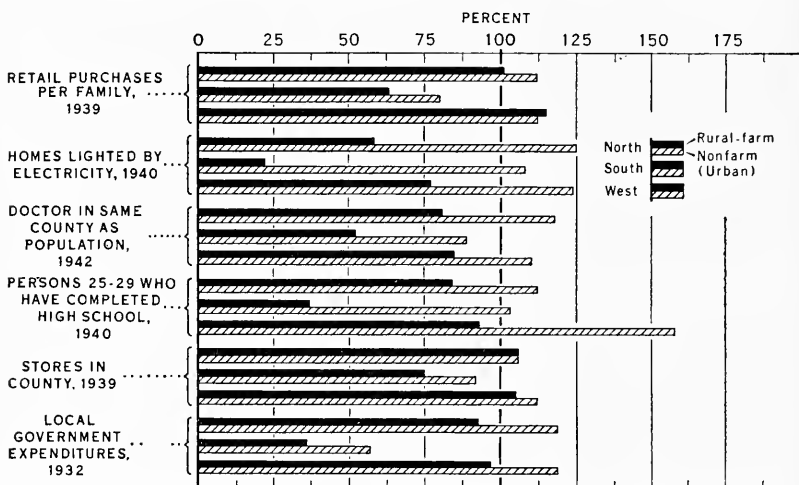
²⁹ C. C. Taylor and T. Wilson Longmore, "Comparative Analysis of Average and Marginal Expenditures and Income Elasticity of Farm Family Living, Farm Production and Savings," unpublished manuscript, 1946.

³⁰ Dorothy Dickins, "Consumption Patterns of Cotton-Farm Families and an Agricultural Program in the South," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, March 1948, pp. 22-31.

³¹ Edgar A. Schuler and Rachel R. Swiger, *Trends in Farm Family Levels and Standards of Living*, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, August 1947.

one-tenth. Figure 93 describes the relatively low standing of the South. This same survey reported that only slightly more than one-half of the farms reported subscribing to newspapers. Comparable percentages for northern and western farmers were 90 and 79.

LEVEL OF LIVING ITEMS EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES OF NATIONAL AVERAGE FOR SPECIFIED POPULATION GROUPS, BY REGIONS



RETAIL TRADE, 1939 BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, HOUSING, VOL. II BUREAU OF THE CENSUS, ADAPTED FROM THE AMERICAN MEDICAL DIRECTORY, 1942 EDITION A.M.A. FINANCIAL STATISTICS OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS 1932 BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

FIG. 92. Levels of living, expressed as percentages of the national average for farm and nonfarm groups, by region. (SOURCE: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A.)

Schuler found that farmers in the Corn Belt, Cotton Belt, and Tobacco areas differ greatly in their attitudes toward questions related to ownership and tenure. Marked differences were found between northern and southern farmers when asked: "Do you think people respect you more as a farm owner than they would if you were a renter?" In the North less than half felt that they receive no more respect as owners than as non-owners; in the South, however, three out of four felt that they receive more respect as owners than they would if they were renters.³² Only 48.2 percent of the Corn Belt non-

³² E. A. Schuler, *Social Status and Farm Tenure—Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers*, Social Research Report No. IV, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, April 1938, p. 9.

owners thought their prospects poor for becoming farm owners in the next five years. In contrast, 59.3 percent of the southern whites and 63.4 percent of the southern Negroes felt this possibility poor.³³

PERCENT

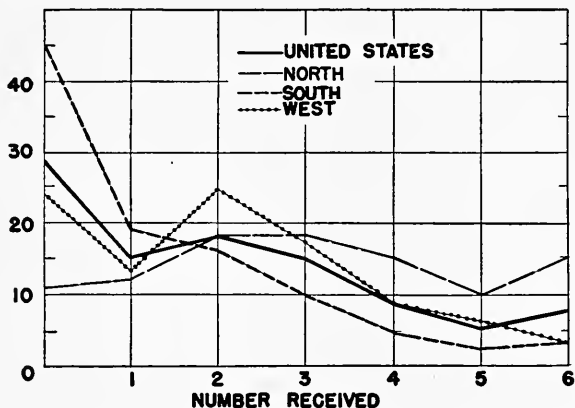


FIG. 93. Percentage of farm operators reporting receipt of magazines, classified by number received, the United States and Regions, 1945. Note that southern farm operators receive fewest and northern farmers most. (Reproduced from Edgar A. Schuler and Rachel R. Swiger, *Trends in Farm Family Levels and Standards of Living*, Washington: B.A.E., U.S.D.A., August 1947, p. 14.)

As previously indicated, the birth rate or fertility ratio of an area is related to the value orientation of the people. The greater the inroads which the contractual Gesellschaft has made and the more the people tend to deal with others in a rational, utilitarian manner, the lower the birth rate will be. Fertility rates are highest in cultural areas 15, 19, 29, and 31, the Appalachian, Southeastern Plantation, Mexican-Navajo-Pueblo, and Mormon sections, respectively. (See Figure 82.) These cultural areas are located in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas, the Cotton Belt, and in the Range-Livestock Areas.

The Influence of Work Patterns on the Life of the People. What is the influence of the annual and day-to-day work cycle upon the social systems in the different crop areas? Patterns of interaction, in large measure, are determined by this cycle. In the Dairy Areas, where labor outlays are relatively constant, haying makes for peak work loads. In the Corn Belt, the practice of feeding hogs tends to

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

even out some of the peak loads. Table 19 indicates seasonal variations in work demands for selected kinds of crops.

TABLE 19

Annual Work Cycles as Expressed in Monthly Percentage Distribution of Labor Required for all Farm Work in Selected Crop and Livestock Specialties, United States, 1939-1944

Specialty	Percentage Labor Distribution by Months											
	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Corn	2	3	7	13	19	14	4	1	11	13	10	3
Cotton	2	2	3	7	10	13	5	4	24	21	7	2
Wheat	*	*	1	5	4	8	20	25	22	20	6	1
Hay (Alfalfa, Clover, and Timothy)	*	*	2	4	6	27	34	16	8	2	1	*
Chickens	8	8	10	10	9	9	8	7	7	8	8	8
Hogs	9	9	10	9	8	7	7	7	8	9	8	9
Milk Cows	10	9	10	9	8	7	7	7	7	8	9	9
Other Cattle	15	13	14	10	4	3	2	3	4	7	10	15

* Less than 0.5 percent.

SOURCE: Compiled from *Farm Labor Requirements in the United States, 1939 and 1944*, BAE Publication FM59, by Taylor, et al., *Rural Life in the United States*, p. 477.

Many schools in the Cotton Belt are closed during the peak months even though vacation customarily comes during the light work period of the summer. In some sections, however, children go to school in the summer and work in the cotton fields during the harvest. The late summer revivals in the Cotton Belt and in some General and Self-Sufficing Areas are due, at least in part, to the slack period before harvest. Hoeing and picking cotton in spring, summer and fall months may take up as much as two-thirds of the man-days of the year. The work proceeds with more fluctuations than in the Dairy Area or Corn Belts and there are fewer off-farm work opportunities. Hence, there are frequent visiting, "going to town," family reunions, fish fries, and barbecues, especially in the "lay by" period of late summer. Rodeos in the Range-Livestock Areas often are spaced either during or immediately after fall round-ups. The cycle of work in the Cotton Belt, Wheat, and Range-Livestock Areas contains the heaviest labor peaks, the influence of which is felt throughout the regions. The feverish

activity of harvesting wheat before the wind, rain, or hail destroys the crop can be felt throughout the Wheat Areas.

HOW ECONOMIC SYSTEMS DETERMINE THE CULTURAL COMPONENTS OF RURAL SOCIETY

The Family Farm as the Pace-setter. The extent to which the family farm determines the life of a given type of farming area is a significant consideration. In general, the family farm is the prevailing economic and social system of all types of farming areas except the Cotton Belt and some parts of the Western Specialty-Crop Areas, particularly in California. In *Family Farm Policy*, the most comprehensive analysis of the family farm yet published, the committee, of which one of the authors was a member, wrote as follows:

Community life.—Where the family farm is the prevailing unit, differences in socio-economic status are less than elsewhere and community solidarity is a noteworthy characteristic. Similarities in experiences and interest, which characterize members of societies in which the family farm is the dominant unit, facilitate the establishment and perpetuation of these institutions and processes necessary to life with a minimum of class or caste tension.

An agricultural society based upon the family farm is relatively efficient in the assignment of roles to its members. It offers widely recognized advantages in the development of personality and of individual initiative and responsibility.

Attitudes and skills.—All members of the farm family usually perform some task involving manual labor and thus generally develop respect for workers in all walks of life. It is also characteristic of the members of a family farm to place a high value on owning property and to understand the contribution made by management and the meaning of risk-bearing. They often identify themselves with the management and capitalistic groups in urban society. This being true, it is fair to say that the various views and values which characterize industrial workers, capitalists, and managers may be combined in a single farm family. This is a unique and significant fact and helps to explain the persistent devotion to the ideal of the family farm.

Because of the diverse nature of activities and responsibilities on most family farms, no other form of farm organization provides greater opportunities for the development of individual skills and abilities.

Levels of living.—In all categories of the level of living the average attainment on family farms is greater than that on other farming units functioning under similar conditions. The family farm is most effective

in transmitting from one generation to another the skills and abilities of the occupation of farming. In general, children in family farming areas attain higher educational status than children in farming areas where other forms of organization prevail. Likewise, agencies responsible for adult education find it easier to obtain acceptance of improved agricultural and living practices in areas where the family farm is predominant. Average health standards and practices are also of a higher order. The average person in a family farm home is better fed, better clothed, and better housed than the average person in other farm homes.

In the nonmaterial aspects of the level of living the family farm is believed to give its members more satisfactions than other forms of organization. Studies of suicide rates and the incidence of certain functional types of mental disease throw some light upon various types of nonmaterial aspects of the level of living. All available evidence points toward the fact that family farming areas are characterized by greater solidarity of the family and of the community than other areas and that this makes for greater happiness and easier personal adjustments than are generally found elsewhere. . . .

Reproduction.—Not only is the family farm efficient in the production of food and fiber, but it has in nearly all ages and nations produced a high proportion of the laborers and entrepreneurs for the whole of society. It has been estimated that in fifty years 80 per cent of all urban people will have come directly out of a farm background. This emphasizes the necessity for sound public policies relating to agriculture and particularly the perpetuation and improvement of the family farm.³⁴

Efficiency and Other Considerations. Unfortunately, American farm management experts have produced no studies of the relative merits of family-operated units as compared with large units in both prosperity and depression comparable to the German studies in this field. These German studies prove that when large estates are divided up into family units, the type of operation becomes more intensive, more livestock is produced, density of population increases, and not only is more food produced but the family farm also delivers a larger value of produce to the market than when under the operation of the estate owner.³⁵

The Family Farm Policy Committee indicates that in the fields of education, health, leadership, and other areas, the family farm as a

³⁴ Joseph Ackerman and Marshall Harris, *Family Farm Policy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947, pp. 396–399.

³⁵ See review of these studies in C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 10 ff.

system had been as effective as other systems. To be sure, the committee found areas in which the performance of the family farm was far from perfect. The tremendous wastage that generally prevails when farm estates are sold, for example, came in for criticism.

The family farm, as defined by Committee I dealing with "the place of the family farm in our land tenure system," consists of the following characteristics:

1. The entrepreneurial functions vested in the farm family.
2. The human effort required to operate the farm provided by the farm family with the addition of such supplementary labor as may be necessary, either for seasonal peak loads or during the developmental and transitional stages in the family itself. (The amount of such regular outside labor should not provide a total labor force in excess of that to be found in the family of 'normal' size in the community.)
3. A farm large enough, in terms of land, capital, modern technology, and other resources, to employ the labor resources of the farm family efficiently.³⁶

Perhaps the most useful statistical approach to types of farms was made by Benedict, Elliott, Tolley, and Taeuber. On the basis of their work, the following classification, with number of farms in each class, has been suggested.³⁷

I. Large-Scale Farms (Value of Products \$10,000 or more)	58,313
II. Family-Commercial Farms	2,973,192
\$4,000-\$9,999	154,626
\$2,500-\$3,999	375,973
\$1,000-\$2,499	1,389,018
\$ 600-\$ 999	1,053,575
III. Part-Time Farms (Value of Products under \$600, where operator worked 100 days or more off the farm)	600,000
IV. Residential Farms (Product value less than \$600; operator 65 years or older; worked less than 100 days off the farm)	600,000
V. Small-Scale Farms and Unclassified (Product value less than \$600; operators under 65 years of age; worked less than 100 days off the farm)	1,725,000

³⁶ Ackerman and Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 389.

³⁷ M. R. Benedict, F. F. Elliott, H. R. Tolley, and Conrad Taeuber, "Need for a New Classification of Farms," *Journal of Farm Economics*, Vol. XXVI, 1944, pp. 694-708. See also a discussion of this article in Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1948, p. 264.

If we omit the family farms producing \$4,000 to \$9,999 worth of products from the Family-Commercial group, only in the Cotton Belt and General and Self-Sufficing Areas are fewer than one-half of the farms producing too little or too much to be classified as family farms. The \$600 to \$999 income group of family farm operators was relatively prevalent in the Corn Belt, Wheat, and Dairy Areas. Actually, in the Corn Belt, the family farming area par excellence, a smaller proportion of farmers work off the farm and a larger proportion of all farm work is done by family labor than in any other type of farming area.³⁸ Small farms that produce too little to be considered family farms are most numerous in the General and Self-Sufficing Areas and in the Cotton Belt.

As will be indicated in subsequent discussion, one of the most remarkable phenomena of American rural life is the extent to which the family farm unit has withstood the rationalization movements prevailing in other lines of commerce and production. Raper writes as follows: "By any realistic measure, around four million, or over two-thirds of all farm operators in this country are independent operators, or entrepreneurs. They determine what they will plant and harvest, where and how they will sell their farm products and buy their supplies. . . . They don't get up or go to work by the clock, nor does a clock stop them at noon or at the end of the day. Except on plantations where dependent tenants and hired laborers work by bells, nearly all farmers determine their own working hours. . . ." ³⁹

Figure 94 indicates that American farms are becoming larger in size. For the period between 1940 and 1945, however, both the number and acreage of farms under nine acres increased. Figure 95 shows that the numbers of small and of large farms were increasing at the expense of the middle-sized group in the period between 1920 and 1945. The small "fringe" farms, and the large factory plantation and ranch units are increasing. There are many farms that are less than 50 acres in size. The types of farming areas with the largest proportions of such small farms are the General and Self-Sufficing, Dairy, Western Specialty-Crop, and Spanish-American Areas of the Southwest. The small farms of the Cotton Belt are operated in large part by croppers who frequently are really laborers on large plantations.

³⁸ Taylor, "The Corn Belt," in Taylor *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

³⁹ Raper, "Comparisons and Contrasts of Major Type-Farming Areas," in Taylor *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

When all aspects of farm life are considered, possibly the most important characteristic is the farm operator's relatively great number of rights and immunity from authority. This is particularly true of the

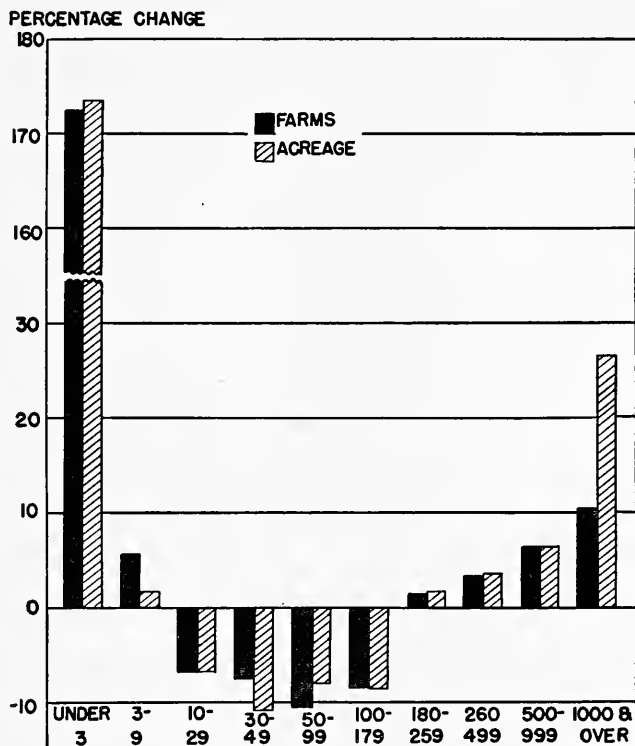


FIG. 94. Percentage change in the number of farms and the acreage of farms, classified by size, 1940-1945. Note that in the 5-year period the number and acreage in small farms under 9 acres increased rapidly. Other increases came in the extremely large holdings.

individual operator of the family farm, who universally takes pride in being his "own boss," even though he may owe thousands to the local banker. No factory whistles tell him when to start and stop work, he punches no time clocks, he need not lie awake nights worrying whether or not his comments to the boss had the right effect. With the senatorial power distributed evenly by states throughout the major types of farming areas, the effect of these farmers and their families in preventing statism or the complete bureaucratization of

society, and the importance of these farmers in mitigating the power struggle of labor and management, can scarcely be overestimated.

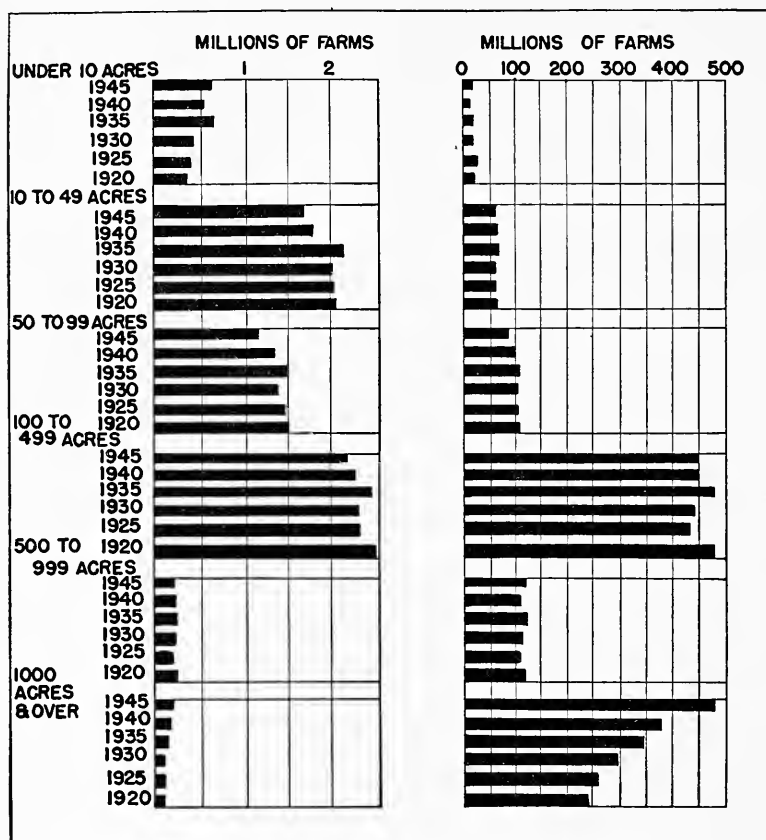


FIG. 95. Long-time trends in the number of farms and in the acreage in farms of various sizes, 1920-1945. Note especially the rapid increase in the acreage of farms 1,000 acres and over.

THE PLANTATION AS THE PACE-SETTER FOR THE SOUTH

Smith⁴⁰ has shown that whether or not an area becomes dominated by a family farm or plantation, the economy is largely determined by early land division. The original non-family-sized operation in the

⁴⁰ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, pp. 314-318.

United States was the plantation. Three cultural areas in the South, the Southeastern Plantation, the Delta Plantation, and the Southwestern Plantation Areas are dominated by the plantation economy. How the plantation operates as a social system and how it has dominated the regions has been described by Woofter and his collaborators. Woofter writes: "A plantation is defined . . . as a tract farmed by one owner or manager with five or more resident families. These may include the landlord, and laborers, share tenants, or renters. Except in the case of renters, the landlord exercises close supervision over operators, and except in the case of wage laborers each family cultivates a separate piece of land."⁴¹ Woofter states that the typical plantation had 14 families living on it. The average size of 646 plantations was 907 acres; each wage hand averaged only 45 acres and each tenant only 25 acres.

For those interested in the relation of administration to social systems, Figure 96 will be of interest. It will be noted that the organization, although it grew out of the semi-feudal slave plantation, does not differ essentially from the formal organization of a factory. The less dependent such plantations are upon the market and the more their management is influenced by tradition, the more functionally diffuse or lacking in specificity are the responsibilities of the owner and manager to his wage hands, tenants, and croppers. By the same token, commercialization and mechanization brings about specificity and reduces the functional diffuseness of the rights of the subordinate groups on the plantation. Since the Civil War there has been a continual decrease in the familistic *Gemeinschaft* forces operating in the plantation system.

A study by Leonard and Loomis⁴² found the wage hands and the croppers of the Arkansas Delta to be highly mobile. Mobility frequently resulted in an attempt to improve living levels in spite of the fact that mobility is negatively correlated with the level of living. This study further indicated that owners pushed laborers and tenants off the plantation when it was advantageous for them to do so. Tenants and laborers, on the other hand, left in an attempt to better conditions. Mechanization is now displacing thousands.

⁴¹ T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation*, Research Monograph V, Washington: Works Progress Administration, 1936, p. xix.

⁴² Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, pp. 227-237. This study was published originally with Olen Leonard as joint author in *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, April 1939.

ORGANIZATIONS OF ENTERPRISES ON THE LARGE AND CLOSELY-SUPERVISED PLANTATION

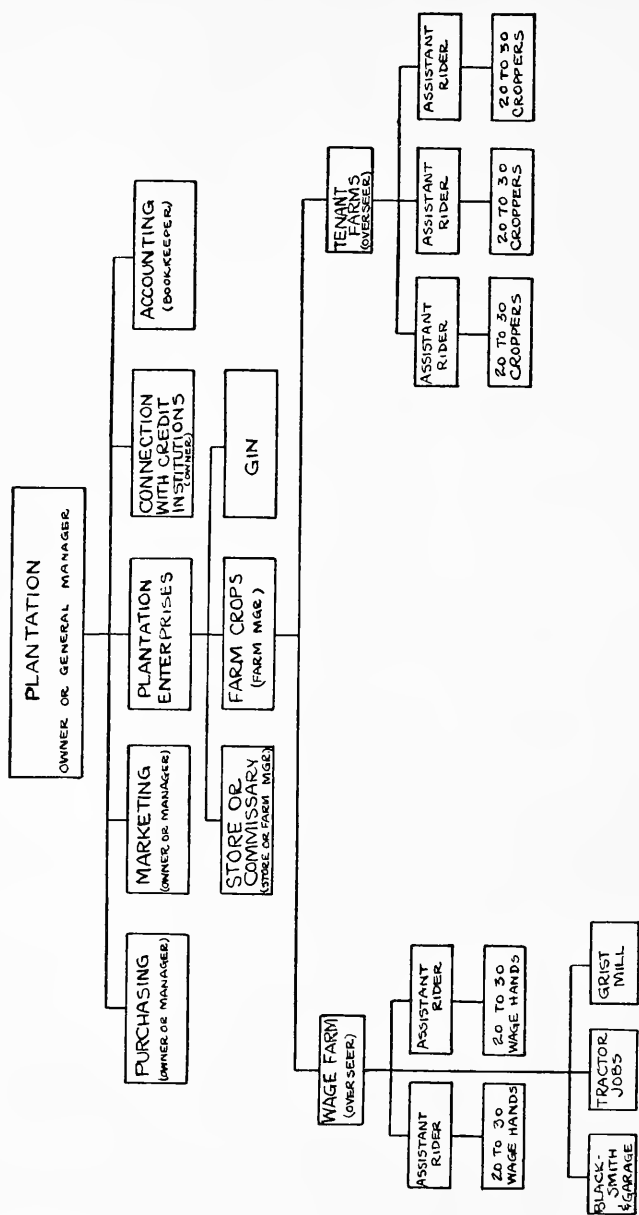


FIG. 96. The organization of enterprises on a large plantation. Note that the plantation organization calls for careful supervision of workers. (Adapted from Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1948, p. 269.)

Originally the plantation approached a self-contained community, with slaughter and storage houses, spinning rooms, gins, grist mills, and similar processing units. The work force was relatively stable. As will be shown in the Chapters 10 and 11, class lines were sharply drawn, with a minimum number in the middle and upper groups. The thinking, planning, and security pattern in such areas of the Cotton Belt depends upon the relatively few owners and operators. This type of social system produces a large mass of workers who are accustomed to having others initiate action to them. They can scarcely be expected to manifest great initiative. Most operations and decisions involve little resourcefulness or mental effort for the workers. Many never are involved in more complicated tasks than the use of a mule and a plow. Few engage in concerted and formal group activity such as that involved in the organization and operation of a co-operative. Most of the formal organizations that do exist are in the nature of fundamentalistic churches, requiring almost no deliberation on the part of the group. The cooperative characteristic of family farming areas is relatively uncommon in areas of large estates. Unquestionably the plantation system has left its mark upon the masses.

THE FACTORY FARM OF THE WESTERN SPECIALTY AREAS














It was found in Germany that when large estates were broken up, the establishments in the trade centers which serviced the family-sized farms acquired new life and thrived.⁴³ Not only did a greater total value of produce for market result, but trade increased as well. The birth rate in such areas was also stimulated.

In a study of two California communities, Goldschmidt⁴⁴ has dramatized the influences of the large farm economy and the small family farm economy. The two communities were located in somewhat similar agricultural areas, namely in the Western Specialty-Crop Area. McWilliams⁴⁵ graphically describes some of the essential differences in these two communities, as shown in Figure 97.

⁴³ Loomis, *ibid.*, Chapter 1.

⁴⁴ Walter R. Goldschmidt, "Large Farms or Small: The Social Side," Paper prepared for the annual meeting of the Western Farm Economics Association, Mimeographed, 1944.

⁴⁵ Carey McWilliams, "Small Farm and Big Farm," *Public Affairs Pamphlet* 100, Public Affairs Committee, 1945.

	ARVIN (LARGE FARMS)	DINUBA (SMALL FARMS)
 POPULATION	6,300	7,800
 TRIBUTARY TRADE AREA (APPROX.)	70,000 ACRES	77,000 ACRES.
 BANKS	NONE	TWO
 NEWSPAPERS	ONE	TWO (one vigorous, a real force in the community)
 ALL BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS	60	156
 SCHOOLS	ONE GRAMMAR SCHOOL (no high school)	Four grammar schools (one high school)
 LOCAL GOVERNMENT	COUNTY ONLY	Incorporated, elects own local officials
 SERVICE AND COMMERCIAL CLUBS	TWO	FIVE
 FRATERNAL AND WOMEN'S CLUBS	NONE	SEVEN
 VETERANS' ASSOCIATIONS	NONE	TWO
 CHURCHES	SIX (only three are adequately housed)	Fourteen (mostly substantial and in good condition)
 HOUSING	Very poor; houses badly crowded on small lots; very few brick or other permanent buildings	Modest but generally adequate; most houses on lots of 50x120 ft.; lawns, trees, etc.
 YOUTH AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY	Fairly serious, few recreational opportunities	Almost nonexistent; numerous recreational facilities

PICTOGRAPH CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC.

FIG. 97. Differences in large farms and small farms in the communities of Arvin and Dinuba, California. (Reproduced from Carey McWilliams, "Small Farm and Big Farm," *Public Affairs Pamphlet* No. 100, 1945, p. 3.)

Although factory farms dominate many areas, the family farm remains the characteristic type in America. The family farm ideal occupies a strong position in the sentiments and values of rural leaders from all areas. With the increasing rationalization and mechanization of agriculture, its position will almost certainly be weakened.

The agricultural economists and rural sociologists of the nation were polled to determine the extent of agreement with the following statement: "The small family-sized farm operated by an owner-farmer, even though he has only a small cash income, should be the goal of American agriculture."⁴⁶ Seventy-one percent of the rural sociologists and 41 percent of the agricultural economists agreed with this statement. In reply to the statement: "Agricultural production should be made technically as efficient as possible regardless of the effects on farm life or on the people now living on farms," only 35 percent of the rural sociologists and 37 percent of the agricultural economists agreed. Many believe the family farm to be more efficient when both depressions and prosperity periods are considered. Regardless of whether or not it is more efficient, it appears that a large proportion of scholars working in this field believe it is worth preserving.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Rural regions are important for many reasons. Both the administrator and the investigator must know what areas constitute homogeneous units. The investigator, for example, can better judge the extent to which he can generalize a given research if he knows the boundaries of the region in which it was made. The administrator will better know how to establish boundaries for the operation of his organization if he wishes to key it to homogeneous conditions. For the rural sociologist and anthropologist, the economic systems that carry on the farming enterprise in the various areas of the country are extremely important. The seven major types of farming areas of the nation are characterized by diverse social systems.

The Cotton Belt, which contains approximately 33 percent of the farm population of the nation, is characterized by high birth rates, low levels of living, high proportions of native American stock, and by high proportions of non-whites and non-owners. Furthermore, it is the most rural of the regions. Throughout this area, cotton is king. School vacations, social events, business activities, and church re-

⁴⁶ Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

vivals are tuned to the pulsation of activities required in the growing and harvesting of cotton. Extremely heavy peak work periods during picking season in September and October stand in contrast to slack periods in winter and early spring. In much of the area the plantation organization is the pace-setter. In contrast to the family farm, the plantation system for generations has permitted only a relatively few to initiate action, to make important decisions, or to engage in concerted community action. To date, agriculture is relatively unmechanized. This situation, however, is changing. The Cotton Belt is *Gemeinschaft*-like in that church and other organizations are of a functionally diffuse nature; interaction in groups is largely informal, with traditional and sacred activities dominant. In general, the area is characterized by the most solidary neighborhoods in the entire country. This is particularly true of Negro neighborhoods. However, the plantation, in contrast to the farm family, is the important entrepreneurial and productive unit. The area is not, therefore, as familistic as some other areas.

The Wheat Area, containing approximately 4 percent of the farm population of the nation, in many respects stands in sharp contrast to the Cotton Belt. Relatively little of the produce is consumed by the family, the level of living and income is high, and the birth rate is low. In no area are the machinery inventory and the proportion owning tractors higher. The Wheat Area, like the Cotton Belt, is highly rural. Neighborhoods are weak, with relatively few open-country churches. The trade centers are relatively important structuring points for economic and social life. Although farm enterprises are managed by families, the rate of tenancy is relatively high. Tenants, however, have relatively high status. The Farmers' Union is strongest in these areas, particularly in the northern part, which was settled in large part by peoples from northern Europe.

In the Corn Belt, which contains approximately 14 percent of the nation's farmers, a single crop of activity is less dominant than in the Cotton or Wheat Areas. Activities such as hog breeding and feeding are also important but, even so, corn is king. This area is characterized by high levels of living and large incomes, coupled with low birth rates. The area still clings to a considerable extent to the one-room neighborhood school, but in other social and economic activities the trade center is very important and neighborhoods located near to the trade center are dying out. Farms are highly mechanized, and special interest groups are organized around commodities. The

general farmer's organization, the Farm Bureau, is strongest in this area.

The Dairy Areas, accounting for approximately 12 percent of the farm population, include several cultural regions. In the east, old American and Canadian stocks predominate; in the west, the Scandinavian-American stocks are dominant. A high rate of farm operator ownership prevails and the value of products consumed at home is high. Throughout the year work loads are relatively stable and mechanization is fairly complete. Throughout most of the area, townships and other heritages of New England play a more important role than in other regions. Producer's cooperatives are very strong and many special interest organizations exist. The Grange is the strongest farm organization in a large part of the area. West of New England, the trade-centered village settlement pattern, which grew up in border areas such as New York state, is common.

The General and Self-Sufficing Areas contain approximately 19 percent of the farmers of the country. The familistic *Gemeinschaft* traits characterize this area more than any other region. Relatively high birth rates are coupled with lower levels of living and income as well as average machinery inventories. Neighborhoods, informal congeniality groups, churches, and other organizations support the informal, family-centered life. As would be expected, the families of the area produce products for home use to a larger extent than elsewhere. There are few foreigners and non-whites. The family farm is dominant and the ownership rate is relatively high.

The Range-Livestock Areas, embracing approximately 4 percent of the farm population, occupy the largest land area and the most diverse cultural groups. The nature of the economic enterprises demand that they cover vast areas. Population density is generally sparse, and except for the areas inhabited by Indians, Spanish-Americans, and Mormons, the neighborhoods are relatively weak. Except for these same areas, birth rates are low. Incomes are relatively high outside the Indian and Spanish-speaking areas. Everywhere the livestock industry dominates the lives of the people, and the traditions of the "wild and woolly West" are kept alive through rodeos and other means. The dominant industry is well organized, constituting a social, economic, and political power that must be reckoned with. There are few open-country churches.

The Western Specialty-Crop Areas include only about 3 percent of the farm population. With the exception of the California portion,

the areas are small and scattered through other types of farming areas. Factory farms are found in the California area, where labor-management cleavages are important, but the family farm prevails elsewhere, especially in the Mormon areas. About 40 percent of the population is foreign-born, frequently having strong peasant traditions. In general, the area is characterized by high levels of living, high income, and low birth rates. In the Mormon areas the high levels of living are coupled with a high birth rate.

Throughout all areas, except for the Cotton Belt and some parts of the Western Specialty-Crop Areas, the family is the central entrepreneur and work unit. A rural culture built around the family farm or ranch economy is essentially different from other rural cultures. Farmers in such cultures are representatives of labor and management at one and the same time, but they are seldom extremists in behalf of either. Their children learn to make decisions on their own; concerted group action and cooperation among families in such activities as marketing is common; and the personality that Jefferson extolled as the bulwark of democracy is compatible with the life of these areas. Plantations and factory farms furnish opportunity for relatively few to develop initiative and entrepreneurship. They also furnish support for relatively few business and professional men in the trade centers. In prosperity as well as in depression, the family farm has demonstrated its vitality and efficiency. It constitutes a real value in American life, and probably few rural sociologists, including the present writers, are able to be completely rational and objective about it.

PART III

SOCIAL STRATA AS SOCIAL SYSTEMS

CHAPTER 9

THE FORMS OF TENANCY

BY LAND TENURE we mean the customary and legalized rights that man has to land.¹ It is obvious, of course, that the type of tenure that a man has in land will usually be related to his social status. Ordinarily, the owner of large landed properties who has the right to use or dispose of his land at will and who controls the lives of those attached to the land by custom and law will have a higher status than peons, serfs, or others who occupy less prominent positions insofar as rights to the land are concerned. In all agricultural societies there are designations for roles, the chief differences among which are tenure variations of the respective rights to the use of and the control over land.²

EARLY LAND TENURE

In medieval European society, from which our land tenure system evolved, there were various states of servitude. There were the slaves, who could be sold; but serfs, such as cotters and villeins, although bound to the soil, had certain land rights.³ They could be

¹ Land held in fee simple is private property. The right to sell or rent land at will is the exception rather than the rule when we compare contemporary societies with cultures of the past. Lewinski defines property as follows: "It is the permanent possession of an object, conferring the exclusive right to use it or to dispose of it." J. S. Lewinski, *Origin of Property and the Formation of the Village Community*, London: Constable and Co., 1913, p. 5.

² Thus Irvine remarks that in most rural places of medieval Europe there was "no place for a landless man." All persons who had any rights were related to the land through some tenure status. Helen D. Irvine, *The Making of Modern Europe*, New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1923, pp. 11-22.

³ Irvine estimates that in 1300, two-thirds of the population of England were villeins. *Ibid.*, p. 23. Maitland distinguishes between free and not free as follows: "If the master has the right to recapture the servant who leaves his service, or even if he has the right to call upon the officers of the state to pursue him and bring him back to his work, then we may account this servant an unfree man, albeit the relation between him and his master has been created by free contract. Such unfreedom is very distinct from rightlessness." F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1897, p. 42.

transferred with the estate, but their status remained the same. Above these classes were the lesser gentry, the nobility, and the royalty. "The manor," as Vinogradoff describes it, "is an estate surrounded by tenures. . . ."⁴ One's relation to the land determined whether or not one could marry and under what conditions,⁵ what services and payments one had to render, and under what conditions one could leave the estate. In fact, most of the rights, duties, and activities were determined by tenure status.⁶

In feudal societies, such as the Celtic tribal society, strangers had a hard lot. Among the Celts, strangers succeeded, in some instances after generations, in setting up a kinship group of their own, but usually they became serfs or had to pay for protection.⁷

The basis for the feudal system and its predecessors, outside the civilized portions of the Roman Empire where the colonate prevailed, was the tribal group or the peasant family. In describing the tribal ties, Seeböhm says, "These ties were so close, and the rules of the system so firmly fixed by custom and by tribal instinct that Roman or Saxon conquest, and centuries of Christian influences, . . . left its main features and spirit . . . unbroken."⁸ He further indicates that this tribal basis is nearly universal.⁹ Seeböhm probably underestimates the importance of the Roman colonate¹⁰ in western feudal Europe. Many factors are responsible for the development of the feudal system from the eighth to the sixteenth centuries, but few are more important than the weakness or nonexistence of a strong, central government and the need for protection. As stated by Vinogradoff, "One of the most striking political features of the time is the in-

⁴ Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1904, p. 307.

⁵ This institutionalized means of controlling population increase previous to the industrial and commercial revolution broke down the feudal controls and resulted in tremendous population increases. It has not been given enough attention by population experts. See H. Haufe, *Die Bevoelkerung Europas, Stadt und Land im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Neue Deutsche Forschungen, Abt.: Volkslehre und Gesellschaftskunde, Berlin: Junker und Duennhaupt, 1936.

⁶ For the situation in England see George C. Homans, *English Villagers of the 13th Century*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941, pp. 232-252.

⁷ Vinogradoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24.

⁸ Frederic Seeböhm, *The English Village Community*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1905, p. 243.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

¹⁰ See W. E. Heitland, *Agricola*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921.

sufficiency of central power for the discharge of its governmental duties, and the consequent necessity for its subjects to seek private protection.”¹¹

Regardless of the factors responsible for its growth, feudalism spread over the areas from which most of our ancestors came. Its form, of course, varied, but everywhere the importance of familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like features were evident. The use of the concepts “*Gemeinschaft*” and “status” by Toennies and Maine respectively arises out of the great differences they noted in the feudal tenures of the Middle Ages and the *Gesellschaft*-like and contractual relations of the present day. “The fabric of the village community . . . is substantially organic. It grows, and is not based upon agreement, people cannot accede to it or recede from it without being admitted, by some natural process, birth, marriage, adoption, to the union of the holdings, and, theoretically, it is the holdings in their unconscious and unwilling combination which form the group and define its aims.”¹² Pfister found the basis of feudalism present in the seventh century as the population “came to be composed of groups of men bound together by personal ties.”¹³

We moderns, accustomed to contractual relations, carried on under law and order enforced by large governmental units, forget that all ancient cultures grew out of and returned to “house economy.” Rostovtzeff, the great historian of the Roman world, maintains that “the Marxians forget that the ancient world went through many cycles of evolution, and that in these cycles there occur periods of progress and other long periods of return to more primitive conditions, to the phase of economic life which is generally described as ‘house economy.’”¹⁴ It was this type of economy that spread over Europe with the coming of feudalism. In the words of Boissonnade, “Its most logical form, French feudalism, conquered England, Northern Spain, the two Sicilies, and the Levant, while the less fully evolved form, German feudalism, adapted itself to the institutions of the Low Coun-

¹¹ Vinogradoff, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 325.

¹³ Christian Pfister, “Gaul Under the Merovingian Franks,” *Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. II, p. 150. These descriptions lead one to speculate that if order and communications were completely destroyed in modern warfare somewhat similar groups would form. Perhaps self-protection groups formed on the basis of those depicted in Chapter 5 would result.

¹⁴ M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1926, p. 482.

tries and the North of Italy."¹⁵ Some free properties survived in Tyrol, Upper Bavaria, Swabia, Thuringia, Saxony, Frisia, and Holstein, but most areas were subjected.

In the enclosure movement in England from 1450–1600 and in other developments elsewhere, the customary rights of various lower tenure groups were disregarded and latifundia came into being. In England from 1730 to 1850, small copy holders were changed to wage earners or were driven off the land.¹⁶ On the other hand, even before the revolution in France a strong peasantry had developed as the bonds of the feudal system melted away. In Germany, the Prussian government redeemed the peasantry only to have itself subjected to a semi-wage exploitation of the latifundia or large estates. The latifundia owner owed fewer duties and felt bound by fewer responsibilities to those on his estate than did the feudal lord.¹⁷

✓ The exploitative and contractual organization known as the latifundia did not exist during the Middle Ages as it had in the Roman Empire, but came into existence as the lords sought to make more profits and to support royalty. Irvine describes the latifundia as characterized by absentee landlordism and associated with pastoral farming as well as with reduced populations due to death or migration.¹⁸ The post-feudal economy, whether it led to a free peasantry or to the economy of the latifundia, arose in the age of commercialism and bore the stamp of the contractual Gesellschaft-like type of social system. The slave plantation and many haciendas of Latin America now possess more of the characteristics of the compulsory Gesellschaft. Whipping was and is common, and the movement of peons and slaves is restricted. As the peasants were being jostled about by the changes, many revolts were staged in all countries. These revolts were among the cruelest events in the history of the world.¹⁹ Previously, regardless of the tenure arrangements, ". . . the average . . . householder of the Middle Ages lived under conditions in which his power of free disposal and free management was hemmed in on all sides by customs and rules converging toward the conceptions of a

¹⁵ P. Boissonnade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, p. 120.

¹⁶ Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

¹⁷ Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–64.

¹⁸ Irvine, *op. cit.*, Chapter 4.

¹⁹ For a summary of rural and urban radicalism, see Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929, pp. 444–476.

community of interests and rights between all the household shares of a village."²⁰

As a money economy developed and the status of landlords came more and more to be reckoned in terms of the liquid assets they had, the landlords began to use their positions of prestige in the courts and law-making bodies and in their communities to take over properties to which the various status groups had use and other rights. Since America was settled during the late feudal and early commercial periods, it is to be expected that various of these European influences would be felt here.

The Spanish influence upon land tenure is very well shown in the Southwest. Originally, the land was parceled out to patrones or villages in large grants by the Spanish and Mexican governments. The community of El Cerrito in the Range-Livestock Area in New Mexico, for example, was a part of an early Spanish grant which contained over 400,000 acres.²¹ In sharp contrast to our ownership in fee simple, this feudal-like beginning was destined to change. Gradually the patrones and villages began losing their grants through sale for delinquent taxes, ruthless grant trustees, and the failure of the courts to recognize the grant lands.²² These reduced grants have been further subdivided so that land holdings today are indeed small. In the case of El Cerrito, most families operate from 10 to 40 acres of dry-farming land plus one to four acres of irrigated land.²³ In the Southwest, this land may be expected to furnish little more than food for the family. The smaller of these land-holders are forced to look to local patrons and outside sources for supplements to their incomes. Undoubtedly much of the ethnic cleavage²⁴ in this part of the country may be traced to the gradual loss of land, often through the intrigues of the Anglo-Americans.

The description of land tenure in Brazil is outlined in detail by Smith. During the early period, the Portuguese Crown granted large tracts in "Sesmarias" to applicants. Someone "trying to qualify for

²⁰ Vinogradoff, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

²¹ See C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organizations*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 270.

²² Olen Leonard, *Role of the Land Grant in the Social Organization and Social Processes of a Spanish American Village in New Mexico*, Louisiana State University Ph.D. Dissertation, Baton Rouge, 1943.

²³ Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

²⁴ C. P. Loomis, "Ethnic Cleavages in the Southwest as Reflected in Two High Schools," *Sociometry*, Vol. VI, No. 1, February 1943.

such a grant went to considerable lengths to convince the representative of the Crown that he was of 'good' family . . . of noble or fidalgo lineage, and that he possessed the means necessary to enable him to open and operate a sugar plantation. . . ." ²⁵ With the exception of the collection of tithes for the Church and later for the State, the transfer of the land rights from public to private hands was fairly complete. Remnants of feudal control, however, were visible. The king reserved the right to establish villages on the grants when it was deemed advisable, and to make use of the hardwoods growing on the land. The noble receiving the original grant was invested with tremendous power, including the right to name local officials.

Vestiges of Feudal Tenure in the United States. Most Americans are so accustomed to the fee simple title that they do not understand other systems. One of the basic difficulties in the Southwest, where land was granted to villages or *patrones* by the Spanish or Mexican governments, has been the failure of the Americans to understand the system of tenure under which the land was held. Although there were efforts to establish feudal forms in Maryland, the Carolinas, New York, and elsewhere, these forms were only partially enforced and disappeared after the American Revolution. ²⁶

Although various types of rents prevented ownership, serfdom did not emerge. The English settlers, who set the general pattern for land holding and culture of the country, had been uprooted by the enclosure movement in England and represented a back-to-the-land movement. Although cheap and plentiful land was the major impediment to the establishment of feudal tenure, there is reason to believe that the English colonists or their immediate ancestors, who had been driven from the feudal estates because they had only use rights and not the necessary proof of ownership, resisted various types of feudal tenure more than they would have if they had not had unfortunate experience with them. ²⁷

²⁵ T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil: People and Institutions*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946, p. 445. See also the entire chapter dealing with land tenure, pp. 441-482.

²⁶ Irving Mark, "Agrarian Conflicts in New York and the American Revolution," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VII, No. 3, September 1942, pp. 275-293.

²⁷ R. H. Shryock, *British Versus German Traditions in Colonial Agriculture*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, Department of History Publication, December 30, 1937. See also C. P. Loomis, "Review of Some Recent Studies of Southern Culture," *Proceedings of the Southern Conference-Seminar on Teaching and Research in Rural Sociology*, Blue Ridge, North Carolina, August 26-30, 1940.

LAND TENURE IN THE UNITED STATES

Sorokin and Zimmerman²⁸ have put the matter of land tenure in broad historical perspective. One period may be marked by huge holdings dominated by a few who have most of the rights and privileges. This period may be followed by an era in which wider distribution is the general theme. The important fact is that type of land tenure and concentration of authority over land vary greatly from place to place and from epoch to epoch. Most of the tenure problems that concern people today are related to the increased commercialization and rationalization of society in general.²⁹

If land is to be regarded as a "good," that is, as a means to attain an end, it will be used as are other goods. If it is to be thought of as an end in and of itself, having some of the aspects of those things that people consider sacred, its use will be different regardless of whether its occupants use, own, or rent it. It is this value orientation of the society, not the form of tenure, that is important. In all societies of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* type, food is so important in the total scheme that land retains some of the aspects of the sacred. It is not, therefore, to be mined or exploited. Rather, it is to be built up even if this activity is not profitable to the user in the utilitarian sense. In the type of society in which contractual *Gesellschaft* features predominate, permanency of tenure and of personal relationships is the exception rather than the rule. One moves from one piece of land to another or from one person to another in accordance with what is thought to advance one's interests most. One leaves the land or the person as one leaves a hotel room or a sales counter.

High Rates of Tenancy. The high tenancy rates in the United States are primarily due to the rationalization and freedom of movement, which have been increasing ever since the various tenure groups began to win their freedom from the restrictions of the old feudal estate. Figure 98 shows the proportions of tenants and croppers for the United States as a whole and for the three geographic divisions. Many liberals in the United States decry the lack of individual freedom, and at the same time lament the increase in the short-term tenancy which represents freedom for both landlord and

²⁸ Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 ff.

²⁹ Examples of current concern over land tenure may be found in the cases of Japan and Yugoslavia. See Angus McDonald, "Japanese Land Reforms," *New Republic*, Vol. CXVII, No. 9, September 1, 1947, pp. 31-32; and Alexander Vucinich, "Rural Yugoslavia," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 3, September 1947, pp. 237-245.

tenant. Although there is definite proof that tenants working under short-term leases employ more destructive soil practices than long-term tenants, owners, or tenants related to landlords,³⁰ there is no evidence that tenants want long-term agreements. In fact, a tenant "re-

PERCENT TENANCY

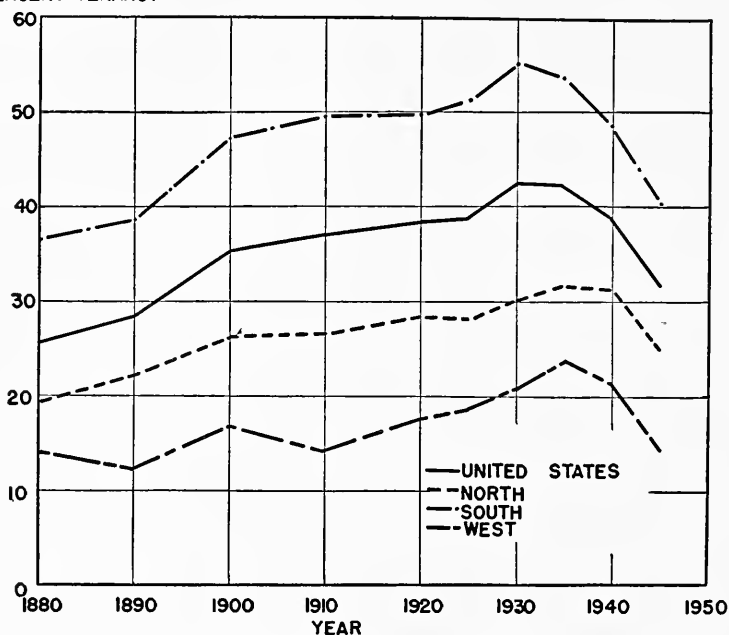


FIG. 98. Trends in percentage of all farms operated by tenants and croppers, geographic areas, 1880 to 1945. Note that the percentages of tenants and croppers are high for the South throughout the period. (Data from Tharp and Turner, *Graphic Summarization of Farm Tenure*, Washington, 1946, Table 1a.)

gards this freedom of movement as his most powerful sanction against any potential exploitation.”³¹

Of the non-owning farmers, Schuler found that one-year agreements were reported by three-fifths of the northern farmers of the Corn Belt, four-fifths of the southern Negro farmers, and almost four-

³⁰ Rainer Schickele, *Farm Tenure in Iowa*, Ames: Iowa AES Bulletin 356, 1937.

³¹ E. A. Schuler, *Social Status and Farm Tenure—Attitudes and Social Conditions of Corn Belt and Cotton Belt Farmers*, Washington: USDA Social Research Report No. 4, April 1938, p. 37.

fifths of the southern white farmers in the Cotton and Tobacco Belts.³² On the other hand, not only do tenants operating land on short-term leases find little incentive to build up the soil or to improve the buildings and other immovable property, but there is evidence that the more mobile the tenant the less livestock he will have for the family's home consumption.³³ Nevertheless, farm families value the right to move, and it is one of the characteristics of the age. Tenant farmers, of course, are not the only people in modern society who are continually on the move. Never in the history of the world have people been so mobile. It is to be expected that people in general, guided by rationalism and unhampered by sentiments or attachments, would be foot-loose. It is a characteristic of the contractual Gesellschaft-like society.

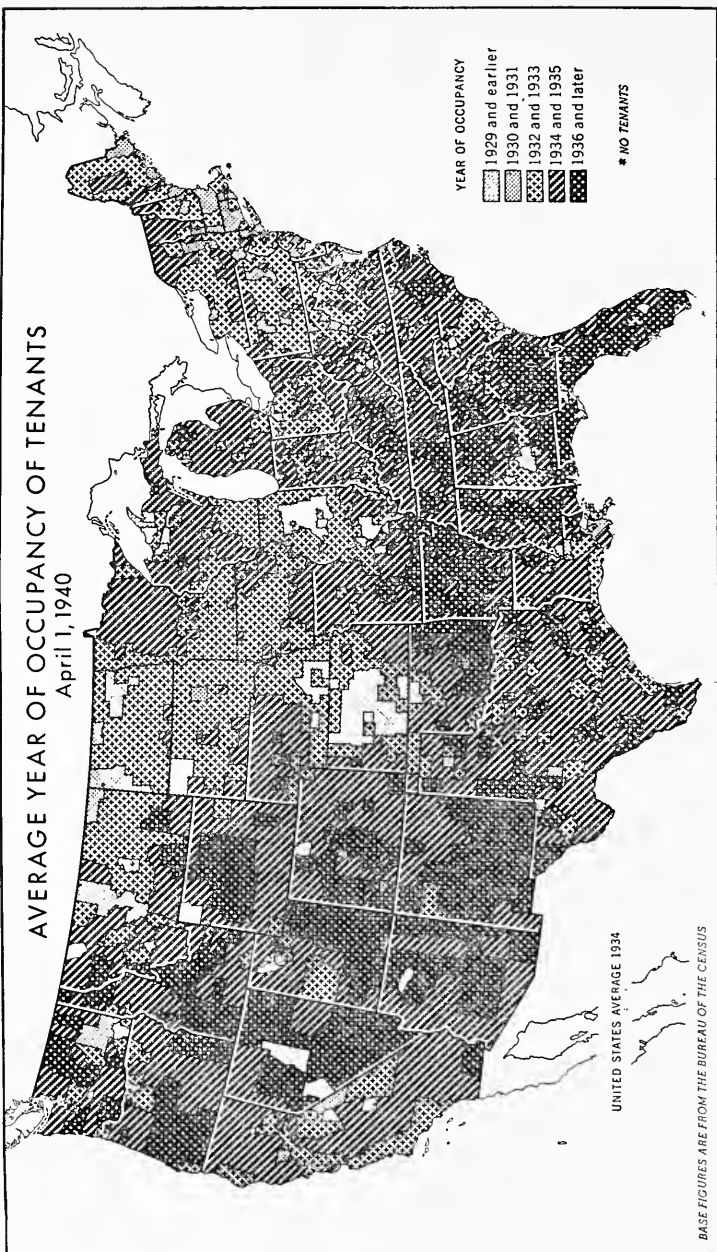
Figure 99 shows the high rate of mobility among tenants in the United States. The average length of time that tenants throughout the United States had occupied their farms in 1940 was only six years. Figure 99 also reveals considerable regional variation in the mobility of tenants as reflected by length of occupancy. In only 2 percent of the counties in the North was the average year of occupancy on the part of farm tenants 1936 or later. In the South and West, however, the comparable figures are 31 and 32 percent, respectively.³⁴

Tenancy in the United States has been on the increase for many years. The proportion of tenancy has increased from 25.6 percent in 1880 to 42.4 percent in 1930. Since 1930, there has been a gradual decline; in 1945 the percentage was 31.7. Furthermore, the mortgaged indebtedness of the farms increased up to World War II. Figure 100 depicts both the decreasing equity of the operators in the land they till up to about 1925 and the period of high farm incomes during

³² Less than one-half of the northern Corn Belt renters, one-fourth of the southern Negroes, and one-sixth of the southern whites had written agreements. It should be noted that those who wish to improve tenure relations by the introduction of written contracts do not have much to build on in the South. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³³ Leonard and Loomis found that the Negro sharecropper and wage-labor families which had not moved in the previous five years produced much more food for home use, had more hogs, cattle, and poultry than those that had moved. There was a high negative correlation between number of moves and the value of home-use products and perquisites. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, pp. 227-237.

³⁴ See Max M. Tharp and Howard A. Turner, *Graphic Summarization of Farm Tenure*, Washington: U.S.D.A., BAE, April 1946, Table 13a.



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Fig. 99. Average year of occupancy of tenants in the United States, by county, 1940. Farmers in sections of the Northeast, Wheat Belt, and Corn Belt are most stable. (Source: Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

World War II. Most economists believe that agricultural incomes will decrease and that the prewar trends will continue. More and more land passes yearly into the hands of large investment companies and

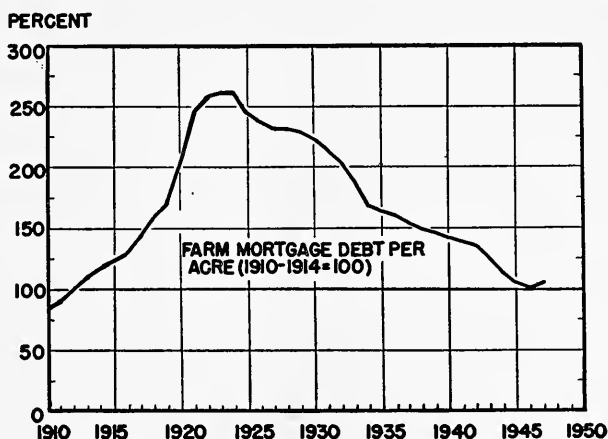


FIG. 100. Farm mortgage debt per acre in the United States, 1910 to 1947. The period from 1910 to 1914 is taken as 100 and index numbers are computed from that base period. (Adapted from *Land Value Conference*, Washington, June 1947, p. 9.)

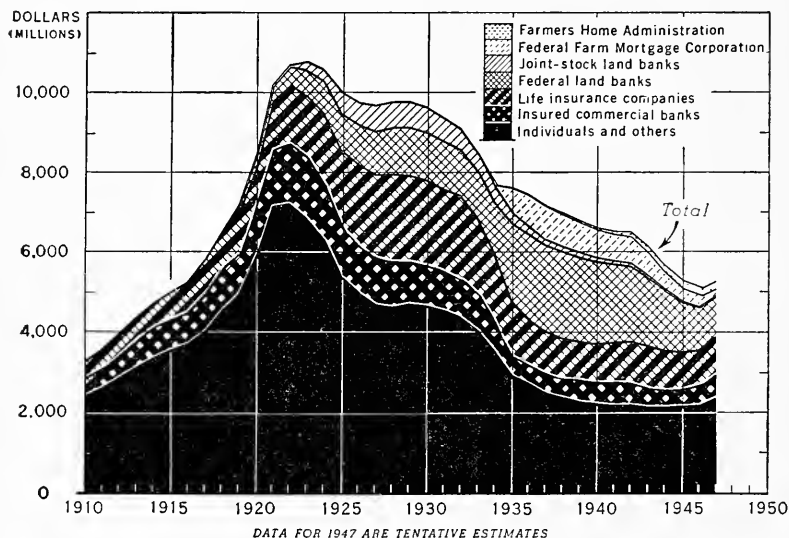
other agencies which rent it to tenant farmers. Contractualism, therefore, is on the increase.

An analysis of the farm mortgage debt held by major lender groups is revealing. Figure 101 shows the amount of farm mortgage debt held by various lenders from 1910 to 1947. Until 1923, the debt held by individuals, commercial banks, and life insurance companies increased. Beginning in 1923, however, the debt held by life insurance companies, the Federal land banks, and joint-stock land banks increased while other lender groups declined.

During the great depression, thousands of farm owners lost their farms to their creditors. By 1938, 60,000 farms were owned by half a dozen life insurance companies. These farms were chiefly concentrated in the Cotton Belt and Wheat Areas. In addition, 4,000 multiple-farm owners owned a total of over 100,000 farms, in aggregate over 20,000,000 acres. Over nine-tenths of these farms were owned by 124 owners, with 100 or more farms each. From 1940 to 1945, indebtedness of farmers declined by about one-fifth and many corporations disposed of farms they had acquired by foreclosure. However,

large-scale farm operations are being increased. More and more city dwellers are investing in farm property and land prices are so inflated that a price recession would almost certainly put thousands of family farms under the hammer.³⁵

FARM MORTGAGE DEBT HELD BY MAJOR LENDER GROUPS.
JANUARY 1, UNITED STATES, 1910-47



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FIG. 101. Farm mortgage debt held by major lender groups in the United States, 1910-1947. (SOURCE: Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

Commercialization and Tenancy. The rational, commercial attitudes and behavior spreading throughout the rural world of the Middle Ages broke up the feudal system and led to the establishment of the latifundia or the relatively mobile farming people. The same features of the modern economy are associated with high tenancy rates. Figure 102 demonstrates that the higher the value of Corn Belt farms, the lower the proportion of farms that are worked by owners. This relationship, however, does not hold in General and Self-Suf-

³⁵ Arthur F. Raper and Carl C. Taylor, "Landowners and Tenants," in Carl C. Taylor *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, p. 274.

ficing Areas, or in the Cotton Belt, as indicated by Figure 103. Smith³⁶ has pointed out that the relationship between type of farm and proportion of land in the hands of tenants does not hold in the South,

PERCENT FULL OWNERS

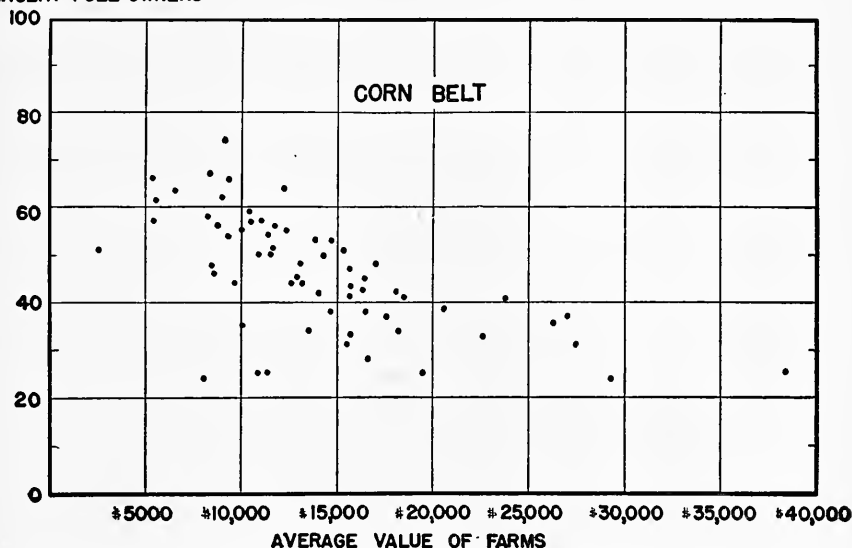


FIG. 102. Average value of farms in sample Corn Belt counties in relation to the percentage of farms operated by full owners. In general, the larger the percentage of full owners, the smaller the average value of farms. (Data from the 1945 Census of Agriculture.)

especially in the Cotton Belt, because of the faulty classification of tenants and wage hands. Landlords shift from the wage to share basis depending upon which is more favorable to them. If Figure 102 were to show the relation between value of farm land and proportions of

³⁶ Smith proposes to change the census classification which lists tenure groups as follows: I. Farm operators, A. Owners, B. Managers, C. Tenants, 1. Cash tenants, 2. Standing renters, 3. Share tenants, 4. Sharecroppers, 5. Other tenants. II. Farm laborers, A. Unpaid family laborers, B. All others. He would use the following classification: I. Farm operators, A. Owners and part owners, B. Managers, C. Renters, 1. Cash, 2. Standing renters, 3. Share renters, II. Farm laborers, A. "Share tenants," B. Sharecroppers, C. Wage hands, and D. Unpaid family laborers. Thus the fallacy of calling southern sharecroppers and tenants who have no entrepreneurial function and are really laborers *tenants* (meaning renters) would be avoided. T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 284.

farms operated by owners in family-sized units, the tendency of commercialism to be inversely related to the prevalence of the family farm would manifest itself. Figures 104 and 105 show the relation between

PERCENT FULL OWNERS

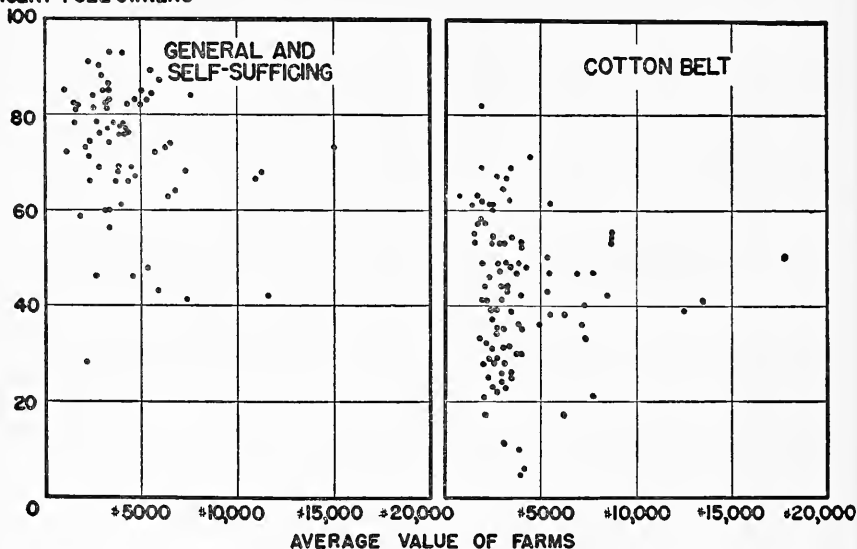


FIG. 103. Average value of farms in sample Cotton Belt and in sample General and Self-Sufficing farming counties in relation to the percentage of farms operated by full owners. (Data from the 1945 Census of Agriculture.)

tenure and type of farming. Highest rates of tenancy are to be found in commercialized Cotton, Corn, and Wheat Areas.

Renters whose landlords are blood relatives are in many cases children of older farmers who are preparing to take over the farm. In any case, the familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like relationship between renter and owner is much more pronounced where they are kinfolk. Much more visiting, exchange of meals, and other neighborly behavior takes place between owners and renters when there are kinship ties. In 1930 one-fifth of all tenants in the United States were related to their landlords. (See Figure 106.) With the exception of the northern portions of Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, in areas where a large proportion of agricultural families own the land they operate, large proportions of tenants rent land from landlords to whom they are related by kinship. This relationship is brought out by comparing Figure 104 and Figure 106. Using the proportion of

PERCENTAGE OF ALL FARMS OPERATED BY TENANTS, JAN. 1, 1945
(COUNTY UNIT BASIS)

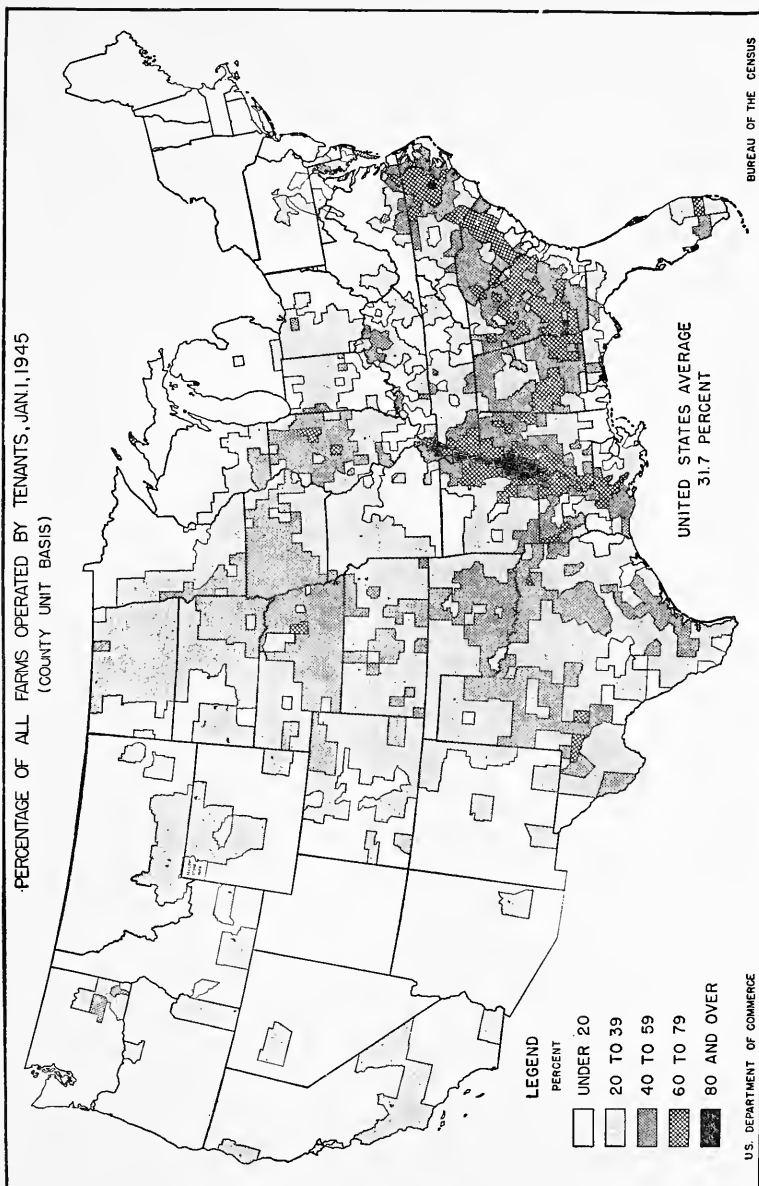


FIG. 104. Percentage of all farms operated by tenants in the United States, by county, 1945. The high rates of tenancy in the Cotton and Corn Belts stand out. Particularly striking is the rate of tenancy in the Mississippi Delta area. (Reproduced from the Bureau of the Census.)

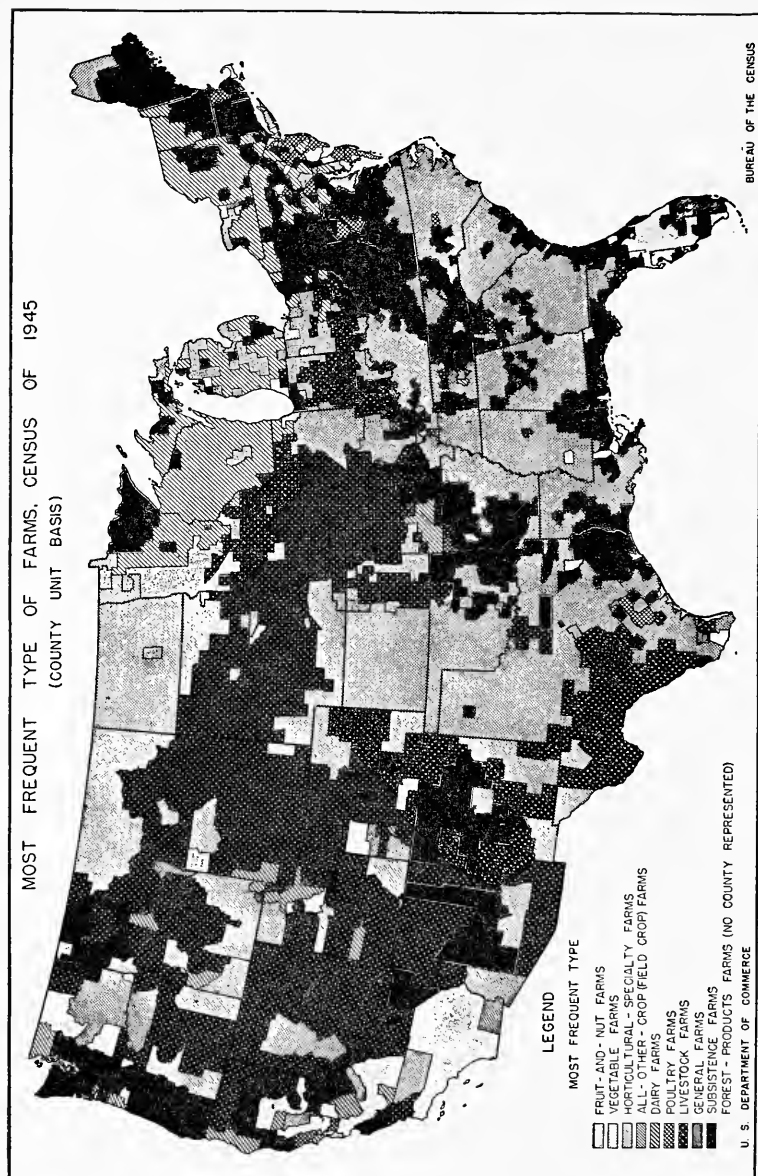


Fig. 105. The most frequent type of farm in the United States, by county, 1945. (Reproduced from the Bureau of the Census.)

farm owners among all farmers engaged in agriculture and the proportion of tenants related to their landlords as criteria for locating the familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like farming areas in this country, we may say that the Great Lakes states, New England, the Mormon areas of Utah and Idaho, the Spanish-speaking and Indian cultures of the

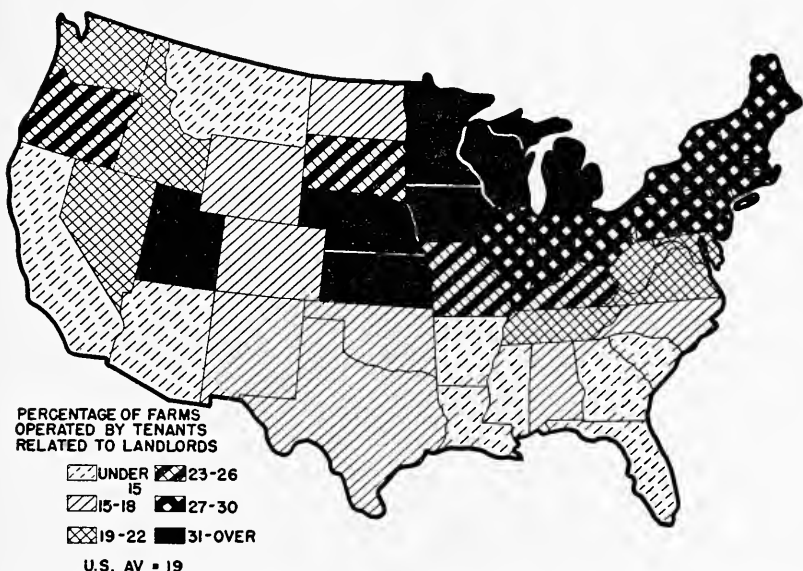
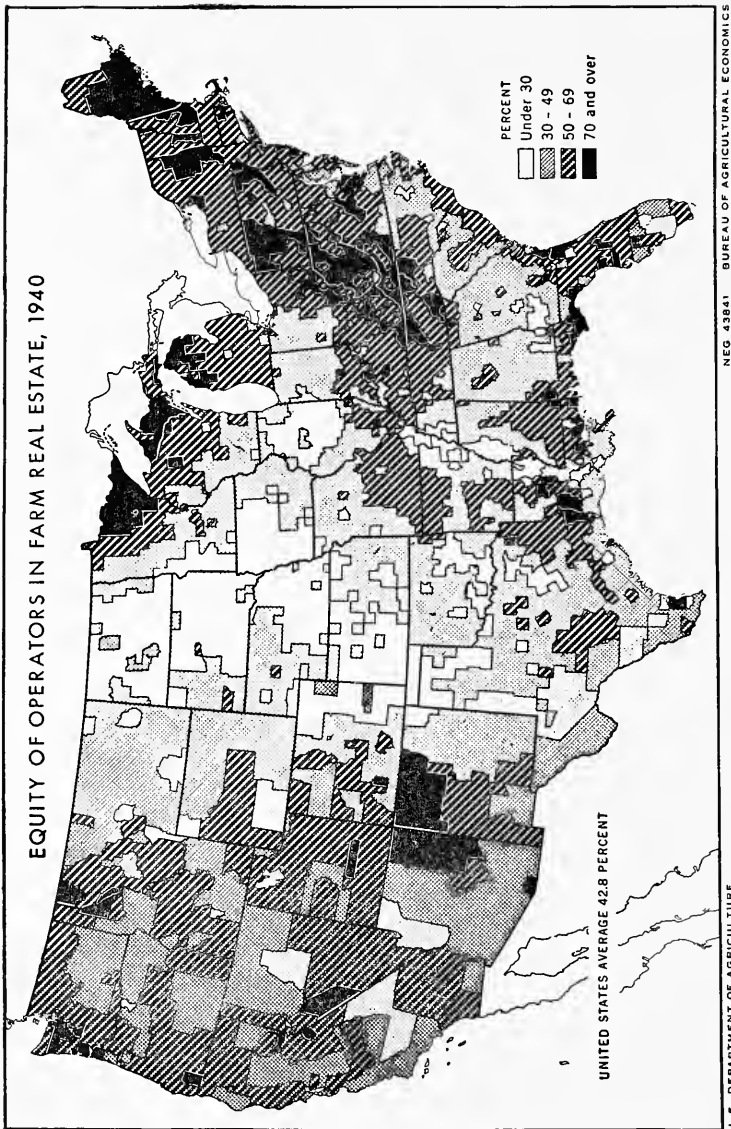


FIG. 106. Percentage of rented farms operated by tenants related to the landlords, United States, 1930. (Data from *Graphic Summarization of Farm Tenure*, Washington, April 1946, Table 9a.)

Southwest, the Northwest, the Middle Border states, and parts of Kansas and Nebraska characterize this type. In general, these areas are approximately the same as those shown in Figure 107, which indicates the regional variations in the equity of operators in farm real estate in 1940. For the most part, these areas lie outside the highly commercialized Wheat, Corn, and Cotton Belts.

Of the various types of tenancy—cash tenancy, share tenancy, share-cash tenancy, and sharecropping—the first three are most common in areas where the largest proportion of tenants are related to their landlords and where the status of tenants most nearly equals that of owners. The terms for the types of tenancy are descriptive: cash tenancy, a fixed amount of cash; share tenancy, an agreed share of the farm produce; share-cash tenancy, a combination of cash rent and a share of the farm products. In these three types, the tenant him-



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FIG. 107. Equity of operators in farm real estate in the United States, by county, 1940. (Reproduced from Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

self arranges the financing of production and the disposal of his crops. He also has the full use of the land for an agreed period of time, at least one, and frequently two or more, crop-years. The sharecropper is really a wage worker in that he furnishes only his work and takes a share of the sale of the products. In the Cotton Belt, where sharecropping is most common, the sharecropper has no claim to his share until all his borrowings, usually for living expenses "furnished" by the landlord, are paid. Therefore, he shares the risks of production. Relatively few sharecroppers are related to their landlords. Over half of all Negro tenants are sharecroppers, and three-fourths of all Negro farmers are tenants.³⁷

Land as a Value in and of Itself. It is the thesis of the authors that the more land is used as a means of making money rather than as a value in and of itself, the more it will be misused. Specifically, the tenancy rate will be greater and the farm operators' equity in the land will be smaller. Firey³⁸ has demonstrated that even within a city, land can be the symbol of group integration and social status. Under these conditions, great resistance will be made against its commercialization. Beacon Hill is the home of many upper-class Bostonians, and from an economic point of view, its present use is "dis-economic." Group solidarity, however, has held the high class residential area intact even though it is an area which ordinarily would have been given over to business. Through zoning and other devices

*Percentages of Tenants Dissatisfied with Present Agreements**

Sample Population and Tenure Status	Total Number Reporting	Percentages Reporting Dissatisfaction
<i>Northern</i>		
Related to Landlord	77	10
Unrelated to Landlord	186	36
<i>Southern White</i>		
Related to Landlord	98	16
Unrelated to Landlord	344	29
<i>Negro</i>		
Related to Landlord	36	17
Unrelated to Landlord	353	60

* Total figures include renters and croppers only.

³⁷ Raper and Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 266. The following table indicates that when landlords are relatives, tenure arrangements are more congenial. Schuler, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

³⁸ Walter Firey, *Land Use in Central Boston*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947.

available to the upper class, the area retains such characterizations as "this sacred eminence," "stately old-time appearance," and "age-old quaintness and charm."

In the Middle Ages and in most peasant and noncommercial agricultural economies, land has a value other than the profit it can produce. It represents status to all those who are related to it. Even in the United States, often thought to be the most secularized and commercialized farming economy in the world, there are areas in which farm land means more than other tools of production having equal cost. Leonard and Loomis³⁹ have demonstrated that the Spanish-Americans in the Southwest cling to their irrigated lands. Kollmorgen⁴⁰ has shown that the Old Order Amish place a high value on land in the center of their settlement, and that the greatest possible attainment of a farmer is to be able to buy farms for all his sons near the center. Areas on the outside, although having comparable fertility, marketing, and other economic advantages, are usually worth only about one-fourth as much as the lands in the center of the settlement of "plain" people, away from the evil influences of the "gay" and "worldly."

The powerful influence of the ownership and control of land in the Irish peasant society has been demonstrated.⁴¹ In western Ireland, one's status depends upon relation to the land. If one marries and is not designated to inherit the homestead, it is necessary to leave in order to support a family elsewhere. The largest proportion of unmarried persons in Europe is found in this economy. The age at marriage of rural males is also remarkably high, because fathers are reluctant to retire. People who finally do marry have families that are not smaller than families elsewhere, but the vital processes of a whole culture are determined by the land tenure system, which puts tremendous emphasis upon retaining the holding intact. This is all the more remarkable when one realizes that in 1870, 97 percent of all holdings in Ireland were operated by non-owners. By 1929, tenancy had been reduced to 2.6 percent in the Irish Free State through the

³⁹ *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, Chapter 16.

⁴⁰ Walter M. Kollmorgen, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, Washington: U.S.D.A., September, 1942.

⁴¹ Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940.

various land reforms.⁴² The strength of a relatively new basis for status is usually not so great.

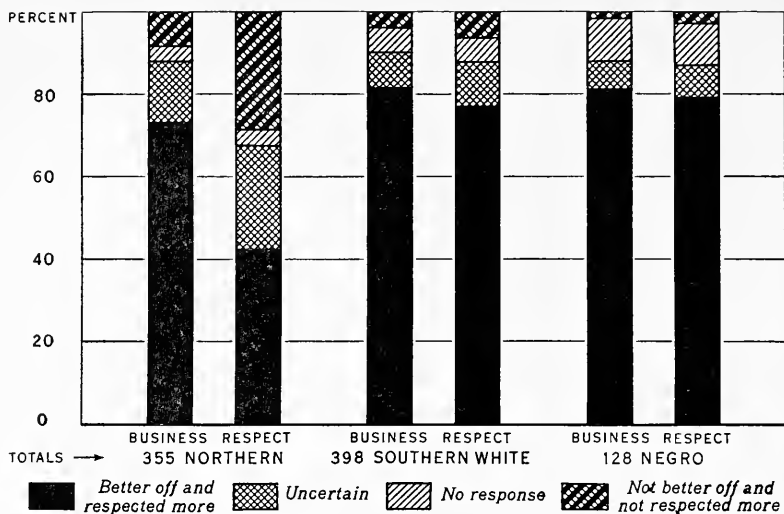
Firey⁴³ demonstrated that the rural-urban fringe, like the "blighted areas" in the cities, has a nondescript tenure and land-use pattern. In the fringe area, a rural-urban slum usually develops somewhat according to the patterns of those which develop in the blighted areas of the city. However, the area is at "dead center" so far as use preferences are concerned. Large restricted areas with the estates of the upper-class city residents may be found not far removed from tarpaper shack areas. The hot dog stand, golf course, and junk yard are found intermingled. In use and tenure, a rapid turnover of population is typical. First-class agricultural land often stands idle in the fringe area because tax rates have increased beyond what farmers can pay for farm usage, and the land is not yet ready for residential use. Although utilitarian factors seem to be important, symbolic and status factors are also evident. Caprice and chance seem to determine future development.

Throughout the commercial farming areas a few "cultural islands" of peasants are found whose original culture the American commercial economy has not completely destroyed. Among these groups are often found a low incidence of farm tenancy and great respect for the soil. Before the great depression, much attention was focused on the American melting pot, in which the various ethnic groups of Europe were supposedly being fused into the American culture. During the depression, attention was called to the "islands," obviously places where the "melting pot" had not worked and in which incidence of dependency and need for relief were relatively low. Studies of these cultural islands, which have been least influenced by urbanization and commercialization, indicate that the peasant peoples have retained much of their original peasant culture and respect for the land as something more than a mere means to profit.

The Family Farm as a Value. As Figures 108 and 109 indicate, ownership among southern farmers is far more meaningful than ownership among northern Corn Belt farmers. Although northern

⁴² Elizabeth R. Hooker, *Readjustments of Agricultural Tenure in Ireland*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938, p. 120.

⁴³ Walter Firey, "Ecological Considerations in Planning for Urban Fringes," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 4, August 1946, pp. 411-423; and *Social Aspects of Land Use Planning in the Country-City Fringe: The Case of Flint, Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan AES, Special Bulletin 339, June 1946.

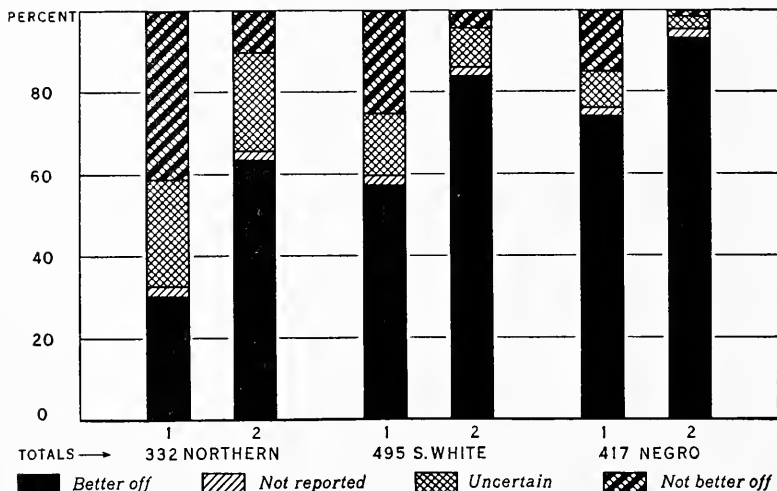


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FIG. 108. Opinions of farm land owners regarding desirability of farm ownership from two points of view: business and respect received. (Reproduced from Schuler, *Social Status and Farm Tenure*, Washington, April 1938, p. 8.)



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FIG. 109. Percentages of non-owners (1) who think they would feel better off, or not better off, if they were mortgaged owners, and (2) who think owners feel better off, or not better off, than renters. (Reproduced from Schuler, *Social Status and Farm Tenure*, Washington, April 1938, p. 8.)

farmers felt that farm ownership was advantageous from a business point of view, less than half of the owners believed that owners were more respected than non-owners. In the South, among both the white and colored owner farmers in the Cotton and Tobacco Belts, approximately four out of five thought they were more respected as owners than if they had been non-owners. These farmers also felt that it was advantageous from a business point of view to own the land operated.

As Table 20 indicates, a relatively small proportion of the non-

TABLE 20

Percentages of Non-Owners Who Think Their Prospects of Becoming Farm Owners in the Next Five Years are Good, Fair, or Poor

Classification	Northern	Southern White	Negro
Good	14.2	9.9	13.7
Fair	33.4	26.5	22.0
Poor	48.2	59.3	63.4
Uncertain	4.2	4.4	.8
Total Number Reporting	332	496	714

SOURCE: Schuler, *Social Status and Farm Tenure*, Washington: U.S.D.A. Social Research Report No. IV, April 1938, p. 10.

owners in the Corn, Cotton and Tobacco Belts believed they had good chances of becoming owners in the next five years. This being the case, the farmers of these commercialized areas were asked what they thought should be done about it. As Table 21 indicates, approxi-

TABLE 21

Percentages of Farmers Who Think the Government Should, or Should Not, Do Something about the Increase of Tenancy

Response	Northern	Southern White	Negro
Yes	64	74	73
Uncertain	25	17	24
No	11	6	1
Not Responding	—	3	2
Total Number Reporting	687	894	842

SOURCE: Schuler, *Social Status and Farm Tenure*, Washington: U.S.D.A. Social Research Report No. IV, April 1938, p. 14.

mately three-fourths of the southern and two-thirds of the northern farmers thought that the government should do something to stop the increase in farm tenancy. The farmers interviewed would do

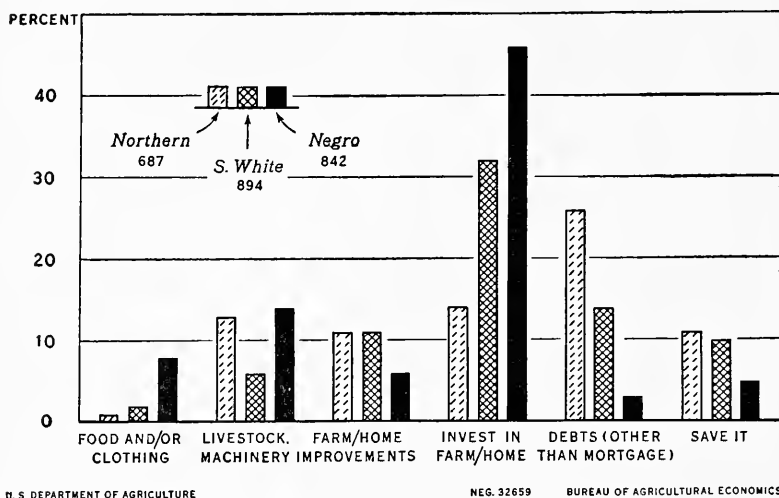


FIG. 110. Percentage of farmers who say they would dispose of hypothetically inherited \$500 in specified ways. (Reproduced from Schuler, *Social Status and Farm Tenure*, Washington, April 1938, p. 16.)

something themselves about the matter of ownership if they were to have an increase in income. This fact is shown in Figure 110. A considerable proportion of the farmers would invest in a farm or home. Those who thought that more Americans should own the farms they operate believed that land and home ownership furnish a basis for the development of a more permanent and stable society.

If renters were to be given the opportunity to become owners, what changes would they make? Table 22 indicates what non-owners in the Corn, Cotton, and Tobacco Belts said they would do. Of course, saying and doing are two different things, but, as indicated above, we know that owners actually do preserve their soil and improve their properties more than renters do. That the agricultural ladder is still functioning, even though imperfectly, is indicated by the fact that three out of five northern and two out of every five southern farmers were in a higher status when Schuler made his study than they were when they began farming. Some had slipped down the ladder; in the northern Corn Belt, two out of every hundred had lower status at the

time of the study than when they began farming. In the South, for both Negroes and whites, the comparable number who had slipped down the ladder was eight out of every hundred.⁴⁴

TABLE 22

Percentages of Non-Owners Saying They Would Run Farm Differently if They Owned It, Who Specify Various Types of Changes

Type of Change	Northern	Southern White	Negro
Improve soil by rotation, legumes, etc.	60	29	17
Improve soil by tiling, terracing, etc.	6	20	16
Increase growth of food-feed	—	10	31
Improve/increase livestock	7	2	3
Improve condition of tenants/laborers	—	2	3
"Improve/build up the place"	20	9	6
All others	7	28	24
Total Number Reporting	146	221	356

SOURCE: Schuler, *Social Status and Farm Tenure*, Washington: U.S.D.A. Social Research Report No. IV, April 1938, p. 39.

Hired Labor. Equally as significant as the increase in tenancy is the increase in the proportion of hired laborers in agriculture. This increase is related to the expanded size of holding and, as Smith points out, the croppers and some renters in the South who exercise very few entrepreneurial functions are for all intents and purposes hired laborers.⁴⁵

Farm operators and their families account for almost four-fifths of all agricultural workers. How much agriculture differs from other industries is emphasized by the fact that over half of all farm workers are self-employed, that is, farm operators. In most other industries the majority of the workers are employees. Of the total number of non-operators working on farms, about half are hired laborers and half unpaid members of the farm operator's family. In no other important industry is there as large a proportion of unpaid family workers. In agriculture, unpaid family workers amount to about one-fifth of the total working force. Two-thirds of the farmers who hire laborers hire only a few and for a short time. Such farmers, plus those who

⁴⁴ Schuler, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁴⁵ Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-283.

hire no labor at all, operate five-sixths of the nation's farms. One-sixth of the country's farms accounted for over 90 percent of all hired farm labor in 1945 and 1946. Only about one percent of the farmers in 1945 hired as many as the equivalent of five or more man-years.

Studies have shown that larger operators pay higher wages and require shorter hours of work for both seasonal and year-around laborers than small operators. This is important, since seven-tenths of all hired workers were working on farms which employed four or more workers each as of September 1945. Almost half of all farm wage workers were employed in crews. Concerning these facts, Ducoff writes: "Thus, for the majority of persons who do farm wage work, relations with their employers are as depersonalized as they are in non-agricultural industries, even though this is not the case for some fraction of the year-round hired workers, and for some workers who are related by blood or marriage to the farm operator. . . . Often a labor contractor acts as an intermediary agent, eliminating entirely direct contact between grower and worker."⁴⁶ Despite the impersonal nature of operator-laborer relationships, the laborers have not unionized. The wide distribution and high mobility of farm workers have deterred not only unionization but also coverage under unemployment insurance and other Social Security measures.

In Michigan during 1943, it was estimated that the total farm labor demands of all types ranged from 138,943 in December to 315,950 in June.⁴⁷ During both periods, family workers accounted for nearly three-fourths of the labor supply. Even with the tremendous influx of seasonal workers into the state, the same proportion of family workers was maintained.

About four out of ten farms report using hired labor. Most of the hired labor is seasonal, requiring that the labor "follow the harvest." As agriculture has been increasingly mechanized, the demands for

⁴⁶ Louis J. Ducoff, "Farm Laborers," in Taylor *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 291. The present writers have relied heavily upon this chapter for statistical data. We feel that it represents some of the best and most effectively presented materials available on farm labor in the United States. Estimates of the proportions of hired labor are complicated by the fact that some of the families classified as sharecroppers are in reality farm laborers. See Harold Hoffsommer, "Social Aspects of Farm Labor in the South," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 4, December 1938, pp. 434-445.

⁴⁷ A. B. Love, "Michigan Emergency Farm Labor Program, 1943," Mimeographed Report, Michigan State College.

various types of transient labor have been reduced,⁴⁸ but many specialty crops still require large numbers of laborers for short periods. The Yakima Valley, Washington, demands some 35,000 workers in September to harvest the hops. In the winter months only 400 to 500 workers are needed.⁴⁹

The seasonal farm-labor needs in Michigan are indicated in Figure

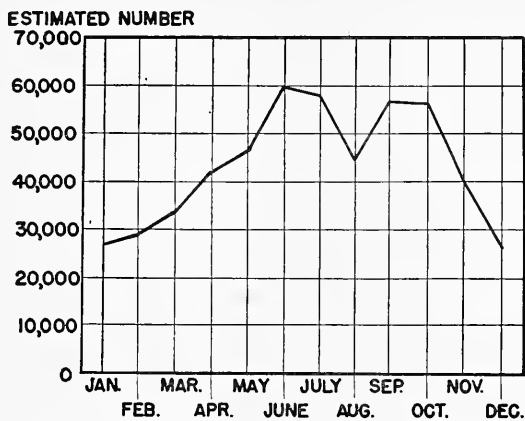


FIG. 111. Estimated seasonal labor requirements in Michigan, 1943. June and July represent one peak in labor requirements; September and October another. Seasonal needs in other areas have different peak periods. (Data from A. B. Love, *Michigan Emergency Farm Labor Program*, 1943, Mimeographed Report, Michigan State College.)

111. June, July, September, and October are the peak months, while the seasonal supply of work falls off sharply in December, January, and February.⁵⁰ This particular pattern is closely identified with the type of agriculture—in the case of Michigan, with fruit and sugar beets in particular.

Two major streams of migrants filter into Michigan; namely Mexicans from Texas and 'Okies' from Oklahoma, Missouri, and Arkansas.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of recent trends in mechanization of agriculture, see B. O. Williams, "The Impact of Mechanization of Agriculture on the Farm Population of the South," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. IV, No. 3, September 1939, pp. 300-314.

⁴⁹ Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1948, p. 448.

⁵⁰ Love, *op. cit.*

Normally about 15,000 migrants from the 'Ozarks' come to Michigan each year to harvest fruit. They arrive in Southwestern Michigan in June for asparagus, strawberries and raspberries, and follow the cherry ripening period up the western side of Michigan to the Grand Traverse cherry area, arriving there in mid-July. They then start south, harvesting snap beans, cucumbers and apples from mid-July to late October.

Their efforts are supplemented by approximately 20,000 'vacationists' from Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, who earn vacation expenses harvesting fruit thru-out the summer. . . . Most of the truck and vegetable crops in Michigan are grown, cultivated, and harvested as a result of the sugar beet industry. Approximately 14,000 Mexicans from Texas are needed to block, thin and harvest our sugar beet crop. Blocking and thinning are completed by mid-July and harvest starts usually about October 1st.⁵¹

A detailed study of the migratory sugar beet workers in Michigan has been made by Thaden.⁵² He found that more than 12,000 Michigan families produce sugar beets, a larger number than in any other state. Approximately four-fifths of the Michigan growers hire workers especially for sugar beet production; the majority are Mexicans from Texas. According to Thaden, the mean age of the Michigan beet worker was 28.6 years. The 17-year-olds were most numerous, followed by those 19, 18, and 16 years, respectively. There were 4.4 beet workers per family.

In a study of migratory workers in Michigan, Gibson⁵³ found that three out of four of the seasonal workers from outside the state liked work that required moving from job to job. Most of these laborers had a well-established route from state to state and within Michigan. Eighty per cent said that they had never worked in more than five states.

The main lines of movement of the nation's one-quarter to one-half million mobile agricultural workers are presented in Figure 112. The prolific peoples of the South and the Spanish-speaking Southwest furnish an increasingly large proportion of the transient labor. Figure 113 indicates the areas of high utilization of hired laborers. Because of the faulty classification of southern farmers, the South is

⁵¹ Love, *op. cit.*

⁵² J. F. Thaden, *Migratory Beet Workers in Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Bulletin 319, September 1942, pp. 45-47.

⁵³ Duane L. Gibson, "The Migrant Farm Worker in Michigan," December 1947 (unpublished manuscript).

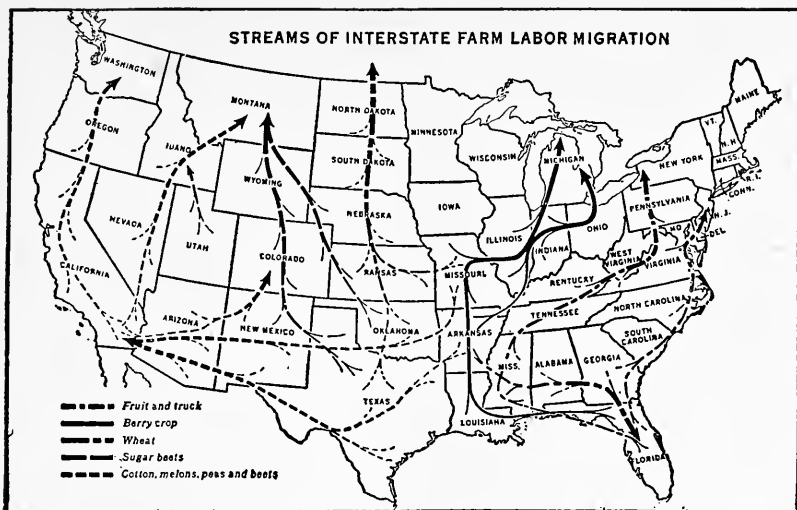


FIG. 112. Principal currents of migratory farm laborers in the United States. (Reproduced from the Bureau of Agricultural Economics.)

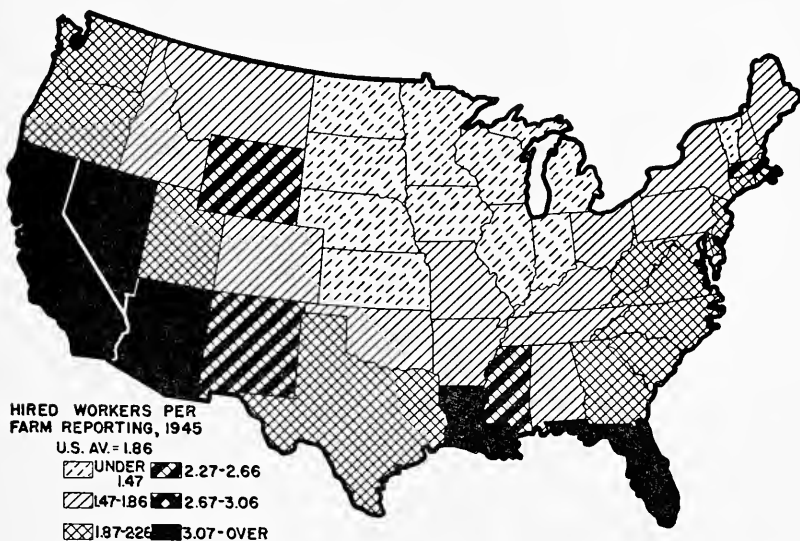


FIG. 113. Average number of hired workers per farm reporting, United States, 1945. Hired laborers are considered persons 14 years old and over working on the farm the equivalent of two or more days during the week ending January 6, 1945. A large share of the variations may be explained by seasonal labor demand in the different regions as of the first week in January. (Data from the United States Census of Agriculture, 1945.)

under-represented, but in other areas in the western and southwestern sections where cotton, fruit, and sugar production are important, hired laborers form a large part of the agricultural population. In California, the state with the greatest farm labor population, over half of the persons employed in agriculture are farm laborers because of the numerous large holdings and the seasonal nature of the crops.

Those who lament the passing of what has here been referred to as familistic Gemeinschaft-like type of society, recall when the farm laborer outside the Cotton Belt was not a mere wage hand. Social distance between farmer and laborer was small, the laborer being treated as a member of the family. The laborer and the members of the farm family ate at the same table and slept under the same roof.⁵⁴ Then the status of farm laborer was a rung on the agricultural ladder to ownership, a condition which is no longer true. It was not infrequent that a laborer married the owner's daughter and thus came to have part interest in the enterprise. Actually, the farm laborer is still treated as a member of the family in many parts of the country. In 1945, 2,320,000 farm households reported a farm wage earner living in the household.⁵⁵

SUMMARY

Throughout the rural cultures of the world, man's relation and attitude to the land he tills must be understood if the culture is to be correctly interpreted. Modern technicians, often unfamiliar with the tenure systems of our forefathers, lack perspective in interpreting the continued loss of the operator's equity in the land. When the contractual Gesellschaft began to prevail in the Western world, men and land became means to an end rather than ends in and of themselves. The stronger the foundation of the independent family farm, the less likely is the culture to give way to the philosophy that machines, men,

⁵⁴ Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 446, and Ducoff, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

⁵⁵ See Louis J. Ducoff and Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Employment and Wages of the Hired Farm Working Force in 1945*, Washington: U.S.D.A., June 1946, pp. 4 and 23. Although this report does not indicate the proportion actually residing with the farm family, it does show that many do not. About 20 percent of the farm wage workers in 1945 were living in rural areas but not on a farm. "These," the report says, "included persons living in hamlets and villages up to 2,500 population, and also many persons living in the 'string-town' developments which stretch out along the sides of highways in many parts of the country." An additional 10 percent lived in cities and towns.

and land are all, equally and under all conditions, to be considered a means to an end.

The increasing number of seasonal and transient laborers who are becoming a part of the agricultural scene is related to the increasing importance of the non-family farm economy. Many social scientists would prefer limitations to be placed upon the freedom of contract rather than to see growing armies of tenant farmers and farm laborers. Many would rather see modest farm incomes and family ownership. Rural sociologists and agricultural economists have been asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: "The small family-sized farm, operated by an owner-farmer even though he has only a small cash income, should be the goal of American agriculture." To this 71 percent of the rural sociologists and 41 percent of the agricultural economists agreed.

CHAPTER 10

THE BASIS AND MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL STRATA

WHY DISCUSS HIERARCHICAL STRATA?

THIS AND THE succeeding chapter deal with hierarchical strata. These are strata that result from differential attitudes of people toward one another. As indicated in Chapter 1, one of the chief elements of any social system is a consensus of how people should be ranked. Frequently, rural more than urban people deny the existence of social stratification and classes among their neighbors. Nevertheless, any competent observer soon finds that in all communities some persons are accorded more respect and are more frequently shown deference than others. Regardless of how vehemently people in a given society are proclaimed to be equal, careful study will always reveal differences in rights, authority, privileges, responsibilities, and prestige. Differential treatment will be accorded normal individuals in most situations, to say nothing of the treatment of abnormal individuals such as the feeble-minded, the insane, and the outlawed. The nature of the stratification will vary from region to region and from community to community. But no one who must work with people can afford not to know the bases of stratification and who is who in the status system.

Whether one is trying to organize a soil conservation district, reorganize a school, gain acceptance of a new variety of seed corn, or sell insurance, the success of one's campaign will depend in part upon appealing to the people of the different strata in terms of their particular values and symbols. In some settings acceptance by the most respected or the most powerful people in the community assures general acceptance. In other settings this is less likely to be the case. The communication system of communities as related to the various social strata is important.

Factors Related to Stratification and Its Obviousness.¹ If the stu-

¹ For an exhaustive treatment of stratification and its relation to class see Pitirim Sorokin, *Society, Culture and Personality—Their Structure and Dynamics*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, pp. 376–379.

dent of social stratification confines his attention to one social system such as a rural consolidated school, a bombing crew, a football team, a rural cooperative, or a small factory, he does not find it so difficult to determine the basis members use in ranking one another as it is to determine how people are ranked by society at large. If the social system is large enough to require division of labor, but is small enough to allow one individual to know every other individual personally, and if the units of interaction that compose the system are few, each member can and does compare himself with the other members. On college athletic teams, for example, players may turn in their suits if the coach continually underrates them and overrates others in playing ability. In a social system such as an athletic team, the most important basis for ranking is usually playing ability, or what in other systems might be called technical competence. In a game such as baseball, the batting average represents a definite index of achievement just as errors represent an index of the failure to perform.

The ease with which one can place or rank people in a system is not dependent upon the size of the system alone. If the objectives or goals of the system are specific, such as those for the athletic team, it is much easier for an individual to compare his qualities or playing ability with those of others than when objectives are less specific, such as those in an Old Order Amish community.² In the latter case, the value orientation of the system goes far beyond that of attaining specific measurable objectives. Moral considerations play a much more important role than in most systems. Hence, one is ranked in accordance with one's conformity to and acceptance of the law-norms of a system which place great emphasis on what is right and what is wrong. The Amishman who first installs an electric fence, buys a power washing machine, or adopts other new gadgets which have been tabooed will probably have a lower standing than others who are more concerned with "being right with God" and "avoiding the unequal yoke." Those who become worldly ordinarily bring the indignation of the community down upon them and are "shunned."

In general, the status patterns of systems that have a high and intense rate of interaction among the members are more easily perceived than are those in which there is little interaction. When ac-

² See Walter M. Kollmorgen, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, Rural Life Studies 4, Washington U.S.D.A., September 1942.

tivity is carried out in sets, when new things are continuously undertaken, or when those in authority must be frequently consulted, one can more easily determine the ranking of individuals than when interaction is infrequent and lacks intensity. Thus it would not ordinarily be difficult to determine rank and status in crisis situations. If the irrigation dam were being washed out in a Spanish-speaking village of the Southwest, or if new national legislation threatened to take the Amish boys into military service, the status system would be revealed. In a dry-land, Spanish-speaking village, the dam and the water it furnishes are the basis of existence. The Amish are conscientious objectors and it is against their moral principles to engage in any non-rural activity. The prospect of having to do these immoral things involves deeply-rooted sentiments and arouses intense feelings. On the rational level, the Amish know that if their boys are taken into service they will never be good Amish again. In these crisis situations, the high rate of interaction among the members makes it possible for the observer to see who is who in the system.

Bases for Ranking—Authority and Power. Authority or the right to influence or censor the behavior of others may be legitimized, depersonalized, and assigned to an "office." When authority is of this variety—that is, a certain prescribed rank with its accompanying privileges—rights and respect will be accorded to the holder of the office regardless of who it may be. In some social systems, such as the army, the right to influence or to censor others is quite depersonalized, whereas in systems that are more spontaneously organized, such as boys' gangs, rank is more subjective and will depend to a larger extent upon the personal characteristics of the individual. It may depend upon physical strength. Such influence, if not institutionalized and made legitimate, may be called power.³ The office, of course, may require that its incumbent have certain prescribed qualifications, so that it makes very little difference when the holders change. There are no social systems in which some individuals do not have more rights than others.

Ascribed versus Achieved Status.⁴ Linton distinguished between

³ See Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLV, No. 6, May 1940, pp. 841–862.

⁴ Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, pp. 113–131.

two types of status, that which is *ascribed* and that which is *achieved*. Ascribed statuses are accorded individuals without reference to their differences in ability. They may be anticipated and may be trained for from the moment the person is born. Achieved statuses, on the other hand, are not assigned from birth but are left open to be filled by those able to compete for them.

The Family. The status of the father in a family is ascribed. Furthermore, many societies in which the familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like agencies and associations predominate have many other statuses which are ascribed and not achieved. It is necessary to be from the right family in order to be endowed with certain status. This situation is not peculiar alone to the king, queen, and various other royalty. Memberships in certain clubs are reserved for people of prescribed family connections. In many societies most of the important offices are hereditary. The family of orientation into which one is born prescribes one's status. In no society is the family system a matter of complete indifference in determining one's rank and status. We may say, therefore, that one basis for status is the family into which one is born, married, or adopted. Such status is ascribed.

Property. Another basis for status is property. Property gives one status because it is desired by others for its utility, or because it is accepted by others as a symbol of status for the possessor. One of the chief reasons why people who have property rank above those who do not is the potential purchasing power or control over human activity that property represents. A million dollars in the bank may or may not be used by its possessor. It can be used to change men's lives or to change society in substantial ways. Many studies prove that the strategic use of moderate amounts of money at election time may swing the vote one way or the other.⁵ Some offices and their incumbents, of course, are so insulated by safeguards such as an institutionalized means of appointment that they are not subject to pressure from the power of wealth or a possible shift of votes. The positions of the justices of the Supreme Court, for example, are relatively but not completely immune from such pressures.

Power and Authority. Although wealth in the modern, capitalistic societies may furnish a basis for power, it seems to the authors that

⁵ See D. H. Kurtzman, *Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935; also Harold F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.

the greatest weakness of the Marxian doctrine, as well as that of the present-day Russian communists, is the failure to realize that elimination of personal property cannot change the basic interaction pattern of society, which makes for differences in authority. A person in a key position on any of the various sociometric charts included in this and in other chapters would probably hold a key position whether the society allowed private property or not. Wealth may increase one's authority and permit its perpetuation, but its function is chiefly symbolic. The important consideration is the social structure and the interaction pattern. If individuals do not own or control dollars and factories, they will use other means. Of greatest importance is the number of persons one can influence. He who controls people controls all. This holds for all types of society: folk and civilization, rural and urban. Authority is usually considered the legitimized right to influence others; power is influence which is not legitimized.

Personal Qualities and Achievements. Social systems single out qualities and achievements of individuals which entitle them to status. Speed and shiftiness are necessary to the backfield football player. Attractiveness accords status to young women in most societies. Being of the male sex in some societies means that one will have higher status than if one were of female sex; in other societies it may be the reverse. In some societies old age accords more respect than in other societies. In some societies one has full status only after the rites preceding adulthood. And some disparage the peasant as rustic, rude, bucolic, impolite, and place prestige on the urban qualities which are considered urbane, polite, and civil.⁶

In the preceding discussion, status is described as being either ascribed or achieved or both. It has also been indicated that it may be based on any one or any combination of the following: (1) relation to a family; (2) possession of property; (3) possession of authority or power; (4) personal qualities or achievements; and (5) acceptance of the value orientation of the social system, including the norms and

⁶ Ralph Linton, "Age and Sex Categories," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII, No. 5, October 1942, pp. 589-603, and Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII, No. 5, October 1942, pp. 604-616. Linton makes the point that in all societies there is differential ranking for at least the following groups: infants, boys, girls, adult men, adult women, old men, and old women. In some societies there are many more age groups.

goals.⁷ The influence of these items upon social status is much more apparent to an observer in a small system, even though the range in rank may not be so great.⁸

The smaller the system and the more homogeneous the members with regard to value orientation, the less likely it is that rank and status of members will vary greatly. Sorokin has made a case for the thesis that "among many forces which facilitate political stratification, an enlargement of the size of a body politic and of the heterogeneity of its population plays an important part."⁹

STATUS AS A GENERAL CONCEPT

The status of individuals in modern communities, as it reflects an over-all rating, not the rating of one system alone, is receiving considerable attention. In an attempt to describe the status system as reflected in social classes, Warner and his school have studied communities in New England,¹⁰ the Deep South,¹¹ the Middlewest,¹² and the Southwest.¹³ Mills¹⁴ has condemned Warner's general approach

⁷ It is admitted that some great men have achieved status through striking off and using their authority and prestige to establish new goals and norms. This is, however, not possible unless the person has some of the other bases of prestige; a new integration of what Sorokin calls law norms must be established if such a leader is to retain status.

⁸ Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. X, No. 2, April 1945, pp. 242-249. For an interesting attempt to evaluate the important personal characteristics which furnish the basis for status in a small factory see Delbert C. Miller, "The Social Factors of the Work Situation," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 3, June 1946, pp. 300-314.

⁹ Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927, p. 94.

¹⁰ W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941; and *The Status System of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

¹¹ Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

¹² Evon Z. Vogt, Jr., "Social Stratification in the Rural Middlewest: A Structural Analysis," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 4, December 1947, pp. 364-375.

¹³ See Donovan Senter's chart reproduced in Charles P. Loomis, "A Cooperative Health Association in Spanish Speaking Villages," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. X, No. 2, April 1945, pp. 152-153.

¹⁴ See review of C. Wright Mills, "The Social Life of a Modern Community," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII, No. 2, April 1942, pp. 263-271. Mills criticizes Warner's definition of class as "Two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community, in socially superior and inferior positions." The chief criticism is that the defi-

to the study of class because he allegedly makes it a "sponge word." Although most of the studies of status and class seem to have a middle-class bias,¹⁵ it is difficult to conceive of the possibility of studying social status without accounting for the means used by the people themselves as they rate one another. Certainly the man in the street rates his fellows by the sponge method, i.e., using many characteristics. Intuitive rating by scientists should be condemned, but any effort to ascertain how people rate their fellows in everyday life is certainly a legitimate field of research.

Caste, Estate, and Class as a Continuum.¹⁶ Traveling through the world today, even the untrained observer sees great differences in the ways individuals attain status. In caste systems such as that in India, in the southern states and elsewhere, a considerable part of one's status is determined at birth and cannot be changed. In the caste system, no achievement can ordinarily alter one's position, since one cannot rise or fall. Caste systems may be characterized by exogamy, occupational requirements, segregation, distinguishing caste dress, possessions, and fixed requirements concerning eating and other intimate associations.

Estates. Although no Western nation has a true caste system that

tion does not have "one-dimensionality" but rather uses class as a word which swallows economic gradations, prestige, and power or "who can be expected to obey whom in what situations." The present writers submit that these considerations can be applied separately, but when John Jones reacts to John Smith, he does not react to him solely as a \$5,000-a-year-man, solely as a superintendent of schools, or solely as a home-owner. The authors believe that the ideal would be to have objective ratings of each person in the community by all others in terms of as objective and meaningful criteria and operational methods as possible. The ratings should represent the individual's own spontaneous ranking, whether based upon one-dimensionality or the sponge approach. Afterwards the analysis should include both one-dimensional approaches and such typological approaches as used by Max Weber, Ferdinand Toennies, and others. The final test is the utility of the approach in understanding, prediction, and control. As stated later, the authors believe Mills' criticism of Warner's approach is not as significant as their own because Warner does offer a satisfactory operational method of ascertaining the relative class status of one or a number of individuals.

¹⁵ Kurt H. Wolff, "A Methodological Note on The Empirical Establishment of Culture Patterns," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. X, No. 2, April 1945, pp. 176-184.

¹⁶ See John F. Cuber, *Sociology*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1947, pp. 367-383. See also Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-249. The latter writers point to the "danger of trying to classify whole societies under such rubrics as *caste*, *feudal*, or *open class*. . . ."

places persons at birth in positions above which they cannot climb or below which they cannot fall, the class system of Europe, areas in Latin America, and the Eastern world places persons in broad classes or estates which may be changed or into which persons may be allowed to pass according to fixed rules and rites of passage. Sons of peons and serfs have been known to achieve high status, but such is not the rule. The different estates, or *staende*, as they are called in Germany, specify the roles, rights, privileges, and responsibilities of their members, and institutionalize the means of entry or expulsion by a kind of ritual. Status is largely ascribed but less completely than in a caste system.¹⁷ The estates are usually associated with hereditary nobility, freemen, and serfs. The system is known only in relatively rural societies and seems to have been broken down by the growth of modern business, commerce, and industry.

Open Class. As used here, an open-class system is a theoretically possible system in which all persons find their places according to the skills required by the roles to which they aspire. Other things being equal, urban culture will have more features of the open-class system than will the surrounding rural area. Where the open-class system prevails, such matters as the family into which one is born, "color or previous servitude," class position, age, sex, and similar factors have no bearing on one's status except as they might interfere with one's technical competence in performing the duties required by one's role in the larger society. Of course, no such completely open-class society exists; but of all the nations of the world, the white race of the United States, particularly in urbanized or commercialized farming areas, probably comes nearer to having an open-class system than does any other.¹⁸ Actually, there is good evidence to indicate that if such a society did exist, the family would be very weak. If men, women, and children were ranked solely on the basis of their competence in the productive agencies of the present time, the social system of the family would have difficulty maintaining a uniform status system. The women who outrank their husbands or children who outrank their parents are not likely to submit to the authority of per-

¹⁷ See Ferdinand Toennies, *Staende und Klassen*, Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1931, pp. 617-638. Here Toennies characterizes the estate as being a Gemeinschaft-like collective, and class as Gesellschaft-like. See also Max Weber's treatment of these status groups: Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1922, pp. 130-140; 179-180; and 724-752.

¹⁸ Cuber, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-375.

sons whom they outrank.¹⁹ Where, as in the family farm economy, the productive and kinship systems are one and the same, conflicts involved in various standards for status of the two systems are reconciled.

The Theory of Class Struggle. Since the two most powerful nations have contrasting views about the development of social status systems, the subject requires objective study in order that future policy may be determined, at least in part, by fact. The Marxian theory of class struggle, although influenced by British economists, comes primarily from Germany, the birthplace of such typological concepts as *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*,²⁰ and many conceptual structures of Hegel, who had a great deal of influence upon Marx. It is not the intention of the authors to make a complete analysis of the Marxian doctrine of class conflict, but it is significant to note that the theory originated in a country where for many decades people have voted by occupational groups,²¹ and where class status was more important to individuals than in any other modern nation. Through historical study, Marx was familiar with the old feudal economy in Germany with its nobility, few free peasants, and many serfs and others who were attached to the land and who occupied various but specific status grades and ranks. He also knew the guild system, with all the customary statuses. This economy was dissolved, as it was elsewhere in Europe, and Marx decided that the prime mover in this dissolution was the development of technology. Previously, high status was accorded principally to the nobility who controlled the land. When machinery became available, so he reasoned, men were controlled by a new type of hierarchy based upon the ownership of the instruments of production. Marx maintained that the *buergliche Gesellschaft*, or capitalistic middle-class society, the system of society which

¹⁹ See Parson's indication that the present relatively low status of women in the occupational world, despite the various opposing movements, persists as society's attempt to preserve the family. Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 841-862.

²⁰ Toennies, who originated these type concepts, was greatly influenced by Marx. See Charles P. Loomis, *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1940.

²¹ Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, "The Spread of German Nazism in Rural Areas," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 6, December 1946, pp. 724-734; Charles P. Loomis, "Political and Occupational Cleavages in a Hanoverian Village, Germany," *Sociometry*, Vol. IX, No. 4, November 1946, pp. 316-333; Theodor Geiger, *Die soziale Schichtung des deutschen Volkes*, Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1932; and Arthur Dix, *Die deutschen Reichstagswahlen, 1871-1930, und die Wandlung der Volksliederung*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1930.

replaced the feudal system, would follow the same course as had the feudal system. In other words, he argued that more and more propertyless people would be subjected to fewer masters. Marx and his school maintained that the capitalistic society must continue to expand and therefore capitalistic countries will fight imperialistic wars to dominate foreign markets. This society, according to Marx, contained the seeds of its own destruction, and would ripen and pass out of existence when the propertyless classes revolted against the few weakened capitalistic masters. Thereafter, the rule of the proletariat would bring with it a state of well-being without the exploitation of the landless and propertyless which Marx considered to be the basis of the feudal and capitalistic economies, respectively.

According to this reasoning, stated here in oversimplified terms, the farmers and peasants who possessed their own instruments of production were considered by Marx and his followers as belonging with the capitalistic elements. Therefore, after the revolution of the proletariat, land ownership must be rooted out if socialism, which turns all instruments of production and control over to the workers, is to succeed.²² In Russia, therefore, peasants were liquidated and

²² For a more favorable view of Russia and her relations to the United States, see Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Russia and the United States*, New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1944. For a description of the Marxian ideology relative to the place of the peasant in the class structure and the increasing concentration of land in the hands of a few, see Pitirim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and Charles J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Vol. I, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930, pp. 373 ff. In the readings cited in the source book, see Henri See on the influence of the nobility on the origin of capitalism, pp. 419 ff.; for the Marxian view and treatment of American data as expressed in the writings of Nikolai Lenin and J. Schafir, see pp. 477 ff.; writing on agriculture in the United States, Lenin is quoted as follows: "The small enterprises in agriculture are decreasing and large enterprises are being substituted for them. . . . In general . . . corresponding figures in agriculture and industry . . . indicate that . . . the laws that control both agriculture and industry are identical, the principle tendency in both being toward the substitution of large enterprises for small ones." pp. 487-488. Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin take these Marxian writers to task, calling attention to the growth of the middle class and the cyclical fluctuation of the concentration of land holdings throughout the ages. For proof of the ability of the family farm to compete with larger enterprises, see farm management data from studies of large German estates compared with peasant farms made upon dividing these estates, discussed in Charles P. Loomis, *The Modern Settlement Movement in Germany*, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., 1935. Parts are reprinted in Charles P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 1-40.

varying forms of collective agriculture were established.²³ Later, peasants were allowed a certain limited amount of private property. In Germany, Marx saw a definite class structure; but he did not foresee that the middle classes, composed of professionals, farmers, small businessmen, and kindred occupational groups, would remain strong. When this class began the anti-communistic Nazi movement called the *Volksgemeinschaft*,²⁴ which threatened Russia's very existence, Russians did not consider that the German movement might be merely a reaction to the growing power of an opposing movement in Russia. They decided to be ever on guard against what they considered an inevitable expansion of the capitalistic economy in search for world domination.

The Social Structure in the United States Less Definite. According to his theory, Marx would have found it difficult to determine who in the United States were the true friends of the workers. In describing the class structure in Middletown, the Lynds divide the population into the business group and the labor group. Where to place

²³ See N. S. Timasheff, "Structural Changes in Rural Russia," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 1, March 1937, pp. 10-28.

²⁴ Many of the Nazi ideals are expressed in their view of the ideal rural life. Under the Nazis rational methods were applied in an attempt to reestablish rural life along patterns of an earlier time, previous to the rise of industrialism and commercialization. Many peasants had been made insecure when they lost their old self-sufficiency and were caught up in the world's price and market regime. See Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, pp. 724-734. For the origin and development of the Nazi ideal of the German peasant, see Paul Honigsheim, "The Roots of the Nazi Concept of the Ideal German Peasant," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 1, March 1947, pp. 3-21. Some leaders wished to remake Germany after the original structure during the feudal period when estates and *Staende* prevailed. They paraded this ideal as the opposite of the Russian system, maintaining that the latter was "World Enemy No. 1." The similarity of the Nazi and Marxian doctrines in certain aspects is brought out by the following quotation: "The German ideal of the *Volksgemeinschaft* . . . apparently is an attempt to reduce the complex social unit of a modern nation to the status of a primary group. The unreflective and instinctive participation of every individual of the 'group mind,' the intimacy of social interaction among all its members, the self-understood cooperation and complete community of purpose that is characteristic of a primary group, is being claimed for the totality of the *Volk*. However, the same concept underlies other collectivistic ideologies. In the Marxian ideal of the classless society we find the traits immanent in a primary group extended to a larger unit, in fact to the largest social unit which is conceivable." Quoted from E. K. Francis, "The Nature of the Ethnic Group," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LII, No. 5, March 1947, p. 399.

many white-collar workers, farmers, and professionals in this dichotomy is very difficult to determine. For example, in voting and other activities, some clerks and teachers side with labor, some with business. Ordinarily, plantation-owners in the South and many northern farmers side with business, but in the past strong farmer-labor movements have united farmer and labor elements. Thus, the occupational structure has been in such a state of flux that mobility, both geographical and social, has prevented the rigid stratification of occupational groups. Mills²⁵ found that white-collar workers, including those in salaried professions and minor managerial positions, clerks, stenographers, and bookkeepers, salesmen in and out of stores, and foremen in industry—a group which the authors maintain is the “pace-setter” for rural society—were not establishing their own value orientation but were torn between the big business group on the one hand, and organized labor on the other.

Very important also are the many sub-groups with various ethnic backgrounds. Although these groups are being assimilated at a relatively rapid rate, and although there is not the great difference in the status structure of old American and European ethnic groups that there is between Negroes and whites, the differences are of the same order.²⁶ In the sections to follow, it will become clear that the many ethnic groups make it difficult to describe an over-all status system. Such ethnic groups often form cultural islands having their own status system, often based upon principles which are opposed to those upon which the general culture is based. Thus, Kaufman and 14 judges rated all the adult members of a rural community composed of 1,235 persons.²⁷ The ethnic groups in the community had much

²⁵ C. Wright Mills, “The Middle Classes in Middle-Sized Cities,” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 5, October 1946, pp. 520–529.

²⁶ Using the Warner categories, Davis and Havighurst place mail-carriers in the middle class if they are Negroes and in the lower class if they are white. See Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, “Social Class and Color Differences in Child-Rearing,” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 6, December 1946, pp. 698–710.

²⁷ As will be indicated later, the rating procedure employed has a middle-class bias. Four were teachers or retired teachers; three, students; four, farmers; and one, a merchant. This procedure cannot take the place of having all members of a social system rate all the others in the manner employed in the Livingston and Ionia county studies in Michigan. See Harold F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*, Ithaca: Cornell University AES Memoir 260, March 1944.

lower prestige scores on the average than did the old Yankee stock. On many of the interrelationships, the ethnic groups and the Yankee stock behaved differently.²⁸ The Warner study in a New England city²⁹ uncovered further difficulties involved in placing people by social classes when many ethnic sub-cultures exist.

Kaufman found that the occupational hierarchy of the township was of importance. The occupational groups rated as follows, beginning with the highest: professionals, operators of large businesses, clerical workers and stenographers, operators of small businesses, farm operators, store clerks, skilled and semi-skilled workers, unskilled laborers (non-farm), combination of farm and non-farm laborers, and farm laborers.³⁰ Nelson³¹ summarizes a series of studies of the characteristics and ranking given to occupational groups. In all cases, farmers rank near the bottom. Haggerty and Nash, in a study of over 6,000 village children in New York state, found that the median IQ varied directly with the occupation of the fathers. The professionals were at the top, followed by business and clerical, skilled and semi-skilled wage earners, farmers, and unskilled wage workers, in the order named.³² Although Nelson observes that the low status given farmers "bears no relation to utility," we must admit that of the five bases of status outlined above, farmers rate low in power or authority and possession of property. The average banker can influence or originate action to far more people than the average farmer.

Clark and Gist studied the occupations of 2,423 Kansas high-school graduates thirteen years after graduation. The average IQ's of the individuals as measured in school thirteen years previously, are as follows: professionals, 100.8; clerical, 100.0; teachers, 99.3; salespeople and proprietors, 96.6; skilled workers, 96.2; housewives, 95.4; semi-skilled and unskilled, 93.3; farmers, 92.8; and housekeepers and

²⁸ For instance, with persons of Yankee stock, the prestige scores were correlated quite closely with such measures as economic possession, the Sewell socioeconomic status scale, and educational attainment. For the ethnic groups the correlations between these items were relatively low. *Ibid.*

²⁹ Warner and Lunt, *The Status System of a Modern Community*.

³⁰ Kaufman, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³¹ Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1948, pp. 208-209.

³² M. E. Haggerty and H. B. Nash, "Mental Capacity of Children and Paternal Occupation," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. XV, No. 9, December 1924, pp. 559-572.

unemployed, 91.4.³³ Farmers ranked almost equally low when high-school grades instead of IQ scores were used in a study of 2,142 male students in Missouri.³⁴

Caste in the United States. Figure 114 describes Warner's sche-

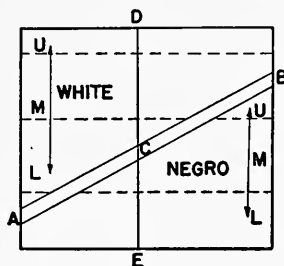


FIG. 114. Schematic diagram of American class and caste. The diagonal lines (AB) separate the lower Negro caste from the upper white caste. Within each caste, the dashed lines distinguish between Upper (U), Middle (M), and Lower (L) classes. The line (DE) indicates a hypothetical position to which the diagonal (AB) may move. (SOURCE: W. Lloyd Warner, "American Class and Caste," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLII, No. 2, September 1936, pp. 234-237.)

matic portrayal of the class and caste system in the South.³⁵ It will

³³ Noel P. Gist and Carroll D. Clark, "Intelligence as a Factor in Occupational Choice," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. III, No. 5, October 1938, pp. 683-694.

³⁴ Noel P. Gist, C. I. Pihlblad, and Cecil L. Gregory, "Selective Factors in Migration and Occupation," *University of Missouri Studies*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 1943.

³⁵ W. Lloyd Warner, "American Caste and Class," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLII, No. 2, September 1936, pp. 234-237. Some maintain that the Negro and white are not divided by caste restrictions. It would seem poorly founded to consider all racial groups as castes if we accept the above definition of caste as a position which one inherits and from which one cannot rise or fall. In thirty states, whites and Negroes are forbidden by law to intermarry and by strong custom are prevented from doing so in most other states. Although "passing" from Negro to white occasionally takes place, it is under strict condemnation, in the South especially. Theoretically, possession of any Negro blood results in one's being classified as Negro. Brooks' argument in favor of the use of sub-cultures in preference to the concept of class as a means of describing social differentiation seems to have more validity than his argument against the use of the concept of caste. He argues rightly that "a class system in America is still in its formative period and as yet is ill-defined (exceptions are the South and New England)." He is also correct in his observation that white-collar workers and small businessmen do not know where their allegiance is. As will be indicated in a section to follow, Cox's Marxian interpretation of Negro-white relations is

be noted that a diagonal bar separates the Negro and white castes. The arrangement of this bar expresses the restrictions that separate the two castes. The more the restrictions are removed the more the bar *AB* will move on the axis *C* until it approximates the vertical line *ab*. That is, it is necessary for the occupational and other groups of Negroes to resemble comparable white groups in the prestige and other measures of status accorded them in society at large. On the other hand, if the restrictions were increased, if the Negro's rights and privileges were decreased, and if he were again to be relegated to slave status so that no Negro group, not even those who had the highest status in the community, were higher than the lowest white group, then the bar *AB* would become horizontal, with only Negroes below and only whites above.

Since early colonial times, the Negro has developed his artisan groups. In the slave era, for example, property-owning professional and business groups appeared. Figure 115 indicates the increase in Negro ownership of farm land. While the total number of farms operated by Negroes in the southern states declined from 881,687 in 1930 to 665,413 in 1945,³⁶ the proportion of Negro owners and managers among all Negro farm operators increased from 20.7 percent to 28.5 percent. Figure 116 indicates the increase of Negroes in the professional groups. With the Negroes as well as the whites, the middle-class professional and business groups are the pace-setters for those rural groups that are rising in the social structure. Just as the "field" Negro was outranked in the slave period by the free Negro in the city and country, the farm Negro, the wage-hand, and the share-

one of the most complete denials of the description of caste as advanced by Warner and Myrdal. Perhaps the following quotation best indicates Cox's criticism: "Now it could hardly be too much emphasized that endogamy of itself is no final criterion of caste. Endogamy is an isolator of social values deemed sacrosanct by social groups, and there are many kinds of social groups besides castes that are endogamous. The final test of caste is an identification of the social values and organization isolated by endogamy. To say that intercaste endogamy in India means the same thing as interracial endogamy in the United States is like saying that a lemon and a potato are the same things because they both have skins." Oliver C. Cox, *Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics*, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1948, p. 518.

³⁶ The southern states include the following: Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

cropper rank at the present time at the bottom of the scale. Almost one-third of all people living in the Cotton Belt are whites. Migration of Negroes from the Cotton Belt to northern cities has been heavy.

PERCENT OWNER & MANAGERS
AMONG ALL NEGRO FARM OPERATORS

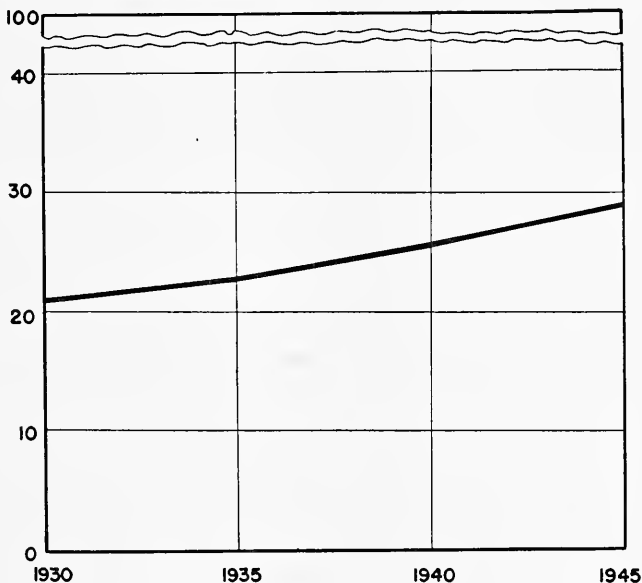


FIG. 115. Percentage of owners and managers among all Negro farm operators in the South, 1930-1945. (Data from the U.S. Census of Agriculture.)

Cox's Denial of the Race-Caste Theory.³⁷ In his Marxian interpretation of society, Cox attempts to refute the prevalent belief that the Negro and white races constitute separate castes. His argument is based upon an intensive study of the Hindu caste system, which he maintains Warner and his followers, Myrdal and others, fail to understand. Nevertheless, he says, this group uses caste as an argument for claiming that the Negro and white races constitute castes in the southern states. Although Cox attempts to marshal many facts to disprove the race-caste theory, he believes his argument hinges on the Marxian theory of economic determinism and class conflict. He denies the importance of social factors such as taboos on inter-marriage as being of supreme importance.

³⁷ Oliver C. Cox, *op. cit.*

The development of a Negro middle class and the improved economic status of the Negro in many occupations may be considered as some evidence in support of the criticism of the race-caste theory.

PERCENT NEGROES IN
PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

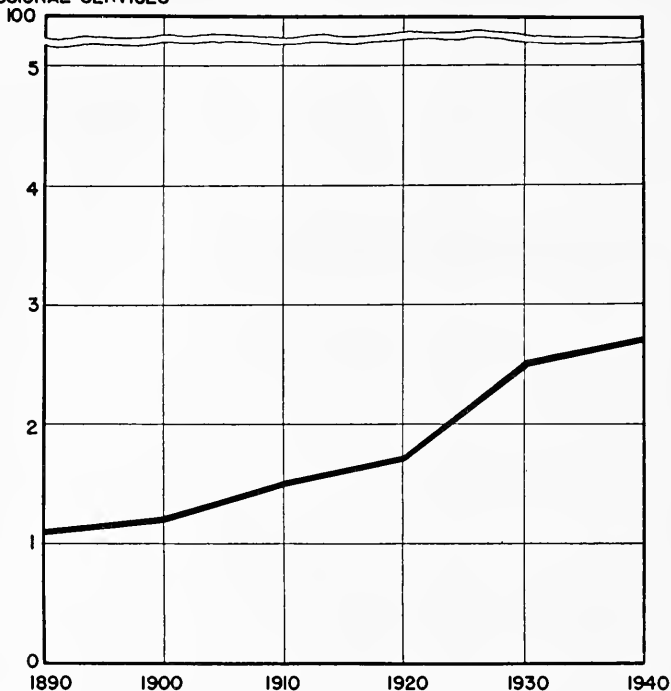


FIG. 116. Percentage of gainfully employed Negroes 10 years old and over who are engaged in professional services, 1890-1940. The 1940 data apply to those 14 years old and over. (Data from Monroe N. Work, Editor, *Negro Year Book*, Tuskegee: Negro Year Book Publishing Co., 1937, p. 260.)

An open-class system is not compatible with and should eventually destroy a caste system. However, Cox's belief that all the restrictions placed upon the Negro—voting restrictions, segregation, unequal rights before the law, and the like—are directed toward the exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeois seem to be an oversimplification, to say the least. A good example of his use of the Marxian doctrine to explain Negro-white relations in the South is the following: "By lynching, Negroes are kept in their place; that is to say, kept

as a great, easily exploitable, common-labor reservoir."³⁸ Cox's logic, predestined to become more important everywhere as a result of Russia's growth in power, shapes the facts to fit the theory. When criticized for not explaining why "Negroes suffer less from race prejudice and discrimination in the North where capitalism is farther advanced," he answers: "In the North the proletariat is farther advanced than it is in the South."³⁹

There is not space here to describe in detail the Marxian explanation of race relations as advanced by Cox. Suffice it to say that it denies the existence of the race-caste, and maintains that the relations between the races are conditioned by economic factors which lead inevitably to classes of the proletariat, exploited by the property class. He maintains that the Negro's fundamental position and his motivation are not essentially different from those of the many ethnic groups that have been or are being assimilated. In fact, it is evident in his arguments that one of the elements in the race-caste theory that is most objectionable to Cox is the special status accorded the Negro. The theory itself may delay assimilation into the total biological and cultural American system. Cox assumes, incidentally, that a basic drive of Negroes is to accomplish assimilation. He believes assimilation can be accomplished only if lower classes of all races unite and liquidate the power of the property classes which oppress them.⁴⁰

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 558.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 569.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 544 ff. Cox's logic is perhaps best described by his attempt to refute Myrdal, who states: "The eager intent to explain away race prejudice and caste in the simple terms of economic competition . . . is an attempt to escape from caste to class." (Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944, p. 792.) To this Cox reacts as follows: "The reasoning here, of course, is unrelieved nonsense. Incidentally, it illustrates the hiatus in understanding which an inappropriate use of the concepts 'caste' and 'class' might entail." (*Ibid.*, p. 526.) Cox then attacks Myrdal for maintaining that the highest motivation for racial discrimination is the bar against intermarriage and sexual intercourse involving white women. Cox denies this as follows: "In reality, both the Negroes and their white exploiters know that economic opportunity comes first and that the white woman comes second; indeed, she is merely a significant instrument in limiting the first. If the white ruling class intends to keep the colored people in their place—that is to say, freely exploitable—this class cannot permit them to marry white women; neither can it let white men marry Negro women. If this were allowed to happen Negroes would soon become so whitened that the profit makers would be unable to direct mass hatred against them. . . ." *Ibid.*, pp. 526–527.

How the Class Structure May be Revealed. None of the differentiating characteristics within the white race or within the Negro race is as definite and observable as the caste line between the two races in the South. Warner and his co-workers claim to have discovered distinct class groupings for urban areas and are attempting to study rural groupings. No one, however, maintains that it is easy to place all persons according to class status. Several procedures have been developed for determining the relative rank of rural persons in the same caste, but all have their weaknesses.

The Statistical Approach. Chapin⁴¹ and Sewell⁴² have developed devices for measuring status numerically. Originally these scales used inventories of cultural and material possessions found in the living room as their basic criteria for the measurement of status. Cultural anthropologists who work in many cultures have found it more meaningful to study how people associate and rank one another than to use mere symbols such as carpets or pictures, which outside their immediate cultural area would not have meaning. Nevertheless, in this country, the Chapin scale scores have been found to be highly related to status as discovered by cultural anthropologists or sociometricians.⁴³ Status is, of course, closely related to occupation and income. The fact that the mere symbolic manifestation of status may be measured by standardized check sheets and weighting devices such as those used by Chapin, demonstrates the relative homogeneity of American culture. One of the authors found a close association between the Chapin living-room index and school grades of children in North Carolina mountain homes.⁴⁴

The Use of "Judges." Schuler⁴⁵ made a study of rural status using the "judges" rating technique. He used "nine judges . . . whose maturity, training, experience, and standing in the community made

⁴¹ F. Stuart Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935, p. 378.

⁴² W. H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, Stillwater: Oklahoma AES Technical Bulletin 9, April 1940. Refer also to W. H. Sewell, "A Short Form of the Farm Family Socio-economic Status Scale," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, June 1943, pp. 161-170.

⁴³ George A. Lundberg and Mary Steele, "Social Attraction-Patterns in a Village," *Sociometry*, Vol. I, Nos. 3-4, January and April 1938, pp. 375-419.

⁴⁴ C. P. Loomis, unpublished manuscript.

⁴⁵ Edgar A. Schuler, "Social and Economic Status in a Louisiana Hills Community," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 1, March 1940, pp. 69-87.

it possible for them without embarrassment, and with but slight hesitation, to rate as many of the . . . families as they knew well, either personally or by reputation. . . ." The raters ". . . included farmers, public officials, and professional people." They were of the "high class" category. A total of 101 white families were ranked in "high class," "middle class," and "low class" categories. As will be shown, this pioneering study reveals that occupation, land tenure, size of farm, education, inter-familial relations such as visiting, and other factors are closely related to the socio-economic status resulting from the combined scores of the judges.

Kaufman's⁴⁶ study establishes composite prestige scores for 1,235 persons ranked by 14 judges. One great weakness in Kaufman's as well as in Schuler's study is the under-representation among the judges or rankers of persons from the lower-class groups.⁴⁷ Other investigators using the "rating or judging" technique were Hollingshead,⁴⁸ who had 31 raters to place families in five classes, Reuss,⁴⁹ and Gee and associates,⁵⁰ who placed families in three classes. Unfortunately, the last two investigators give no satisfactory description of the methods used in ranking the families. Reuss writes "it is the sort of matter which one senses rather than brings to a definitive statement."

Interclass Approach. West⁵¹ lived in a Midwest village called Plainville, and through his associations with all levels of society, he attempted to observe the interclass evaluations. This approach avoids the middle-upper-class bias manifested in the Schuler and Kaufman

⁴⁶ Kaufman, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-9.

⁴⁷ Results of this study have been used to "prove" that people should join organizations because the prestige score of individuals was highly related to the number of organizations with which individuals were in contact. Obviously the raters, being middle-class people, would tend to believe that it is a "good thing to belong to organizations."

⁴⁸ August B. Hollingshead, "Selected Characteristics of Classes in a Middle Western Community," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XII, No. 4, August 1947, pp. 385-395.

⁴⁹ Carl Frederick Reuss, "A Qualitative Study of Depopulation in a Remote Rural District: 1900-1930," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 1, March 1947, pp. 66-75.

⁵⁰ Wilson Gee and DeWees Runk, "Qualitative Selection in Cityward Migration," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, September 1931, pp. 254-265.

⁵¹ James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 116 ff.

studies. Examples of the interclass reactions obtained by West are "people who live like animals" and "all us good honest . . . working people. . . ." The latter are described by some of their inferiors as "all the church hypocrites. . . ." This approach has its chief weakness in the fact that it is very difficult for one man to be sure he has adequately recorded the sentiments of all groups toward each other. It is difficult to remain neutral and to obtain unemotional reactions on which class distinctions are based. Identifying oneself with one group sufficiently to really observe its sentiments toward the others may make it difficult to get the reaction of the outsiders toward the group with which one is identified.

The Warner⁵² procedures resemble those of West in that both formal and informal groupings are studied. Theoretically at least, the people who associate as equals are ranked as equals, and the community consensus is probed to determine how to place the groups of equals in relation to one another. All the above approaches could be made more objective if the ratings of each individual were classified by class groups and made into a composite rating. Because of peoples' limited acquaintanceships and because of the many variations in the way people express and think of their own rankings as related to the ranking of others, this approach would be very difficult.

Chapple's⁵³ approach relies upon the relative ability of people to get others to do their bidding. This is the authority or power aspect of status. From the practical point of view, the most useful approach to the problem of status may require determining peoples' ability to get others to do things. To make this approach most useful to rural teachers, agricultural extension leaders, and rural administrators, the groups of equals must be designated and their relationship with the leaders or persons who are able to get things done in these groups must be described.

Measuring Cleavages. If classes and castes exist, and if they are made up of associating equals, cleavages will exist between them. Such cleavages are reflected in failure of persons of one caste or class to act toward those of another as they do toward equals. Since the principles of mathematical probability provide the investigator with a basis for determining how people, let us say Negroes and whites, would visit, or intermarry, if no cleavage existed, it is easy to compare

⁵² Warner, "American Caste and Class," pp. 234-237.

⁵³ Eliot D. Chapple and Gordon Donald, Jr., "A Method for Evaluating Supervisory Personnel," *Harvard Business Review*, Winter 1946, pp. 197-214.

the observed frequency of interaction with the condition which would exist if there were no cleavage, i.e., if people actually associated as they might be expected to according to chance.⁵⁴ If an agency sets as its objective the elimination or mitigation of class and racial cleavages, the cleavages as reflected by a given activity may be measured at the beginning of the program and at the end. Where no program is involved, trends in class, race, and other cleavages may be measured by this procedure.

Sociometric Description of Status. Status depends upon many factors, but persons of similar social status in most cultures carry on informal visiting activity in friendship or clique groupings. The relation between visiting and various measures of social prestige are described in the following sections.

Prestige as Indicated by Formal Contacts, Dyess Colony, Arkansas. In Chapter 5, the importance of friendship or clique groups at Dyess Colony, Arkansas, the largest resettlement colony in the United States, was discussed. Also, the importance of the participation of families in various types of formal social organization has been dis-

⁵⁴ It seems to the authors that Mill's criticism of the Warner studies in Newburyport is less valid than theirs. With the expenditure of a little time we could have used the techniques we have devised to measure the cleavages between the classes and castes which were discovered. For adults this can be accomplished by comparing actual interaction patterns in which equals participate with what they would be if no cleavage existed, and expressing this as an index of cleavage. Often the approximate adult pattern can be revealed quickly by having the children in the upper grades of the schools indicate their associates in school and the people with whom their parents visit. When such simple tentative tests are available we cannot understand why they were not used in the Warner and West studies. For a simplified procedure, see Loomis, "Political and Occupational Cleavages in a Hanoverian Village, Germany, A Sociometric Study," pp. 316-333. Also see Loomis, "Ethnic Cleavages in the Southwest as Reflected in Two High Schools," *Sociometry*, Vol. VI, No. 1, February 1943, pp. 7-26. Details for measuring actual relationships with frequencies of relationships which would be expected if visiting resulted from random-choice under various assumptions, see Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, pp. 118-124, and pp. 339-349. The authors believe they could prove or disprove the existence of the classes as described by these authors in less than two weeks in each locality if the names of the families and their class designations were made available. Had the Warner investigators measured the cleavages between their classes in this manner and found them significant, no criticism of their work such as that referred to above by Mill would have been meaningful. See C. P. Loomis, J. A. Beegle, and T. Wilson Longmore, "Critique of Class as Related to Social Stratification," *Sociometry Monograph*, No. 19, 1948, pp. 3-21.

cussed as a symbol or indicator of status. Kaufman⁵⁵ found that there was a relationship measured by the correlation coefficient $+.60$ between the prestige scores individuals received from 14 "judges" and the number of organizational memberships the individuals held. Using this means of measuring status, it is obvious that the higher-status persons participated more in formal agencies. At Dyess Colony, visiting pairs of families tended to have the same or nearly the same pattern of participation in formal associations. Thus one can maintain that participation in church, school, purchasing and selling cooperatives, and other organizations is indicative and symbolic of prestige status. In Dyess Colony it was a better indicator of class status than was income as represented by total value of family living.⁵⁶

When the families are classified into three groups and represented in vertical layers on the basis of the total number of organizations they contact, as in Figure 117, it is evident that visiting is among equals and that relatively little visiting takes place between those of low prestige and those of high prestige as measured by the number of organizations contacted. This would indicate that the agricultural agent or other worker would need to contact key families at various levels in the prestige scale. However, as the network indicates, the various prestige groups described in this fashion are tied to one another and, since diffusion is downward and the ties of the upper prestige groups to formal organizations are many, the worker might have cause to begin with the higher prestige groups.

Occupational Prestige in a German Rural Village. Occupation was singled out earlier as being among the most significant indicator of social rank. The wide use of instruments such as the Barr Scale,⁵⁷ based upon the ranking of 100 "representative" occupations on the basis of ". . . the relative demands which they make upon intelli-

⁵⁵ Kaufman, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-9.

⁵⁶ Correlation coefficients indicating the degree of similarity in respect to the total number of formal social organizations which visiting pairs of families contacted was .45. For pairs of families which exchange work and borrow or loan farm equipment, the coefficients expressing this relationship were .56 and .39, respectively. The comparable coefficient for the total value of family living for visiting pairs was only .19. See Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, pp. 69 ff.

⁵⁷ For a discussion and a listing of the prestige ranking of the 100 occupations drawn up by F. E. Barr see Lewis M. Terman, *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Vol. I., Stanford: University of Stanford Press, 1925, pp. 66-69. See also Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

gence," prove their importance from the point of view of those aspects of social status that are related to personal characteristics and achievements. Not only are the scores persons make on the Barr Scale

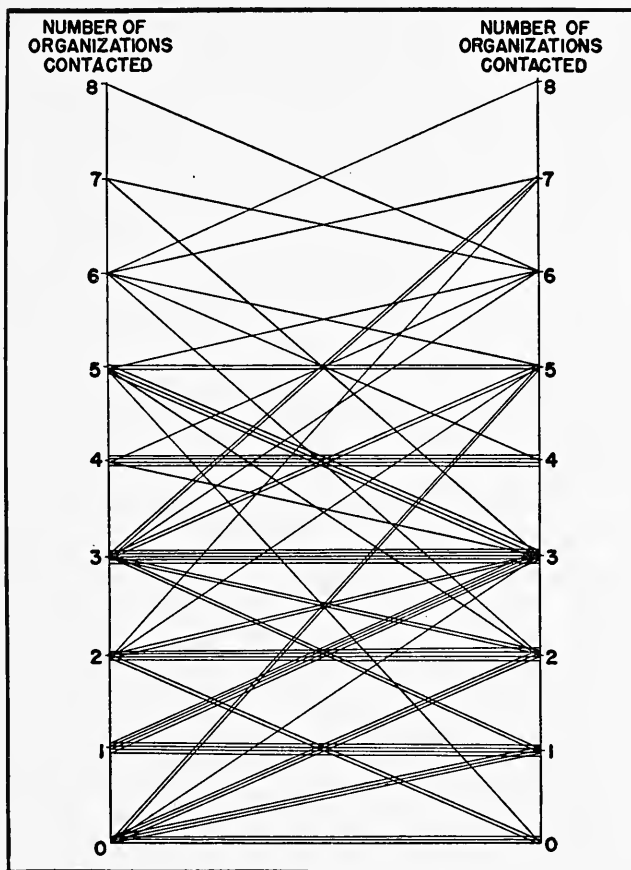


FIG. 117. Visiting relationships of sample members of the Dyess colony, classified by the number of organizations contacted. The visiting relationships shown may be either one-way or mutual. The tendency is clear that those who participate in few organizations visit with those who also participate in few organizations. (Data collected by C. P. Loomis.)

highly related to the intelligence of the person rated but the intelligence of the children is usually found to be closely related to the father's occupational scores.

In pre-World War II German society, few symbols of social status were more important than that of occupation. In a study of Rietze in Hannover, the occupational groups were found to be separated by wide cleavages, as shown in Figure 118. Specially designed tests for cleavage in the village indicate that the farmers have relatively fewer

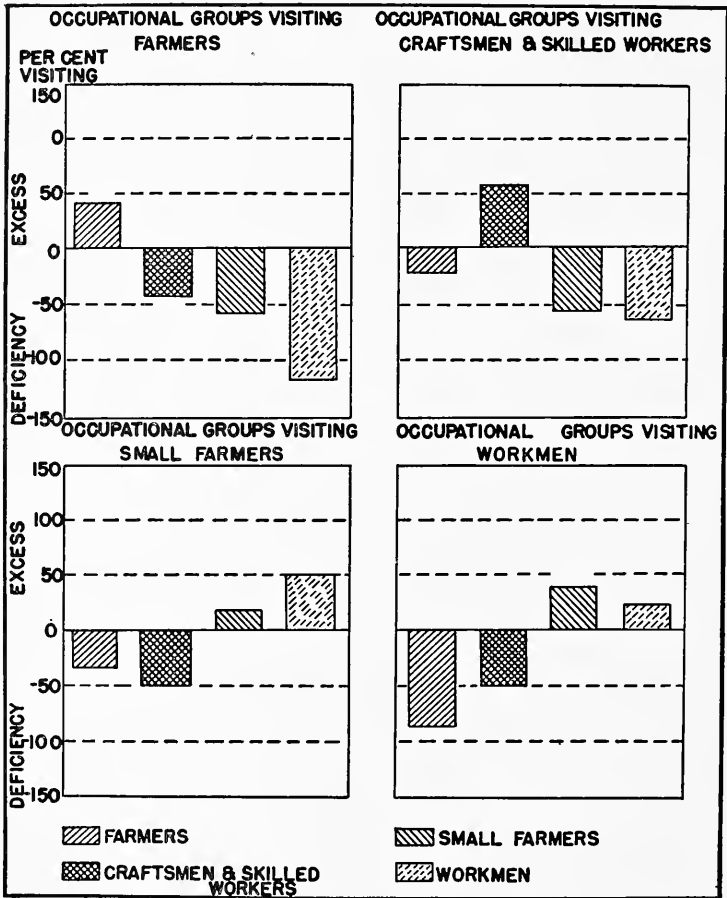


FIG. 118. Visiting relationships between occupational groups in Rietze, Germany. "Excess" visiting indicates that visiting occurred more frequently than expected on the basis of chance. A "deficiency" of visiting indicates fewer visits than expected on the basis of chance. (Data from C. P. Loomis, "Political and Occupational Cleavages in a Hanoverian Village, Germany," *Sociometry*, Vol. IX, No. 4, November 1946, pp. 316-333.)

visiting relationships with unskilled workers than with other occupational groups. If visiting relations are as significant as the authors believe, action agencies attempting to diffuse improved practices could better reach the unskilled workers of the village by working through the workers' leaders than by working with the farmers.

Race as a Basis for Stratification, Oxapampa, Peru. At Oxapampa, Peru, as shown in Chapter 5, few considerations are more important than whether one is of German, Indian, or mixed descent. Those of German blood ranked at the top of the prestige scale and Indians ranked at the bottom. The visiting relationships and intermarriages were in approximately the same proportions so far as the interaction of the races was concerned.⁵⁸ As Figure 119 indicates, the interaction of the white with the Indian groups was relatively infrequent. Visiting interrelationships were restricted to a considerable extent to the sub-cultures of each one of the three groups or of the group immediately above it. Measures of cleavages between the lowest and highest group, i.e. the whites and the Indians, were very great. The implication from Figure 119 is that improved practices may be diffused through the visiting contacts to the prestige groups below. However, the chances are that agricultural agents would find it advantageous to work with the leaders in the network of relationships in each of the two upper sub-culture or racial groups.

Use of Educational Level as a Basis for Status. In his studies of sex behavior, Kinsey writes that "social levels are not necessarily determined by the economic status of an individual," and that "school teachers belong to a white collar class which is generally looked up to by working classes although the working classes may have considerably higher incomes."⁵⁹ He finds, however, that "the educational level attained by an individual by the time he terminates his schooling has proved to be the simplest and best-defined means of recognizing social levels. . . . By and large the children hear the group opinion so often expressed that they come to accept it and look forward to the time when they will be allowed to quit school. The individuals in another social level believe that their children should go part way, or perhaps fully, through high school. Going to college is the expected and more or less inevitable thing for children of other social groups.

⁵⁸ Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, p. 263.

⁵⁹ Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948, p. 333.

VISITING AMONG FAMILIES AT OXAPAMPA, PERU, BY RACE

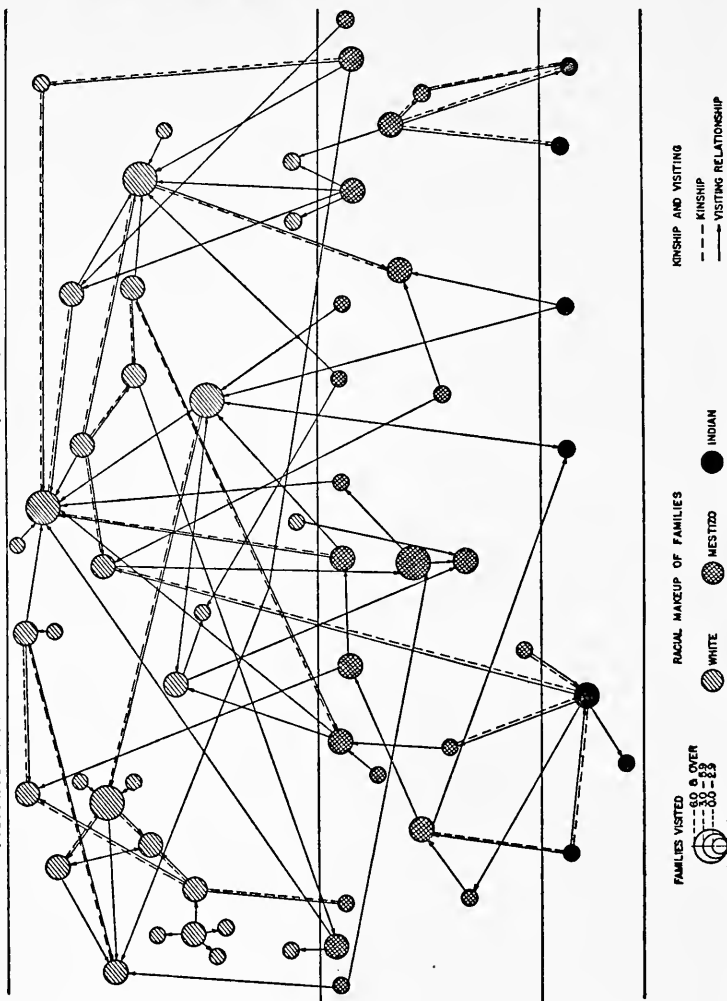


FIG. 119. Visiting relationships among white, mestizo, and Indian families in Oxapampa, Peru. (Reproduced from C. P. Loomis, J. A. Beegle, and T. W. Longmore, *Critique of Class as Related to Social Stratification*. Beacon House: Sociometry Monograph 19, 1948, p. 15.)

. . . The idea of a boy or girl being satisfied with less education than his parents is so abhorrent as to be rarely accepted, and most people are startled when they find an individual case of such regression."⁶⁰

Because of its implications in stratification, the most important finding is that rural and urban males in a given educational level vary in the same direction from those class levels above and below. If future study supports these findings, students of stratification will find a tremendous amount of new data for consideration.

SUMMARY

For those who wish to change group practices or predict behavior, few considerations are more important than knowing who is who in the judgment of the people themselves. Especially if a given system is small and has functionally specific objectives, it is not difficult to determine the relative ranking of members in the functioning of the system. Status is of two types, either ascribed or achieved. In the former, a given status is present at birth; in the latter, it is attained by effort after birth. Factors closely related to the status of an individual are authority or the right to influence others, the contributions of one's family, property, personal qualities, and those moral attributes related to the individual's acceptance of the norms and ends of the group.

The social structure of the United States has been in such flux that classes with definite value orientation and social structure are less easily perceived than the social structure known to Marx when he developed his theory of the class struggle. It is difficult, for instance, to know whether clerks, teachers, salesmen, and foremen have more in common in American culture with the laboring class or with management, when considered from the point of view of "life style" and interests. Farmers seem to hold an intermediate position and have sided with both groups. Almost universally they receive a general ranking lower than their over-all utility merits, in part at least because their birth rate makes it necessary for many to leave the occupation. Castes and hierarchical strata into which members are born are not difficult to perceive. There is some disagreement as to whether the Negro constitutes a caste group in the United States.

⁶⁰ Kinsey recognizes that educational status is not satisfactory for his purposes when the individual is in school or when the individual changes his social level during the course of his lifetime. *Ibid.*, pp. 330-331.

The various methods of studying and measuring stratification are reviewed. The objective sociometric procedures which permit the measurement of cleavage are advocated as a means of guarding against the results of intuitive methods sometimes employed in determining class status. Sociometric procedures require that activities engaged in by persons considered equal, as well as activities engaged in by those considered unequal, be studied.

THE NATURE OF RURAL SOCIAL STRATA

KINSHIP AND FRIENDSHIP GROUPINGS are composed of individuals of approximately the same social status. Since families of the upper social-status groups constitute only a small proportion of the total population, they may be expected to maintain contact over long distances. In fact, upper-class, aristocratic families among the early Spanish settlers of the village areas in the United States intermarried with classes below them because of the great distances, poor communication, and other factors. The so-called "Don" class is said to have passed out of existence because of these conditions.¹ Villages were far apart and intercommunication was impossible. Consequently, there was not enough interaction to maintain the kinship and congeniality basis of the aristocratic class as a system of relationships apart from the other status levels.

SOCIAL STATUS AND TOWN-COUNTRY RELATIONS

In the discussion of the family in Chapter 3, the assumption was made that the structure of the rural family in the United States was oriented toward that of the small, isolated, middle-class family. Figure 120 is designed to describe a simplified and generalized Old American rural community pattern of interaction between status classes in the most prevalent type of area, the isolated holding settlement. The scale indicates that the large farmers, estate owners, and business and professional groups in towns travel long distances to maintain contact with their friends and relatives who are interspersed widely over the countryside. The family farmers and the lower white-collar workers travel shorter distances, but the interaction pattern of the friendship groups are chains of relationships. The farm laborer and unskilled worker classes are more mobile and transient but their ranges of interaction within the area are not very different from the classes immediately above them. Many have ties in other states where

¹ Charles P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 386.

they have lived and worked. The mobility of the family-sized operators and ranchers of the Wheat and Range-Livestock Areas on the great plains resembles that of the large farmers. Figure 120 is sim-

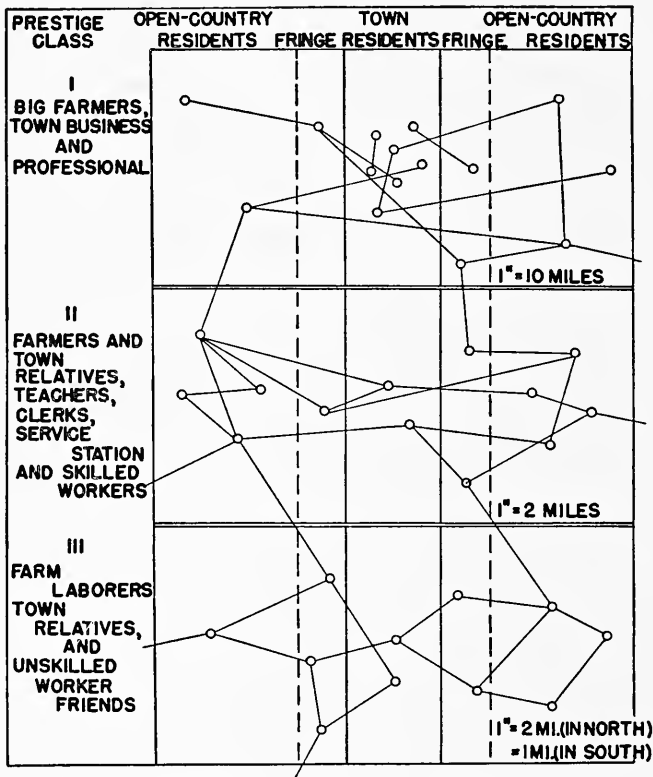


FIG. 120. Schematic description of town-country status in relation to visiting patterns in isolated holding areas.

plified in order to describe the interaction between town and country classes. The "social" visiting patterns will be found to resemble to a considerable extent various other types of interaction patterns. Thus, the family-sized farmers, the middle prestige class on Figure 120, join in various types of cooperative activity such as those called "change groups," that is, farm groups working together in silo filling and bean harvest not unlike those that Kimball² found in Tuscola

² Solon T. Kimball, *Sociological Reconnaissance of Tuscola County*, Mimeographed Preliminary Report, Michigan State College, 1947.

County, Michigan. Such interaction is, of course, confined to farmers. However, these same farmers may have relatives and friends in town. They may also interact with a few so-called fringe dwellers, or persons living outside the town limits and deriving their incomes largely from nonfarm sources.

Because fringe-area families usually range from the very lowest to the very highest,³ a very good index of the prestige level of farm families is the level of the families they associate with in the fringe. Many family-sized farmers have no interaction with neighbors in the fringe. Since about one out of three of the sons and daughters of family-sized farmers leave the farm, we may expect to find large numbers of people with farm backgrounds in the towns. In general, children of the family-sized farmer of the middle prestige group associate with children of all classes, especially those who have become teachers, mechanics, clerks, filling station operators, and the lesser white-collar workers. All these groups are "on the make," striving to climb the social ladder. Their family structure has previously been described as small, isolated, and middle-class. From this class of farmers come the leaders whom the Soil Conservation Service calls the small leaders or "Elmers."⁴

The large farmers, plantation operators, gentlemen farmers, and estate operators, in general, are the highest prestige group in the rural communities. They associate with the business and professional or upper white-collar groups of the town and fringe. A given family may have intimate visiting contacts that take it over an entire state and even beyond. The farmers in this group do not usually engage in the type of cooperative activity practiced among the family-sized farmers. Such large farmers may be county-wide leaders and belong to many formal organizations in which they may hold office. They may not know the family-sized farmers in the friendship groups in their neighborhood areas so well as they know people in town. Through their wide contacts, they are among the first to try new methods or to know of new facilities available in the trade center.

³ Richard R. Myers and J. Allan Beegle, "Delineation and Analysis of the Rural-Urban Fringe," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. VI, No. 2, Spring 1947, pp. 14-22. See also Walter Firey, *Social Aspects to Land Use Planning in the Country-City Fringe: The Case of Flint, Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 339, June 1946.

⁴ *Group Action in Soil Conservation, Upper Mississippi Valley Region III*, Milwaukee: Soil Conservation Service, March 1947.

From this class of farmer come the "county-wide" leaders referred to in Soil Conservation Service literature.⁵

In the upper rural classes, much joining and social participation in formal organizations occur.⁶ Bee⁷ found that high income was associated with favorable attitudes toward the community, toward offices held, and toward membership in organizations and meetings attended. Forsyth⁸ found high status associated with an adverse attitude toward relief. In some parts of the country tenants tend to fall into the lower classes, and owners into the upper classes.⁹

The farm laborers, sharecroppers, and other lower-class elements, when unrelated by blood ties to landlords, vary more from region to region than do the other social class groups described. When automobiles are not owned, the general pattern in the South, the area of visiting is limited. Nevertheless, family mobility is fairly great in all areas, and when coupled with poor transportation facilities, relatively few formal social ties are maintained in the communities. In areas requiring transient labor, the migrants are often scarcely a part of the community. As will be indicated in Chapters 14 and 15, the lower-class rural groups subject their children to less severe conditioning and require less middle-class "respectability." Furthermore, they are ordinarily required to assume responsibility somewhat later than the upper-class children.

Status in a New England Rural Village. The friendship patterns of a rural Vermont village of approximately 1,000 inhabitants in a Northeastern Dairy Area have been studied.¹⁰ All the cliques, deter-

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ W. A. Anderson, *The Membership of Farmers in New York Organizations*, Ithaca: Cornell AES Bulletin 695, April 1938, pp. 13-17; and E. L. Kirkpatrick, J. H. Kolb, Creagh Inge, and A. F. Wileden, *Rural Organizations and the Farm Family*, Madison: University of Wisconsin AES Research Bulletin 96, November 1929.

⁷ L. S. Bee, "Attitude Differentials in a New York Rural Community," *State College of Washington Research Studies*, Vol. IX, 1941, pp. 37-48.

⁸ F. H. Forsyth, "Social Crisis and Social Attitude toward Relief," *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. XVIII, August 1943, pp. 55-69.

⁹ E. A. Schuler, "The Present Social Status of American Farm Tenants," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 1, March 1938, pp. 20-33; and Walter L. Slocum, *The Influence of Tenure Status Upon Rural Life*, Brookings: South Dakota AES Circular 39, May 1942.

¹⁰ George A. Lundberg and Mary Steele, "Social Attraction-Patterns in a Village," *Sociometry*, Vol. I, Nos. 3 and 4, January and April 1938, pp. 375-419; and George A. Lundberg and Margaret Lawsing, "The Sociography of Some Community Relations," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. II, No. 3, June 1937, pp. 318-335.

mined from the choices made when homemakers were asked to name those with whom they visited socially, were plotted on sociometric charts; those chosen most frequently were located in the center. After the clique groups had been determined, measures of nucleation, cohesion, homogeneity, and social and cultural status indices were applied to the results of the personal interviews. Three of the constellations were classified as upper class, three as middle class, and two as lower class. Of 256 persons interviewed, only three cases of completely isolated persons were located. Although 29 admitted no friends in the village, they mentioned friends in the adjoining area. The three isolates were older people without relatives.

The "star" of the village was a "Lady Bountiful,"—a widow of about sixty who made many donations to worthy causes. She was chosen by far the most often by both leaders and followers. She formed the center of a constellation of upper-class persons, whose friendship patterns made her group the hub of the village. Her closest friend was a physician, another leader of a clique.

The only group to give prominent places to farmers' wives was a middle-class group. (See Figure 121.) The center or star, a board-

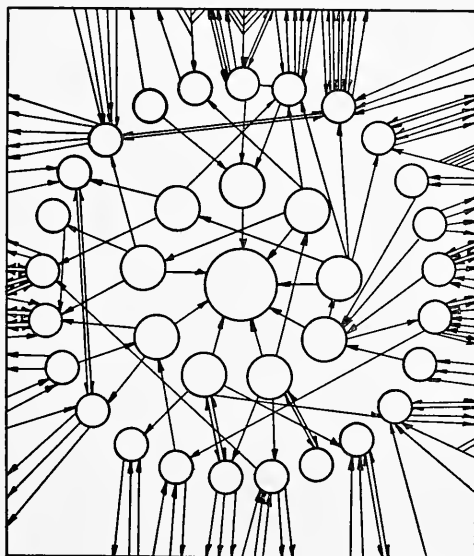


FIG. 121. Sociometric chart showing a group of skilled and semi-skilled persons centering around a boarding-house keeper with diverse types of satellites among whom very little interaction (14 percent) is evident. (Reproduced from Lundberg and Steele, "Social Attraction-Patterns in a Village," *Sociometry*, Vol. I, Nos. 3-4, January-April 1938, p. 399.)

ing-house operator, was named as a friend by the wives of two farmers, a chauffeur, two salesmen, a bank teller, a clerk, and two foremen. Fifty-four percent of the persons in this group belonged to the Congregational Church, while only 23 percent of the villagers belonged to this church. The persons who belonged to this clique lived in homes scattered over the entire area studied.

Although the study of village social attraction patterns was not designed to appraise the relationship between rural and urban inhabitants, it has great significance as a pioneering study of groupings and their social status. Some of the important findings relevant to social status are the following: (1) When asked to name their friends, or those with whom they visit socially, 60 percent of the women named persons higher than themselves on the socio-economic scale. Choices tended to cluster about the class level of the person interviewed, but slightly above her. (2) The groups of the upper class tended to be more homogeneous than those of the other classes. (3) One of the most common and important bonds for upper- and middle-class groups was common church membership; relatively few of the groups of lower social status belonged to a church. (4) Only in the case of the lower-income groups was geographical location of the resident important.

RURAL SOCIAL CLASS AND THE NON-SOCIOMETRIC TECHNIQUES

Corn Belt, Illinois. Using Warner's techniques, Vogt¹¹ has described the class structure of an isolated holding type of settlement area near a Midwestern Corn Belt town of 6,000. The two most obvious groupings in the area were "Yankees" and "Norwegians." The Yankees of Old American stock and "sort of Yankees" from the British

¹¹ Evon Z. Vogt, Jr., "Social Stratification in the Rural Middlewest: A Structural Analysis," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 4, December 1947, pp. 364-375. In this same town, called Jonesville, Warner classified farm owners with high-school teachers, trained nurses, chiropodists, chiropractors, undertakers, ministers (some training), newspaper editors, librarians (graduate), businessmen with businesses valued at \$20,000 to \$75,000, assistant managers and office and department managers of large businesses, assistants to executives, accountants, salesmen of real estate or of insurance, and postmasters. The "gentlemen farmers" were classified with such professionals as lawyers, doctors, dentists, engineers, high-school superintendents, ministers (graduated from divinity school), businessmen with businesses valued at over \$75,000, managers of large operations, and certified public accountants. Tenant farmers were classified with operators of busi-

Isles constituted 47 percent of the township population. The Norwegians, including those born in Norway and their descendants, constituted 53 percent of the population. Intensive interviews proved that for all except the Old Yankees climbing the social ladder was a matter of acculturation. Unacculturated Norwegians, whether tenants or owners, remained loyal to their Lutheran church. This loyalty often caused them to distrust middle-class groups and minimized differences in social status. Older Yankee families owned most of the land when the study was made, but the Norwegians had owned approximately a third of it in 1920. In the depression, many Norwegians lost their holdings to the Old Yankees.

Intensive interviews revealed an emerging social class system among the Yankees, into which the Norwegians were placed as they became acculturated. Their degree of acculturation was largely dependent upon the length of time since their forebears had come from the old country. According to Vogt, upper-class members were called "squire or gentlemen farmers," the middle-class members were called "old landowners," and the lower-class farmers were called "dirt farmers."

Upper-class Farmers. An important feature differentiating upper-class farmers from middle-class farmers is the participation of the former groups in high-status, urban culture, involving bridge playing, social drinking, country club parties, wearing fashionable clothes, and so forth. When persons moved from the middle to the upper class, they participated in this culture. The original members of this class pride themselves on being "old pioneers"; as a result of their support, a local chapter of the D.A.R. thrives. With the rise of industrialism,

nesses valued at \$2,000 to \$5,000, dime-store clerks, hardware salesmen, beauty operators, telephone operators, carpenters, plumbers, electricians (apprentice), timekeepers, linemen (telephone or telegraph), radio repairmen, medium-skill workers, barbers, firemen, butchers' apprentices, practical nurses, policemen, seamstresses, cooks in restaurants, and bartenders. Small tenant farmers were classified with operators of the smallest businesses, semi-skilled workers, baggage men, taxi and truck drivers, gas station attendants, and waitresses in restaurants. Of those classified with "gentlemen farmers," 44 fell in the upper class; 29 in the upper-middle class and only 3 in the lower-middle class. Of those classified with the farm owners, 7 fell in the upper-middle class, 3 in the lower-middle class and only 1 in the upper-lower class. Most of these classified with the small tenants fell in the upper-lower and lower-lower classes. Those classified with the larger tenants fell in the four lower classes. See W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America*, Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949, pp. 140, 141, and 165.

managerial families bought country estates and joined this class. During the depression, many middle- and lower-class farmers lost their land to this group, thus becoming the tenants of the upper class. The upper-class farmers do not participate actively in the Farm Bureau, Home Bureau, 4-H Club, or Rural Afternoon Club. This group of farmers does not require those rural associations which provide channels of mobility for the middle- and lower-class elements.

Middle-class Farmers. Middle-class families own land and have kinship connections with Old Yankee families. They support agricultural extension agencies, including the Farm Bureau, Home Bureau, and 4-H Clubs. The Rural Afternoon Club, composed of middle-class farm women, is a "closed" or "exclusive" group, and membership is by invitation. Only a few lower-class Yankees or Norwegian families "on the make" belong. The club functions to exclude and subordinate the Norwegian and lower-class Yankee families, ". . . but also provides an opportunity for upward mobility. . . ." "Neighboring" or visiting after "driving to the home of the other family to spend the evening" occurs mostly within the class rather than across class lines. There is some visiting of close neighbors who may not be of the same class, but exchanging of work crosses class lines more than visiting does.

Lower-class "Dirt Farmers." The dirt farmers among the Yankees are the "sort of Yankees" who rent land. Some of the farmers and their wives belong to the Farm Bureau, Home Bureau, and 4-H Clubs, but they have few members in the Rural Afternoon Club. The extension organizations furnish channels through which they may climb to higher strata. Although two lower-class members joined the Rural Afternoon Club, they were described as people who "try to get into all the clubs and go to all the meetings." The few upper-class farmers who belonged to this club withdrew when the lower-class women were voted in, and one commented that the club was now "taking in trash."

In another study, five classes were found.¹² Contingency coefficients indicated that education, occupation, church affiliations, and residential areas were highly related to class status. Lower-class people joined few organizations, were less time-conscious, permitted wives to work more frequently, married younger, had more children, more crime records, less money in their bank accounts, and less pres-

¹² August B. Hollingshead, "Selected Characteristics of Classes in a Middle Western Community," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XII, No. 4, August 1947, pp. 385-395.

tige. The families were placed in the five classes by 31 "judges" or "raters," who used "a standardized control list of 20 families." Farm owners were found in all the classes except the lowest, and farm tenants in all except the upper two classes. In the analysis, farm owners are placed with the professionals and proprietors. Lower-class clique associations are more strictly age and sex structured than are upper-class cliques.

Corn Belt, Iowa. Bell¹³ has described the social strata of a small agricultural community in the Middle West. In Shell Rock, Iowa, the residents thought there were no social classes, but careful observation revealed a fairly rigid class system. The lower class consisted of occasional or casual laborers. Persons in the strata above considered these people to be innately shiftless and lazy. They were accused of stealing, and sometimes did steal tools and chickens. They lived in the poorer homes, had larger families and less money, and were more frequently on relief.

Above the agricultural laborers were farmers who rented the land they farmed. Only the renter who moved often and was shiftless ranked close to the laborers. Other renters ranked with the farm owners. Above the renters were the landowning farmers, both active and retired. Stability and permanency made some of the well-to-do land owners equal to the business group above them.

In a recent re-survey of this community, originally surveyed in 1930, Bell found that "neither the average farmer nor his wife appears different from city people" in dress. Those who dress differently are considered to have "poor taste." Farm women patronize the beauty shops and ". . . regularly get their hair waved as well as having other beauty treatments. . . . They attempt to keep their hands soft by using mild soaps and lotions. They diet to preserve their figures and dress in the current fashions. Most of the women in the community are as well groomed as the women of comparable economic status of the city."¹⁴ The farm women prefer to go without such items as refrigerators if they cannot order a "nationally advertised brand." A person who has no refrigerator but says she is waiting to buy a nationally advertised product enjoys more prestige than one who has a

¹³ Earl H. Bell, "Social Stratification in a Small Community," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. XXXVIII, February 1934, pp. 157-164, and "A Resurvey of Shell Rock Community," *Farm Population and Rural Life Activities*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, April 1940.

¹⁴ Bell, "A Resurvey of Shell Rock Community."

cheaper mail-order model. If radios are purchased, cheaper brands are avoided for fear of damaging prestige. The middle-class magazines, such as *The Ladies Home Journal*, *McCall's*, *Wallace's Farmer*, *Woman's Home Companion*, *The American Magazine*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Liberty*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *True Romance* furnish the chief reading matter for this group.

Above the farmers are the businessmen and their families, the group which, in reality, is the pace-setter. This group includes the doctor, dentist, barber, blacksmith, and 34 other occupational groups. Newcomers are barred from the group and considered as outsiders. To this group and to those above it the farmers are orienting their behavior. Above this stratum comes the local banker and his family, friends, and associates. A restricted group such as this makes the community a sort of "one-man" place. According to Bell, the various social classes of Shell Rock, Iowa, shade imperceptibly into one another.

General and Self-Sufficing Areas, Plainville, Missouri. West¹⁵ analyzed the social status of rural people in a trade center of 275, to which he gives the fictitious name of Plainville. This town depends wholly upon the produce and trade from about 200 farms. Plainville is located in Missouri, south of the Corn Belt and to the north of the Ozarks. In this area the most significant division of people is that of "Hillbillies" and "Prairie people." The county in which Plainville is located lies between the areas described as the Western Missouri General Farming Area, where dairy, fruit, and self-sufficient farming prevails, and the Middle Ozark Plateau, where one finds general livestock, self-sufficient, and part-time farming.¹⁶ The area falls in the North-South Border Area described by Mangus.¹⁷

Although most Plainvillers deny the existence of social class in their community, West found three classes, to which he assigned the designations "upper class," "good lower class people," and "lower element." He claims that they loosely parallel the "lower-middle,"

¹⁵ James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 1-3.

¹⁶ Since the author gives the population of the county studied, it is not difficult to locate it and place it with reference to type of farming. See F. F. Elliott, *Types of Farming in the United States*, Washington: Bureau of the Census, 1933.

¹⁷ A. R. Mangus, *Rural Regions of the United States*, Federal Works Agency, Works Projects Administration, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1940.

"upper-lower," and "lower-lower" classes found by Warner and his co-workers in Yankee City.¹⁸ Over one-half of the people are in the "upper class." He found that people did not mind indicating how others ranked below them. They were more likely to resent being asked the class status of superiors or equals. Indices which are, according to West, most useful in ranking people by class are: (1) location; (2) relation to technology; (3) lineage; (4) wealth; (5) morals; and (6) manners. Those who follow mechanized rationalized farming rank higher than others. In this way, the mechanized commercialized farming of the Corn Belt to the north sets the pace. The "good families" beget good citizens. The "lower element" begets "no-account" or "trashy" children. Wealth is relative, because "fully a third of the lower-class people living in the hills are better off financially than the poorer third of the better-class prairie people." The moral criterion is most important in judging lower-class people. The "lower element" drinks, gets in jail, steals chickens and meat. Upper-class men treat violations on the part of the "lower element" as they would violations of children, something to be expected. They are looked upon as somewhat subnormal mentally. Other investigators have called manners "life style." The upper class considers the "lower class" and "lower element" to be ignorant. Among the lower element "men and boys cuss right in the house. . . . Their women cuss just like men. . . . All they know is just drink, dance, and carouse."

Figure 122 describes how the upper class sees the class structure in Plainville. West also used additional charts to describe how the other groups see one another. For women, the class lines are much more sharply drawn than for the men because men cross the lines freely in business dealings, trading, loafing, and other activities outside the home. Small children have no restrictions, but girls learn class differences before adolescence and boys learn them when they start "going with girls."

Figure 123 describes the view of the community through the eyes of those who consider themselves to be the "good religious people." For this group, the criterion of morality is the most important fact to use in ranking people. Those who are more resentful of the dominant class, in comparing themselves with others, talk of their class as "all us good honest working people who try to live right and do

¹⁸ See W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941, p. 88.

right." Others in the community were even more resentful of the dominant class, especially of the important role of churches in prescribing moral conduct. Figure 123 shows the place of the various church groups in the class structure. This figure may be compared

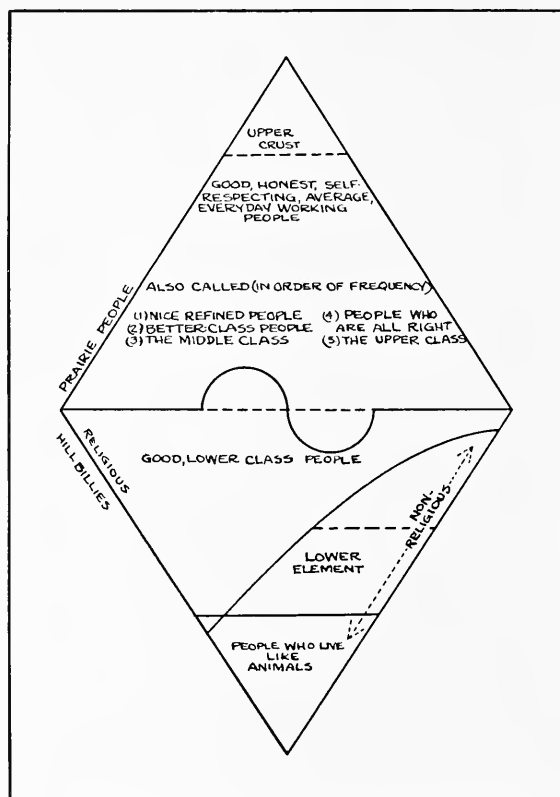
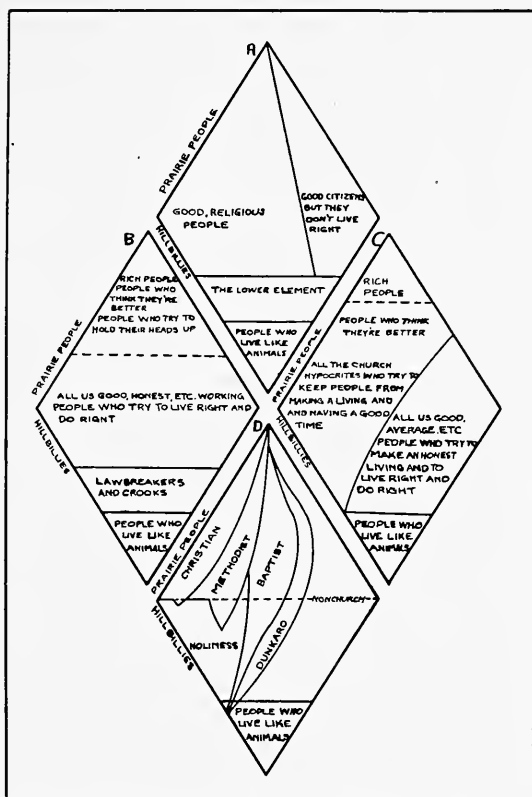


FIG. 122. The social classes of Plainville. Note the diamond-shaped numerical distribution. (Adapted from James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, p. 117.)

with Figure 122 to indicate the proportions of church groups in the various classes. It will be noted from the charts that even the Holiness group, which universally caters to lower elements, calls the people at the bottom "people who live like animals." Some lower-class people who are not a part of any religious group and who react to "the Holiness Way" adversely say: "They call people like me 'lower class' around here because I don't break my neck trying to earn a

In Plainville, the upper class prides itself on being plain and average, but it sets the tone for the society. Through this class comes the



drive to keep up with changes in technological culture and what in this book has loosely been called the culture of the small, isolated, middle-class family. Plainville lost its small business group when the trade center moved to a larger place, and now there is little difference in country and town people in the "upper class." The "lower element" places positive prestige values on several traits which the dominant

class condemns. Among these things are hunting dogs and running hounds. Being a good "fighter" and a good "hard drinker" are also considered virtues by the "lower element," but are condemned by the classes above.

In general, the people of Plainville identify themselves with the working people of the city, but their respect for property is so intense that they are opposed to unions, collective bargaining, strikes, and other means city workers have of organizing to further their interests against those of ownership or invested wealth.

The Dairy Area, a New York Community. Using the rating device previously described, Kaufman¹⁹ classified 1,235 persons in the prestige categories on the basis of "standing," "reputation," or "respect" in the community. The resulting class structure is shown in Figure 124. The structure in this New York community resembles communi-

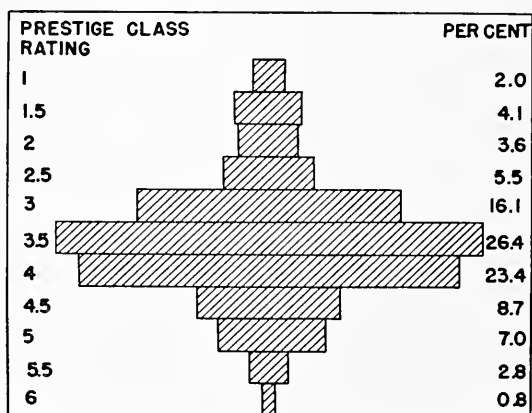


FIG. 124. The class structure of the Macon community in New York. (Reproduced from Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*, Ithaca: Cornell AES Memoir 260, p. 39.)

ties in the West which characteristically assume the diamond shape instead of the pyramid shape usually associated with urban society. As will be indicated, however, rural society in the Cotton Belt is pyramided. The "middle classes" of northern rural society tend to be larger than the "lower classes" at the base. In the upper part of

¹⁹ Harold F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*, Ithaca: Cornell AES Memoir 260, March 1944, p. 39.

the diamond, the small, isolated, middle-class family that participates in many organizations is the rule.

The Wheat Belt, Prairieon, South Dakota. Useem²⁰ and his co-workers studied the social structure of Prairieon, South Dakota, a community of 3,500, made up largely of second-generation Scandinavian immigrants and families from Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. This town is located in the heart of the Wheat Belt. Its population increased 17 percent from 1920 to 1930, chiefly because of the influx of farmers who were forced off their lands during the drought and depression years and because of small merchants who moved there when smaller centers declined.

According to the investigators, Prairieon contains three major strata: (1) a low-status group made up of ex-farmers, former farm hands, and unskilled laborers; (2) a middle class made up of small shopkeepers, craftsmen, retired farmers, and professional people, and (3) an elite upper class composed of successful business men and large land-holders. "There is no doubt in the minds of Prairieon people regarding the class to which they belong and they also have no doubt about the social position of everyone else in the community."²¹ The lower class, called "the bottoms," live on the flats, and the upper class, called the "tops," live on top of a bluff. Only the bottoms and tops were studied. Forty-four households were interviewed, one-half of which were in each group. Comparison of the two groups revealed that all the bottoms had received relief, whereas none of the tops had. The bottoms confined their traveling and visiting to small neighborhood areas, whereas the tops covered wide areas. The bottoms had larger families and the family unit furnished the basis for visiting, work, recreation, and other activities. Families among the tops were ". . . segmentalized, each member having his own social ties." The bottoms lived in shacks without electricity or running water; the tops lived in fine houses with facilities. The bottoms had more sickness and died younger than the tops. The wives of the tops were important to their husbands' advancement through furnishing social life to associates. Half of the bottoms' wives worked. Tops women felt that they must go to beauty parlors to keep in style. They were time-conscious and had to make the seconds count in order to participate in 95 different "women's societies," where bridge and "cultural activi-

²⁰ John Useem, Pierre Tangent, and Ruth Useem, "Stratification in a Prairie Town," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII, No. 3, June 1942, pp. 331-342.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

ties" were central. Bottoms were more leisurely and expected women who were self-respecting to concentrate on rearing children rather than on formal social affairs. Half of the tops women dieted; none of the bottoms did.

Interclass attitudes were also studied. By the age of ten, boys and girls from the tops families thought bottoms children were "tough, stink, and are dumb"; bottoms children thought the children of tops families were "sissies, smart-alecks, and stuck-up." A proposed recreation project was killed by the tops because it might have permitted their children to associate too much with bottoms children. Tops thought bottoms were shiftless, lazy, drank too much, had low moral standards, and were unintelligent. Bottoms thought tops attained high rank by reason of other than personal assets, such as luck, pull, inheritance of wealth, and educational advantages not open to others. Police officials were expected to deal severely with bottoms delinquents, since it was believed that this group must be deterred through strict punishment. Tops who violated laws were often only warned, and if they received punishment, it was lighter. The Church of God drew its membership entirely from the bottoms, the Business and Professional Men's Club entirely from the tops.

The Wheat Belt, Sublette, Kansas. Bell²² could find no significant class system in Sublette, Kansas, a western Kansas community. He explains that the high mobility and the recent arrival of the present residents have resulted in a structure that is not stable enough for the formation of a class system. The drought and depression of the 1920's struck before the class structure formed. "The decade of the 1920's leveled the people up and the decade of the thirties leveled them down." Most townspeople in Sublette, a rural town of 582 population, engage in farming operations, and in the county many of the business and professional men actually do a farmer's work. This could be true only in the Wheat Belt, where planting and harvesting are the only important farm activities. Although Bell could find no class divisions between the farmers of Anglo stock, the distinction between Mennonites and non-Mennonites was sharply drawn. The non-Mennonite group did make the distinction between "white men" and Mennonites.

General Characteristics and Background of Stratification in the Cotton Belt. It is impossible to understand the class and caste system

²² Earl H. Bell, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Sublette, Kansas*, Rural Life Studies 2, Washington: U.S.D.A., September 1942.

of the South without knowing the prevailing social structure and conditions previous to the Civil War. Although we cannot review here the historical setting of the present class and caste system, we may draw upon the work of Gray²³ for a brief statement. Gray places the "poor whites" at the bottom of the class structure. This group was even looked down upon by Negroes. Since the poor whites had to compete with slave labor, they were variously called "trash," "clay eaters," and so forth. Hunting, fishing, and idling occupied more of the men's time than did serious agriculture. Next to the "poor whites," but not to be confused with them, were the "highlanders." These people had little relation to the plantation, and then, as now, were widespread throughout the South. Individualistic, proud, and independent, they may still be found in the Ozarks and Appalachian Highlands and, since their reproduction rates have always been high, they have spread to all areas. Their men and women worked in the fields, but they were also hunters and lived in part from the woods and streams.

The third group was the commercial farmer of the lowlands and valleys. There is considerable evidence that from this group came many of the planters who later claimed to be members of the planter's aristocracy. The commercial farmers engaged in general agriculture, often owned a few slaves, and were an independent, hospitable, and prolific class. This status was dependent upon the possession of land.

At the top of the pyramid were the members of the planter aristocracy, a status that also depended upon land ownership. The richest and most cultured of this group often sent their children to Europe for schooling. The elegance and grace of their pattern of living have become a symbol of that which was good in the South. Beneath the real aristocracy of the planter class came those who owned smaller estates and fewer slaves and, in most cases, had to live on the plantation and help direct its operations. The planters and wives of this class gave personal attention to the welfare of the slaves. Moore and Williams emphasize the importance of slave and land ownership in the ante-bellum South. Their conceptualization of the system is depicted in Figure 125. These writers maintain that southern society at the time of the Civil War accorded prestige and "looked up" to

²³ L. C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, Washington: The Carnegie Institute, 1933. See also Wilbert E. Moore and Robin M. Williams, "Stratification in the Ante-Bellum South," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII, No. 3, June 1942, pp. 343-351.

those who had slaves and land. This general value orientation furnished the core of the system.

From this basic social pattern developed the caste and class system of the South as it is today. Figure 114, Chapter 10, describes

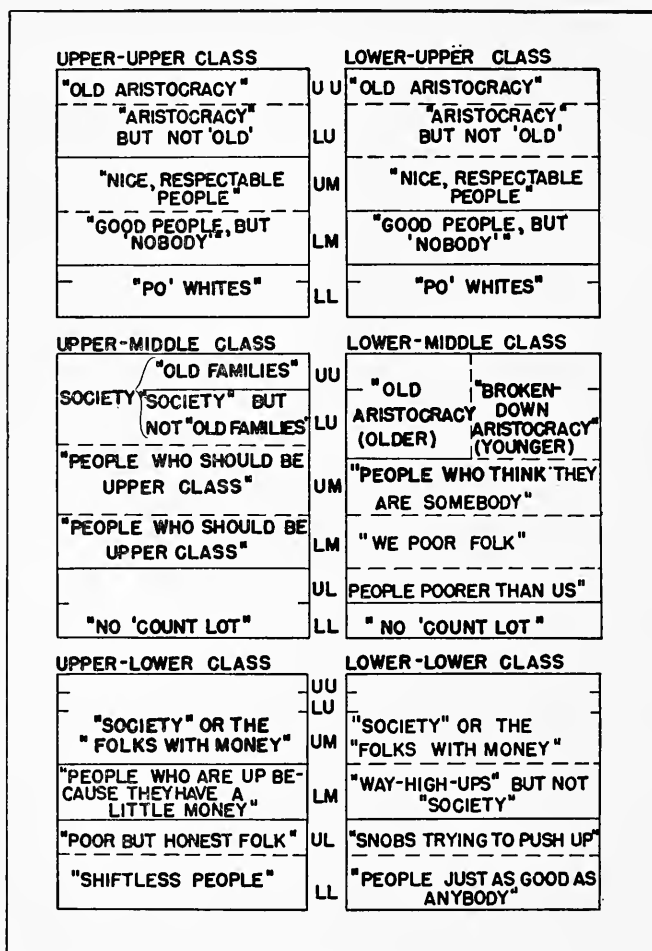


FIG. 125. The social perspectives of the social classes. (SOURCE: Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, *Deep South*, p. 65.)

the caste system in the South, beyond doubt the most significant feature of southern society. It should be clear that many elements prevent a rigid caste line in the South. Among the factors singled out

by Davis and his collaborators²⁴ as being important in this respect are the following: (1) Miscegenation, especially after the Civil War, permitted the development of dependency patterns that gave those Negroes involved rights which others did not have. Many planters gave their Negro kinfolk property, which carried with it status. In the city, both white and colored people attributed "good relations" and "lack of lynchings" to miscegenation. (2) The old servant-master relationship gave Negroes status above that of lower-class whites. Landlords became dependent upon faithful servants and accepted the responsibility of looking after them. "These plantation owners' grandfathers owned the ancestors of these Negroes, and they have to look out for them." Negro "mammies" have relatively high status and may help inform the white caste of "goings on" in the lower Negro class. (3) Negroes who achieve economic independence and property, especially those in the city, have protection of the sacredness of property. The study reports that whites of lower status many times begged or sent their women folks to attempt to get credit from Negro storekeepers. Actually the total income of upper-class planters was not as high as that of some city Negroes. Whites were heard to address Negro professional people who were treating them, "Yes, sir!," "No, sir!." These and other actions justify the slanting diagonal bar separating the two castes in Figure 114, Chapter 10.

On the other hand, especially in the rural areas, various types of interaction are used to keep the laborers of the lower caste in line. The investigators found that the most important of these were: (1) whipping, allegedly for mistreating livestock, stealing, or failing to harvest crops; (2) execution, with trial to set examples and to put "uppety" Negroes in their place; and (3) lynch mob action.

Class System in an All-Negro Society in the Western Cotton Belt. In an all-Negro southern community, the status system is quite different from one in which whites are involved. Figure 126 describes the class system in an all-Negro society in Oklahoma. Note the flatness of the pyramid.²⁵ This shape emphasizes the "equalitarian ideology in which all Negroes appear pretty much alike. The middle Negro class retains the respectability associated with upper-middle-

²⁴ Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 448 ff.

²⁵ Mozell Hill, "A Comparative Analysis of the Social Organization of All-Negro Society in Oklahoma," *Social Forces*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, October 1946, pp. 70-75.

class status, but each group shades imperceptibly into the other. Here there is a minimum of lower-class frustration, and respect for law and order prevails. Exploitation is at a minimum.

The White Class System. Davis²⁶ study in the Mississippi Delta

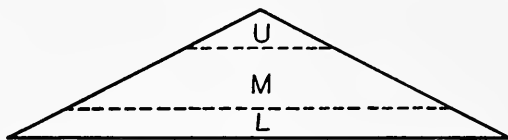


FIG. 126. The pyramid structure of the class organization of the all-Negro society. *U* equals upper class; *M* equals middle class; and *L* equals lower class. (Adapted from Hill, "Class Structure in an All-Negro Society," *Social Forces*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, October 1946, p. 71.)

area of the Cotton Belt yielded six social classes. How these white people in Old City, a place of 10,000 population, viewed one another is presented in Figure 125. The class that is viewing the other classes is given in boldface type. Powdermaker found only three classes in Cottonville, a county seat town in the Delta. At the top were the large planters who formed the aristocracy.²⁷ None of this class lived in Cottonville, but the whole middle class which now controls the South basks in the glory which was once the aristocracy's. Middle-class people in Cottonville, including small farmers, managers, overseers of large plantations, tradespeople and artisans, do not admit their middle-class positions as readily as will similar status groups in the middlewestern Corn Belt states such as Iowa, Ohio, or Indiana. The middle-class whites have developed the northern "push," are staunch church members, and lack most of the qualities of a real aristocracy. The lower-class whites, composed of renters and sharecroppers, are in many ways inferior to the Negroes whom they have always resented. Although of the purest Anglo-Saxon stock, this lower class is ordinarily blond, and since they burn in the sun they are referred to as "red necks."

As Davis²⁸ has described in brilliant fashion, each of the classes of Old City has very different family structures and "life patterns." It is not difficult to become convinced from the description that the small, isolated, middle-class family here as elsewhere is the pace-

²⁶ Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 448 ff.

²⁷ Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom*, New York: The Viking Press, 1939, pp. 7 ff.

²⁸ Davis, Gardner, and Gardner, *op. cit.*, Chap. 2.

setter for the middle rural classes. Those at the bottom of the scales are characteristically unimpressed either by the somewhat "risque" morals of the upper class or the rigid discipline and the formalized and over-organized behavior of the middle class. Whereas the husband is the dominant member of the middle-class family, the disorganization of the lower-class family makes it more matriarchal. There are many other differences, but, in general terms, Toennies²⁹ would be right in maintaining that the lower class was more influenced by natural will and hence more Gemeinschaft-like, and that the upper classes are more influenced by rational will and hence more Gesellschaft-like.

Delta Cotton Belt Society in Old City and Cottonville. Negro Classes. Although whites are not very conscious of a class system among the Negroes, the Negroes themselves are aware of it. Davis and his co-workers have attempted to describe the characteristics of the social structure within these classes in Old City and the surrounding area. Powdermaker has done the same in Cottonville and its tributary area. Powdermaker³⁰ claims that mobility up and down the Negro class scale is much greater than among whites, and that the most important determinants of class status of Negroes are sexual behavior, family pattern, and education. All upper-class Negroes are very conscious of the white belief that Negroes are incapable of continence and that only the upper-class Negroes follow white middle-class morals with regard to premarital chastity and extra-marital relationships. To them, "virtue is a luxury." To be in the upper Negro class, one must have at least a high-school education. The upper class is composed of teachers, educational officials, doctors, and dentists. Ministers are not necessarily or usually in this class. White skin is an asset and upper-class Negroes are lighter than lower-class Negroes. Upper-class Negroes do not engage in emotional religion; as in the case of sexual laxity, they believe this to be one reason why the whites regard their race as inferior. The upper-class Negro family pattern is that previously described as small, isolated, and middle class. Formality is the rule. The titles "Mr. and Mrs." are used among the upper class, even among intimates, whether one is speaking in the second or third person. This is obviously a reaction to

²⁹ Charles P. Loomis, *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1940.

³⁰ *Op. cit.* Also see E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

the caste prescription which will not permit whites to use titles in addressing Negroes.

Middle-class Negroes in Cottonville have sex morals which stand in sharp contrast to those of the puritanical upper-class Negroes. Common-law marriages are the most usual form, and there is a great deal of pre- and extra-marital intercourse. However, it is usually carried on in secrecy. Wife-beating is less common among the middle than the lower class, whereas among the upper-class Negroes it does not exist. Almost all middle-class Negroes are farmers or have agricultural backgrounds. Most ministers belong to this class. The main strength of the church is among the middle-class Negroes.

As in the upper and middle classes, the lower classes have their own cliques and organizations. These have been described by Davis. The lower-class Negroes make no pretense of monogamy. Pre- and extra-marital sexual relations within this class are not at all secret. Wife-beating is common, and it is expected that members of this class will sooner or later serve a jail sentence. In Old City, Davis and his colleagues found that three-quarters of the Negroes are considered lower class by Negroes themselves. This may be compared with 57.8 percent of the whites in Yankee City.³¹ The basis of class feeling is expressed by an upper-class colored girl who claimed that association with lower-class people made her "feel sick."³² This discussion does not describe the details of the class systems of Negroes and whites in the South, but the essentials have been introduced.

SUMMARY

Among the frontiersmen of the colonial period, ascribed status was relatively unimportant. The equalitarianism of frontier society and the stamp it left on rural culture generally have led rural sociologists to ignore the emergence of a class system in rural America. This emerging class structure seems to be so oriented that most groups attempt to imitate the middle classes of the trade centers.

One careful study of class in a section of the General and Self-Sufficing Area reports three classes: (1) upper class, (2) good lower-class people, and (3) the "lower element." West found that these classes matched Warner's lower-middle-class, upper-lower-class, and lower-lower classes, respectively, in Newburyport, Massa-

³¹ Warner and Lunt, *op. cit.*, p. 88; and Davis, Gardner and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

³² Davis, Gardner and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

chusetts. As the class structures in the various types of farming areas are studied, major regional differences undoubtedly will be revealed. In one study of the Cotton Belt, some three-fourths of the Negroes were classified as lower class. In northern communities the proportion of people in the lower classes was smaller. Possibly the greatest difference in the class structures of the cities and types of farming regions is the large proportion of farmers in the middle and upper groups in all areas except in the Cotton Belt and Western Specialty-Crop sections, where the factory farm is prevalent. Except under special circumstances, the proportions of middle and upper classes in these areas are small.

For those who are attempting to facilitate the spread of improved practices or who are otherwise working with groups, it is necessary to know the basis on which the class structure rests and the channels of communication between the strata. The Agricultural Extension Service has been criticized for working too little with what has been called the lower one-third of the farmers. If there is communication between strata, this is not always a legitimate criticism, since cultural diffusion usually takes place from the upper classes downward to the lower classes. Since the agent does not have time to work with all groups where channels between the classes are open, we may expect that working with middle- and upper-class leaders will result in eventual diffusion throughout the system. However, very frequently blockage exists between strata and groups, and in order to get acceptance of a new practice, the agent must work with the informal leaders of the "lower element" as well as the leaders of other strata.

Unfortunately, we have insufficient knowledge of the class structure in the various parts of the nation. Very frequently it is complicated by ethnic and racial sub-cultures. It is important that the workers should know how such groups are related to the general structure. If the Yankee leaders in a community adopt a new practice, will the leaders of the Polish or Negro groups follow suit? Studies of the class structure should reveal the answer to such questions, and professional workers in the rural areas can then orient their programs accordingly.

PART IV

RELIGIOUS GROUPS AS SOCIAL SYSTEMS

THE NATURE AND FUNCTION OF RELIGION

NO PEOPLES ARE WITHOUT RELIGION.¹ There has, however, been considerable disagreement among social scientists as to the function and value of religion in society. But those activities and attitudes which the authors consider religious prevailed in all past societies and may be expected to function in the group life of the future. Parsons² has shown that, after the middle of the last century when positivistic and utilitarian thought was dominant, religious behavior was considered by many social scientists as due either solely to ignorance and superstition or to the biological or instinctive make-up of the individual. He also describes, and this is one of his important contributions, how Pareto, Malinowski, Durkheim, and Max Weber independently broke from this positivistic interpretation of social activity, thus rendering a more realistic explanation for the ~~and~~ ^{continued} presence of religious phenomena.

Malinowski³ was successful in refuting Levy-Bruhl's claim that the supernatural is confused with the natural among primitive peoples. This is a substantial and important contribution, since many rural sociologists maintain that all behavior, techniques, and processes among rural people are permeated by religion.⁴ Furthermore, Mali-

¹ In his treatise, *Magic, Science and Religion*, Bronislaw Malinowski has attempted to draw upon sociological and anthropological studies, particularly those of the Trobriand Islanders, to explain the reason for this as well as the relationship between science and religion. See this article in Joseph Needham, *Science, Religion and Reality*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925; and Ruth Benedict's article entitled "Magic" in the *Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. X, pp. 39-44.

² Talcott Parsons, "The Theoretical Development of the Sociology of Religion—A Chapter in the History of Modern Social Science," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. V, No. 2, April 1944, pp. 176-190. Among the important writers who held this earlier view are E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, London: John Murray, 1873, Vols. I and II, and Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I, New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1885.

³ Malinowski, *op. cit.*

⁴ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, p. 423. Here he says, ". . . The religious element may be said to permeate almost all activities of rural life." Of course, farming and ranching throughout the world are more dependent upon the forces of nature and are relatively less under man's control than most occupations.

nowski demonstrated that ritual prevails only when there are factors in the situation beyond rational understanding and control. In situations where participants can accurately predict and control the outcome, such as shallow-water fishing among the Trobriand Islanders, activities can be explained in terms of rational norms of efficiency. In such instances, the rites of religion are not present. When, however, emotional factors arise because of uncontrollable elements, such as the weather or insect pests which may cause "undeserved failure," religious ritual may be used to mitigate the resulting frustration. Chapple and Coon⁵ have applied the term *rites of intensification* to the rites which mitigate frustration or stabilize a disequilibrium when whole communities are involved. Another important contribution made by Malinowski is the importance he places on religious rites following disturbances in social relations brought about by such events as death, birth, coming of age, marriage, and the like. Rites which serve to re-establish the equilibrium of social interaction brought about by such events have been called *rites of passage*. To explain such rites as the disposal of the corpse on a utilitarian basis is grossly inadequate.

Durkheim⁶ made a great contribution to our understanding of religion by calling attention to man's division of the world into the "sacred" and the "profane." Religion deals with the sacred. Sacred beings, objects, and actions owe their qualities of sacredness to no intrinsic value, but rather to group attitudes and sentiments. In all societies, part of man's environment will be profane; that part is subject to rational manipulation for utilitarian purposes. Another part will be sacred and will require reverence and special non-utilitarian treatment. Social solidarity and integration depend largely upon general consensus among the groups in a society as to what is sacred and why. However, a particular trait that is sacred in one culture may be a mere tool or a rational technique in another. Durkheim maintains that an item, person, or being, in order to be sacred, must derive this quality from the thought and emotional processes of the group.

Both Durkheim and Malinowski demonstrated the functional relationship between group solidarity and various types of religious activity. ~~It remained~~, however, for Max Weber⁷ to make cross-cultural

⁵ Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942. See especially Chapters 20 and 21.

⁶ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, translated by Joseph W. Swain, London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1915, pp. 36-42.

⁷ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by Talcott Parsons, London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1930.

comparisons and to demonstrate how a given ideology or religious system may influence the development of the whole society.

MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

Figure 127 represents an attempt to describe how a religious leader may function to re-establish interaction in a crisis period or during changes in the normal or habitual interaction rates of individuals.⁸ As emphasized previously, cooperative activity requires that individuals be organized into social systems and function in roles in recognized lines of authority according to norms and standards, all of which are maintained in more or less delicate balance. Any change such as birth, marriage, sickness, or death will alter the balance and hence the interaction rates. Such changes necessitate an adjustment of the elements of the social system. In the event of death, as Malinowski very effectively points out, unless readjustment takes place among the close associates of the departed, they may engage in activities which are harmful to the community and even to themselves. In spite of the existence of rites which should provide the bereaved individuals with the necessary group support and interaction to re-establish normal existence, many people develop what society chooses to call morbid attitudes and behavior following the death of loved ones. Among the functions of religion, with its organization and ceremonies, is the effective re-establishment of group life and its cooperative systems following the crisis. This is true even though physicians, psychiatrists, nurses, and other specialists may be taking over more and more of these functions.

The various rites associated with events that cause disequilibrium, such as death, birth, and illness, are called *rites of passage*, after Van Gennep.⁹ All societies develop rites related to these events occurring in the life cycle of the individual. Most of them are related to the family and many are carried out under the direction of the religious leader. Many of the ceremonies of this nature are initiation rites. When the church is thought of as a social system, baptism and revivals are rites of this type. The length and elaborateness of the *rites of passage* are related to the importance of the event.¹⁰ This evaluation involves the status of the individual concerned, particularly as appraised by the number of people to whom the individual can originate action, or whom he can control directly or indirectly. Even in a democracy, the funeral ceremonies, coming-out parties, weddings,

⁸ Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

⁹ A. L. Van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage*, Paris, 1909.

¹⁰ Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 486-487.

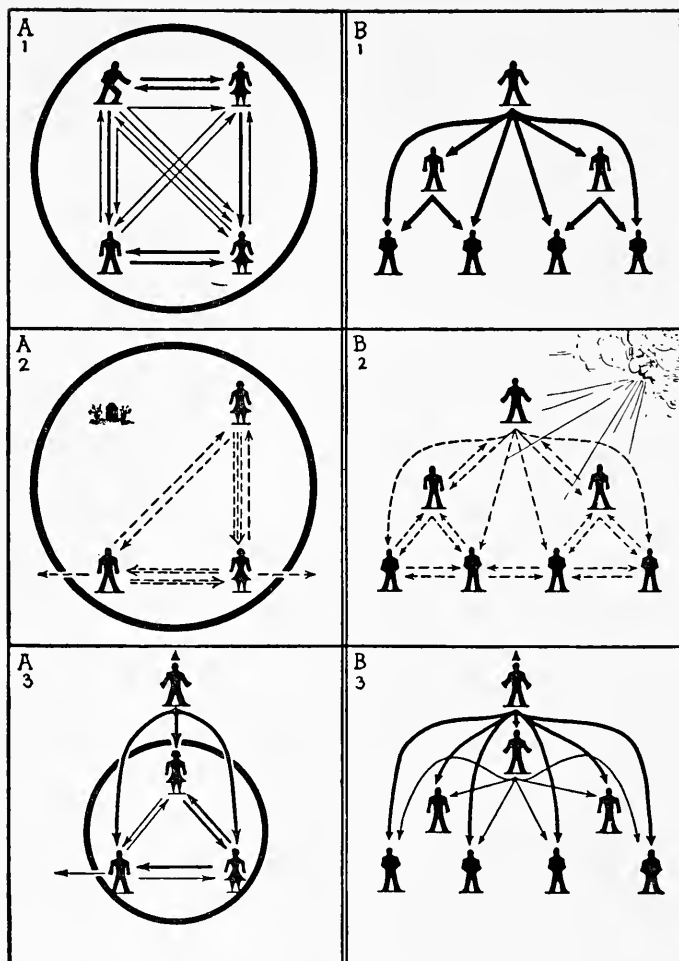


FIG. 127. The restoration of equilibrium through ritual. (A) A *Rite of Passage*. (1) A family in equilibrium. (2) Disequilibrium caused by death of father and reduction of habitual interaction. (3) Restoration of equilibrium: shaman interacts with family in ritual techniques, restoring amount of interaction and stabilizing equilibrium long enough to permit readjustment at a new level.

B. A *Rite of Intensification*. (1) A system in equilibrium. (2) A crisis disturbs the order of action, reduces the interaction, and upsets the equilibrium. (3) The shaman originates to members of the system, directing them in ritual techniques and thus restoring the disturbed interaction rates. (Adapted from Chapple and Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, p. 399.)

and other *rites of passage* will vary in the attention people give to them. These variations are related not alone to the implicit requirement that status be demonstrated by conspicuous consumption, but also to the number of persons affected by the change in interaction rates resulting from the crisis which brings about the *rite of passage*.

The interaction rates between most individuals in any rural community are greatly influenced by the cycles of the seasons, alternation of light and darkness during the day, catastrophes such as floods, cyclones, and earthquakes, and changes such as rest and worship days. Chapple and Coon have amassed a great deal of data in an attempt to prove that many rites and ceremonies, which they call *rites of intensification*, have as their function establishing a suitable type and rate of interaction. One of the most interesting references is to Radcliffe-Brown's study of the Andaman Islanders.¹¹ Among the islanders, the term "ot-kimil," meaning "hot," may refer to the state of an individual who is ill, to one passing through his initiation rites, to people in a community passing through a typhoon period, to the condition of persons after consuming certain foods, to individuals who have lost a relative, or to those who have just joined a dance. These conditions have one thing in common, namely, a change in interpersonal interaction rates which results in emotional disturbance.¹² In such states many primitives believe that evil magic may befall one.¹³ How *rites of intensification* and other religious activities function may be indicated by the following citation from MacIver: "The core of this religious principle (i.e., yearning for security) is expressed in the famous words of St. Augustine: 'Our heart is restless till it finds rest in Thee.' It is the esoteric way of escape from those fears and negations and frustrations which surmount ordinary human contrivance."¹⁴

The function of rituals at mealtime is obviously that of establishing an equilibrium of interaction rates in the family. The role of the guest who enjoys the position of leadership by originating action in saying grace in the intensification rites is obvious. Also the role of the minister in leading responsive reading, singing, or prayer, or the preacher who is able to "move" his congregation, may be mentioned in relation

¹¹ A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islanders*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922, pp. 266 and 307.

¹² Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 475-476.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 500.

¹⁴ R. M. MacIver, *Society, A Textbook of Sociology*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1937, p. 321.

to religious activities and *rites of intensification*.

Anyone who has played college football knows that the coaches do not rely solely upon reasoning to prepare the team before the game or during the half-time intermission. If winning in interscholastic sports involved the basic values of a society and if losing meant that these values would be abrogated, more teams would begin their games with prayer led by religious leaders. The general staff of the army, particularly in time of war, recognizes the necessity for having chaplains representing the major faiths available to the troops in order to maintain morale. Most primitive peoples have various types of *rites of intensification* which function to adjust reaction rates suitable to war.

The Jibaro Indians of eastern Ecuador, for example, have an elaborate ritual involving ordered conversation between warriors seated in rows. This conversation consists of the exact order of action which is expected on the war expedition. In cases in which the group must defend itself against sudden attack, the ritual is telescoped into utterances resembling those of tobacco auctioneers. The ritual accomplishes the objectives of providing security and of establishing among the warriors the interaction rate which is required to facilitate cooperation in defending themselves.¹⁵ Not only in the case of a surprise attack by the enemy may interaction rates be changed, but, as indicated by Figure 127, any catastrophe, whether due to cultural or geographic factors, may require rites of intensification.

Among agricultural societies, the change in the seasons may be accompanied by elaborate ceremonies. Some have viewed these ceremonies as functionally related to the re-establishing of a different tempo and equilibrium of interaction among members of the constituent groups and communities. Thus Christmas, for example, is an important event in northern European and American countries. Variations are due, of course, to both cultural and geographical factors. Among rural peoples, it marks a change in the activity of cooperative systems, which become more centered around the family and the home in the winter than during the summer. In southern European countries, where the change from winter to spring is abrupt, the carnival is an important ceremony. In the sense in which it is used here, the carnival is a *rite of intensification*. The church may participate very little in this event. Previous institutionalized norms are often disregarded, and interaction is established which permits

¹⁵ Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, p. 513. See also this example as cited by Rafael Karsten, *Headhunters of the Western Amazonas*, Part IV, Helsingfors, 1935.

strangers to talk, dance, and to make love to one another in anonymity. In northern countries, St. Valentine's Day marks the change from winter to summer. All these ceremonies and many others, some of which have lost all or part of their original functions, are of rural origin.

ANOMIE, SOCIAL DISEQUILIBRIUM OR DISORGANIZATION

When the customary patterns of interaction among members of a society deteriorate and the social systems fail to offer the individual sufficient motivation to make activity seem worth his effort, when the interaction patterns fail to provide him with a significant role within which he can attain a satisfying status, or when the value orientation frustrates the individual by presenting him with conflicting norms, *anomie*¹⁶ and social disequilibrium result. Such a state, from the point of view of the individual, may be comparable to "ot-kimil," a term used among the Andaman Islanders. When people are suffering from *anomie*, the resulting frustration may lead to various types of extremist and emotional movements. It is no mere coincidence that various types of emotional religious sects are now among the most rapidly expanding religious groups. At least two investigations have demonstrated that the greatest expansion of these groups has taken place among people who have been uprooted through social mobility or who have been disturbed by economic forces. Such sects are particularly strong among people subjected to economic shock in our marginal farming areas. Frequently, persons in such areas are accustomed to a fundamentalist religion in which ministers originate to the congregations at high rates.¹⁷

Similar groups may form in cities, especially in those that have attracted persons from poor farming areas and in which the recent migrants have not been effectively placed in the various social systems.¹⁸ Anyone who has attempted to understand the more emotional

¹⁶ Emile Durkheim, *Division of Labor in Society*, translated by George Simpson, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, Book III, Chapter 1; and *Le Suicide*, Paris: F. Alcan, 1897, New Edition, 1930, Book II, Chapter 5, Section I.

¹⁷ John B. Holt, "Holiness Religion: Cultural Shock and Social Reorganization," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. V., No. 5, October 1940, pp. 740-747. See also T. C. McCormick, "Rural Social Organization in South Central Arkansas," Fayetteville: Arkansas AES Bulletin 313, 1934, p. 14. McCormick found that nine out of ten families in his study attended emotional revivals. Many other studies show similar results for low-income areas.

¹⁸ Theodore Sprague, "Some Problems in the Integration of Social Groups, with Special Reference to Jehovah's Witnesses," Harvard Ph.D. Thesis, 1942.

sects cannot fail to appreciate the important role they play in establishing meaningful patterns of interaction for the members. It is significant from the applied anthropological and sociological point of view that these groups form when a considerable number of individuals are torn from their original social systems because of economic depression or mobility. Of further interest to theoreticians is the fact that persons working in factory systems in which the prevalent value orientation is that of the contractual *Gesellschaft* form sect groups in which the general value orientation is that of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*.

The regional distribution of the seven strongest holiness groups¹⁹ is shown in Figure 128. Although the Religious Census data are

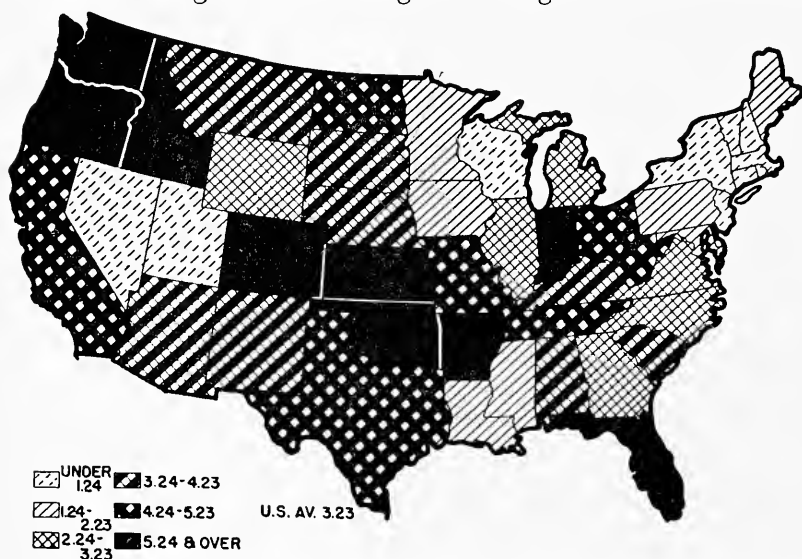


FIG. 128. Number of persons per thousand belonging to major holiness sects in the United States, by state, 1936. (Data compiled from the *Census of Religious Bodies*, 1936.)

notoriously incomplete, Figure 128 is nevertheless revealing. The figure indicates that nine states contain very large numbers of holiness groups per 1,000 population. These states, with those having the largest membership rates listed first, are: Oklahoma, Arkansas, Indiana, Idaho, Colorado, Washington, Oregon, Florida, and Kansas.

¹⁹ The strongest holiness groups, according to Holt, are the following: the Assemblies of God, the Church of the Nazarene, the Church of God (with headquarters at Cleveland, Tennessee), the Church of God (with headquarters at Anderson, Indiana), the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, the Pentecostal Holiness Church, and the Pilgrim Holiness Church. See Holt, *op. cit.*

At the other extreme are the Northeastern States, Wisconsin, Utah, and Nevada.

Membership rates in the religious sects were also computed for the rural population. The regional pattern is very similar to that of the total population. More rural residents per 1,000 in Oklahoma and Arkansas belonged to the holiness groups than did rural residents of any other states. High rural rates were also to be found in the southern Appalachian area, the Plain States, and the Northwest.

The geographic distribution of these sects suggests that population instability is related to the prevalence of holiness groups. The proportion in 1930 of the states' population which was born elsewhere was correlated with the membership rate in sect groups for the 48 states and the District of Columbia. The resulting correlation coefficient was $+.38$. This would seem to suggest that there is a moderately close association between the proportion of migrants in the various states and the prevalence of the seven main holiness groups.

Since Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Kansas in Figure 128 contain large proportions of the sect groups and also send many migrants to other states, the relationship seemed worthy of investigation. Consequently, the percentage of persons born in each state but living elsewhere in the United States in 1930 was correlated with the proportion of the population belonging to the major sect groups. The resulting correlation was $+.21$. Although the two variables move together, the association is not close.

An additional correlation is suggestive. When the percentage increase in the states' urban populations between 1920 and 1940 is correlated with the sect membership rates, a correlation coefficient of $+.26$ expresses the relationship. Since the rural population is largely responsible for the urban growth, the significance to rural sociologists becomes evident.

Several studies have shown how these sects, often organized among groups of lower-class or lower-middle-class persons suffering from the *anomie* associated with frontier life, the Civil War, immigration, and racial isolation, very frequently develop into an uncompromising sect group that maintains its own security pattern by shutting out the "unholy" world through taboos and other means.²⁰ These

²⁰ J. Milton Yinger, *Religion in the Struggle for Power*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1946, p. 31, as quoted from H. R. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929. See also E. K. Nottingham, *Methodism and the Frontier, Indiana Proving Ground*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1941; and A. B. Hollingshead, "The Life Cycle of Nebraska Rural Churches," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 2, June 1937, pp. 180-191.

groups may develop a powerful *esprit de corps*. In order that members or their children may attain economic security, the sect often becomes less uncompromising with the value orientations of other social systems in society, and may finally assume the aspects of the typical church organization.²¹ This process, as described by Niebuhr and cited by Yinger is as follows: “. . . One phase of the history of denominationalism reveals itself as the story of the religiously neglected poor, who fashion a new type of Christianity which corresponds to their distinctive needs, who rise in the economic scale under the influence of religious discipline, and who, in the midst of a freshly acquired cultural respectability, neglect the new poor succeeding them on the lower plane. This pattern recurs with remarkable regularity in the history of Christianity. Anabaptists, Quakers, Methodists, Salvation Army, and more recent sects of like type illustrate this rise and progress of the churches of the disinherited.”²²

Figure 129 indicates Yinger's attempt to express in “ethical dimensions” the relationship between what he calls the “sect” and “church” groups. The significance of this chart in the context of this chapter would be more explicit if less emphasis were placed on value orientation and more on the actual interaction and social structure. Members of sects, as here considered, confine more of their total interaction with other persons to the interaction pattern of the particular religious group than do members of the denominational group. The sect may arise in marginal situations in order to serve people who are losing their older cultural moorings and who are in the process of adopting new ways. Examples are to be found in the case of fringe residents in the large cities, Spanish-Americans in the Southwest who are climbing the social scale and dropping the Catholic religion as well as their lower-class status, and the lower-class rural groups from all parts of the world who, after moving to the city, fail to establish their old cultural patterns. Many other groups which suffer from *anomie* could be added to the list. In any case, the sect group furnishes the *rites of intensification* and comradeship of the familiar familistic *Gemeinschaft* which establishes a social system with meaningful interaction.²³

²¹ Leopold von Wiese, *Systematic Sociology*, adapted and amplified by Howard Becker, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1932. See pp. 624–642 especially for a more specifically defined typology including the concepts “ecclesia,” “sect,” “denomination,” and “cult.”

²² Yinger, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

²³ J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Third Edition, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946, p. 523. These writers feel that “the

The variations in the rates of suicide among the different religious groups and the relation of these rates to the condition of *anomie* suggest certain functions of religion.²⁴ Universally, the suicide rate for

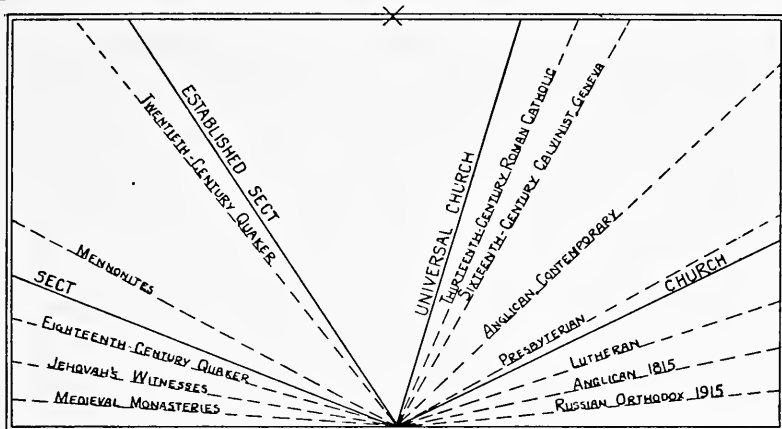


FIG. 129. A classification of religious groups. Note that this chart concerns religion only in its ethical dimension—that is, its effect on the relations of man to man. For other religious factors, this typology may be quite inadequate. Point X, at which church and sect tendencies are in balance, is the point where the ability of religion to control the behavior of individuals, according to its established norms, is at a maximum. Even this maximum, however, when compared with other powers, may not be great. The location of the various religious groups on this chart is only a rough estimate, for purposes of illustration, and should not be taken as objectively established measurements, which are not possible at this stage of the study. (Adapted from Yinger, *Religion in the Struggle for Power*, p. 23.)

emotionally centered church tends to serve the poorer people 'on the other side of the track.'” See also P. H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948. Landis believes that the migratory workers on the Pacific Coast favor the “Pentecostal Church and other revivalistic branches of the Protestant faith” because of a “sordid life.” He observes that the more culturally dispossessed the group, the greater the attraction of emotional religion (p. 349). The writers of this book consider “emotional religion” to be functionally related to *rites of intensification* or as a counter agent for *anomie*. Many investigators have failed to view these phenomena functionally and have permitted their reactions in terms of class preferences to influence them. Thus, in treating the tendency of rural people of the Ozarks to withdraw from the church as soon as emotionalism is abandoned, Cralle describes life there as characterized by “emotional debauchery” and relates it to an “undernourished emotional life.” See W. O. Cralle, “Social Change and Isolation in the Ozark Mountain Region of Missouri,” *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LI, No. 4, January 1936, pp. 435–446.

²⁴ The best short discussion of the sociological knowledge concerning suicide with which the writers are acquainted may be found in P. A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, pp. 8–13.

rural people is lower than for urban people.²⁵ Variations in the suicide rate, of course, can only partially be explained in terms of religious variations. However, any religious system that does not furnish the necessary *rites of passage* and *intensification*, as well as equilibria of roles, norms, and the organizational structure necessary for satisfying group and individual life, may expect to have high rates of suicide among its members. It is the hypothesis of the authors that insofar as the sects are effective in destroying *anomie*, they function to decrease the suicide rate. In general, the Catholics, the Eastern Orthodox Christians, and the Orthodox Jews are characterized by lower suicide rates than the more free-thinking and less dogmatic Protestants.²⁶ The latter seem less successful in developing either the type of interaction pattern or meaningful value orientation which prevents individuals from taking their lives.

In an analysis of the factors influencing suicide rates in 92 cities of 100,000 or more population in the United States, the authors found evidence suggesting that rapid population growth is related to high rates of suicide. The correlation coefficient expressing the relationship between average suicide rates for the 92 cities and the estimated population gain, 1940-1943, in the metropolitan counties in which these cities are located is $+ .57$. A correlation of this magnitude should be of great interest to rural sociologists, since the bulk of the change in this particular period may be attributed to the influx of rural persons.

There is no significant relationship between population loss and the rate of suicide in these metropolitan counties. Additional search for factors²⁷ related to suicide yielded none as closely related as that of the magnitude of population gain.

In an analysis of the effect of varying types of bombing experience upon the suicide rate in German cities, Loomis found that the fluctuations in suicide rates for Catholic cities were less pronounced than

²⁵ P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929, Chapter VII. See also Landis, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-114.

²⁶ Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

²⁷ Other correlation coefficients obtained between the average suicide rate, 1940-1943, in the 92 cities and the following factors are: percentage of male professional workers 14 years old and over, 1940, $+ .20$; median school years completed by persons 25 years old and over, 1940, $+ .35$; size of city, 1940, $+ .10$; estimated loss, 1940-1943, in metropolitan counties in which city is located, $+ .03$; percentage of foreign-born whites, 1940, $+ .07$; percentage of foreign-born Poles, 1940, $- .15$; and percentage of foreign-born Germans, 1940, $+ .30$.

for Protestant cities with the same bombing experience and size.²⁸ All available information indicated that the native rural populations maintained much lower suicide rates during the war than did urban populations. In the report of the bombing survey, the differences between Protestant and Catholic rates are explained as follows:²⁹ "Protestants commit suicide more frequently than Catholics in all countries because, on the positive side, Catholicism relieves the individual from certain strains by offering him means of appeal to authority and of resignation to his lot and, on the negative side, by not 'forcing him to be free'³⁰ and brave in the face of adversity as does the Protestant faith."

The authors found that conditions in the United States that were favorable to the spread of various types of emotional sects and religious groups were present in the areas in which German nazism spread most rapidly and had developed its strongest hold. They concluded that whereas a political organization furnished the *rites of intensification* desired for security in areas characterized by *anomie* and social disorganization in Germany, in the United States various sectarian groups attempt to satisfy the people's desire for meaningful interaction and perhaps the elements of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*.³¹ In modern society, the development of the contractual *Gesellschaft*, in the form of efficient bureaucratic structures that impose specific responsibilities and evaluate individual performance in terms of impersonal criteria, leads to *anomie* in both rural and urban areas. In combination with this, the rational and secular climate of modern social organization, coupled with rapid change that breeds insecurity, further contributes to the rise of *anomie*. This general process of rationalization and secularization was important in the development of nazism in Germany and it is certainly related to the growth of sects in the United States.³²

²⁸ The United States Strategic Bombing Survey, "The Effects of Strategic Bombing on German Morale," Morale Division, Vol. II, December 1946, Chapter IV.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

³⁰ This is an expression used by Rousseau and selected by Parsons to explain Durkheim's types of suicide. Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937, p. 332.

³¹ Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, "The Spread of German Nazism in Rural Areas," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 6, December 1946, pp. 724-734.

³² Talcott Parsons, "Democracy and Social Structure in Pre-Nazi Germany," *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology*, Vol. I, Nos. 1-2, October 1942, pp. 96-114; and Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, p. 727.

RITUAL TECHNIQUES

The religious ceremonies, whether they are of the nature of *rites of passage* or *rites of intensification*, may be analyzed into component ritualistic elements that may be called religious techniques.³³ Although ritual techniques have been defined in various ways, as used here they include the means whereby groups increase their integration in certain situations either at regular intervals or in times of crisis.

Symbols. Most ritual techniques symbolize habitual technological practices, to which sacredness is imputed by the group that uses them. Thus, originally, to bless meant to scatter blood, a practice which may have had much the same function as that of eating food made sacred by some ritualistic ceremony. Few authorities on religion go as far as Durkheim in maintaining that the various religious beings and symbols, ranging from hierarchies of divinities to objects whose intrinsic qualities are commonplace, have in and of themselves no important properties and are, through the sentiments, really symbols and rituals of religion which are given their sacred nature by the group using them. Thus, the sun and the symbols representing it are sacred in one society; in another they are profane. In one society, a plow or its representations may be sacred; in another it may be profane. In one society, the state of pregnancy and symbols representing it may be sacred; in another it may not be sacred.

Redfield has shown how the corn is sacred in a rural village of Yucatan. So long as it is kept in the village where it is regarded as sacred, there is no need to guard it, but when the corn is moved into the city as a product for sale it loses its sacred properties.³⁴ Very often, but not always, objects and symbols become profane when they become alienable. Under American control, for example, the Japanese emperor lost his sacred nature. These examples are given to indicate that insofar as events, objects, or persons are sacred, this quality is one imputed by society.

In order to understand the nature and functioning of religion in a given society, it is imperative to perceive the relationship between the religious techniques, symbols, and sentiments associated with the integration and solidarity of the group, as well as to take into consideration the equilibrium of interaction among the individuals. Thus, the Sepoy mutiny in India is said to have been precipitated at least in part by the fact that Indian soldiers had to put cartridges

³³ Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, Chapter 22.

³⁴ Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 162-164.

which contained a tabooed food substance into their mouths in the process of loading their imported muzzle-loading rifles. In the United States, a soil conservationist delayed the program in an Amish community by unwittingly violating an Amish taboo, that of taking pictures.

Sacred rites and symbols differ from other symbols and patterns of action in that, when rationalized by the canons of science, no universally demonstrable principles concerning effective results are attained aside from the resulting social integration. As previously stated, they are particularly prevalent where rational, utilitarian techniques are ineffective or where social equilibria are changed by crises. Thus in societies in which the various interpersonal and institutional arrangements are such that marriage changes the equilibrium very little, the rite of marriage will be of relatively slight significance. Prayers for rain, for example, will be much less frequent if the control of rain is attained by man. This, however, is not the same as saying that rituals designed to produce rain do not have an important function.

Rural life has been emphasized many times as a source of religious symbols. The Twenty-third Psalm, with its pastoral symbolism and the bishop's staff in the form of a shepherd's staff, is a familiar illustration. Such symbols and rites convey a symbolized security which is difficult to derive from urban society.

From the point of view of applied anthropology and sociology, symbols and various types of ritual have great importance. The following account from a study of a medical cooperative may illustrate how symbols, which have as their referents an ideal situation in which the individual is secure and in which those about him are solicitous of his welfare, may be used to overcome fear:

Mrs. V. during her tenth pregnancy developed a streptococcus infection of the bladder. Her family was a member of the Taos County Cooperative Health Association and her doctor recommended hospitalization. Mrs. V. had not been out of her village for three years. At the time of her sickness all of her nearest relatives were with her and told the doctor she would not go. "If it is God's will that she die, she will die at home." The professional doctor in cases such as this is prone to take the stand that with the recommendation of hospitalization he has performed his duty and that he is not bound to have any part in the probable consequences for the patient of not following his recommendation.

In this case the Association's supervisory nurse, who fortunately had training in social psychology, sociology and psychiatry, visited Mrs. V.'s

home after the doctor had left. All of the relatives of Mrs. V. kept emphatically reiterating their belief that "every one who goes to the hospital dies." The nurse explained that this belief was due to the fact that people in Taos county had waited until too late to hospitalize their sick, but this did not seem to change their attitude toward hospitals. At first Mrs. V. refused to let the nurse hospitalize her. She rationalized saying, "the children couldn't get along without me here." The nurse arranged to have some one take care of the home and children and met various other rationalizations similarly. After much reasoning the mother was persuaded that she should go, but, even though her mother was asked to accompany her, she was obviously very much frightened. Once this decision was made, all members of the family knelt reverently before the little family chapel. The nurse observed that the dwelling contained many religious pictures and Catholic crucifixes.

The patient was taken to the Holy Cross Hospital, the one of the three hospitals of the Association which is Catholic. Before taking her to her room the nurse let her sit in the hospital's chapel. Later arrangements were made for an ambulatory patient from her own village to visit her. She also arranged to have the same nurses and doctors whom she met in the village attend her. Mrs. V. recovered from her infection in time to return home before the child was born. On her own initiative she returned to the hospital for delivery and now she is one of the best workers in the "well baby and prenatal clinic" held one day each week. She says she will never have another child delivered outside a hospital.

In addition to emphasizing certain cultural features which must be considered before introducing an organization which carries professional services to rural people of Spanish-American extraction, the above case should indicate the further necessity of providing a means through which the villagers, who feel insecure outside of their small circle of relatives and intimate friends, familiar diets, surroundings and symbols, may come to trust those who serve them professionally and feel secure in the atmosphere of impersonality and rationality which tends to characterize many organizations of competent professional men. This does not mean that competence should be sacrificed in favor of the "bedside manner" but it does mean that clinics and hospitals, in order to best serve the Spanish-speaking people of the southwest, must have staffs which understand and sympathize with the people.³⁵

This quotation illustrates the importance of using symbols and interpersonal relationships characteristic of the familistic Gemeinschaft to relieve emotional tension and to establish security when people from familistic Gemeinschaft-like settings are introduced to

³⁵ Charles P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 352-353.

the more impersonal and rationalistic situations characteristic of the contractual Gesellschaft. Much more attention might well be given to rituals and symbols that would assist in this type of crisis. However, as the rural people take on the thought and action patterns of the contractual Gesellschaft, the specific role of the church and religion, outside the *rites of passage* in non-family and religious social systems, becomes more restricted. This development has been aptly put by MacIver: "With the decline in the hold of dogmatic religion, especially in the large cities, this problem has created for the church a peculiar dilemma. Its traditional basis becomes uncongenial to a social life which has in other respects abandoned old traditions, and yet it is exceedingly hard for the church to reformulate its basis without losing its distinctive character or with any assurance of thereby fulfilling some functions which are not more definitely fulfilled by other organizations."³⁶ Part of this difficulty lies in the fact that the church as a social system, as MacIver reminds us, has a very different value orientation from such systems as the state or business corporations. For the church, the members claim, is an end in and of itself, since it provides fellowship and cultural values as contrasted with the utilitarian values of many other systems in which the agency or interaction itself is not the end or goal.³⁷ When the church loses its familistic Gemeinschaft characteristics the social system ceases to be a religious social system.

Taboos. In Chapter 2 the significance of the incest taboo in maintaining the equilibrium of the kinship system was discussed. There the thesis was presented that the incest taboo functions to prevent the intermarriage of persons representing status roles in two social systems which, if combined through marriage, would make for difficulty in attaining integration and solidarity. Since the attitude of sacredness has its basis in the special attitudes that are accorded the persons, objects, and actions which possess this quality, prohibitions concerning them must be enforced. Taboos assist in this enforcement.

In an attempt to better understand the culture of the Amish, Loomis lived and worked among them. It was previously stated that the Amish make their group solidarity and separateness from other social systems an end in itself. As with other sects, the "outside" or the

³⁶ R. M. MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 322. See also the case studies of adaptation in H. Paul Douglass, *The Church in the Changing City*, New York: George H. Doran Co., 1927.

³⁷ MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

"profane world" must be avoided;³⁸ at most, it may be entered only in certain prescribed ways. The various taboos, such as the use of tractors, automobiles, electric lights, modern dress, house decorations, and many other things that symbolize the profanity of the outside world, function to support group solidarity. This solidarity is further bolstered by constant symbolic and ritualistic reminders of an earlier period of persecution. Dress and grooming sets the plain people apart from those who are "gay." Perhaps more important are the taboos which prevent Amishmen from belonging to social systems that contain non-Amish, "gay" people.

Among primitive tribes there are many taboos, the function of which cannot be understood without an awareness of the value system and social structure. One of the most dramatic descriptions is that of the Poro Bush society. Here the youth are segregated with elaborate and spectacular ceremonies in a "school" for training in future occupations. At the beginning of "school," the Poro members snatch and kill one of the boys, who is accused of having scoffed at the Poro ceremonies.³⁹ This example, admittedly extreme, can be cited to illustrate how techniques of prohibition through taboo serve to assist in distinguishing the sacred from the profane. Rites that require human sacrifice can be interpreted only as related to the value orientation of that which is sacred.

As Sorokin and Zimmerman have shown in their comparisons of rural and urban religion, the symbols and characteristics of rural religion are universally of rural and particularly of agricultural nature.⁴⁰ It is obvious that the greater the segment of life subject to the prediction and control of rationalized techniques or science, the less is

³⁸ Refer to Chapter 1 and Appendix A.

³⁹ Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, p. 502; and G. W. Harley, "Notes on the Poro in Liberia," *Peabody Museum Papers*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1941, and *Native African Medicine*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941, Chapter 10.

⁴⁰ Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, Chapter XVIII. One of the propositions maintains that agricultural or peasant life "colors" and influences religious life in one way, urban life in another. Thus, in Russia, St. George is only a Christian martyr for urban populations but for the peasants he is "a protector of the horses and cattle." Among peasants, St. Nicholas is "peasantized" by the rural people. "A similar 'coloration' is given to the peasants' representation of 'God,' 'St. Mary,' 'Paradise,' 'Hell,' and so on." Another proposition maintains that rural religion and thought are more indeterministic and vitalistic; urban more deterministic and materialistic. The other propositions maintain that rural religion has greater rigidity and is more firmly rooted than urban. Thus, the open-country areas of the world have more adherents of the national faiths than the urban, and changes in national faiths originate in the cities and spread to the country.

the importance of the various non-utilitarian techniques designated as sacred which are not rationally efficient.

A study in the early '30's indicates the familistic nature of rural religion. Eighty-five percent of the rural white children attended church with their families as compared with 40 percent of city children. Reading of the family Bible was reported by 22 percent of the rural children, but by only 10 percent of the city children. Grace was customarily said at meals in 30 percent of the city homes as compared with 38 percent of the rural homes.⁴¹ It is the thesis of this chapter, therefore, that since sacred symbols and rituals are related to group solidarity, as long as there are crises related to the life cycle of the individual or to the adjustment of interpersonal relations in the group, there will be a place for the religious techniques.

By these standards, there seems to be greater need than ever for religion today. Since the processes of plant and animal growth, the dependence upon seasons and other uncontrollable elements play such a major role among agricultural people, the dependence upon tradition reinforced by rituals and symbols makes rural people relatively dependent upon religion. On the other hand, the disorganizing effect of the high mobility and impersonality of urban life makes the urban classes particularly subject to various types of political or sectarian organization. Several investigators have reported that labor unions may be replacing the church as instruments for the elimination of *anomie* among both the lower urban and rural classes.⁴²

If the various denominations were alert to the needs of millions of rural people migrating into urban or rural-urban fringe areas, religious groups could meet a great need by fitting their activities and organizations to the needs of the people. As Landis has indicated, "The impersonality of the city, the lack of intimate contacts, the sense of strangeness, and the loneliness of farm youth in the city create within him a need for contacts with those who would take an unselfish interest in him."⁴³ As will be indicated in the discussion of the church

⁴¹ See W. F. Ogburn, writing on "The Family and its Functions," in *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933, p. 674.

⁴² For an early discussion of this development, see F. Toennies, *Fortschritt und Soziale Entwicklung*, Geschichtsphilosophische Ansichten, Karlsruhe, 1926. Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 350, observes that Union officials on the West Coast who work with migratory farm labor consider that emotional religion interferes with union activities—"people who have found an outlet through religion not being likely to devote themselves to the Union."

⁴³ Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

and social status, a church program directed toward the needs of the people rather than toward the required "life style" of the class to which the denomination is catering seems to be indicated, if the agencies of religion are to function effectively.

SUMMARY

There is evidence that group solidarity is associated with the differentiation of the sacred and the profane in the minds of members. No group is without religion. It functions to augment group solidarity by reinforcing group values and symbols, by performing rituals to reinforce cooperation when risk or the state of knowledge prevents rational action from achieving predictable results, and by re-establishing cooperative patterns following crises in the life of the individual or group. Among the most important activities of religion are the *rites of passage*, which make it possible for groups to retain integration and for individuals to withstand suffering which results from crises such as death.

The high mobility of modern times tears individuals from their familistic Gemeinschaft-like moorings; coupled with a general secularization of life, this mobility creates a state of *anomie* or disorganization. Where the form of integration rests upon a contractual Gesellschaft-like orientation and where *anomie* prevails, as in rapidly growing cities, suicide rates are high. Emotional religion and certain types of labor unionism come to the aid of individuals who have been dissociated from meaningful groupings. In some respects, these groups bring the same type of confidence as do the *rites of intensification* performed by the religious leader who unites his followers in prayer or other religious activity.

The sects that have furnished solidarity to the poorer classes in America tend to climb the socio-economic scale so that an organization which in one generation may be considered as emotional and lower class may later be the organization of the "respected" middle class. Fanatic political forms such as nazism thrived on the *anomie* of the middle and upper-lower classes, and, after communism was liquidated, served the lower classes. If economic or political systems are to furnish the *rites of intensification* and other bases of solidarity which the church groups have furnished in the past, a different order will develop which may in certain respects be a recombination of church and state. Statism will be dominant, however, and religion will furnish the sanctions for state action.

THE CHARACTER OF RURAL RELIGION

THE CHURCH is the social system that carries on ritual and other similar activities performed when circumstances make rational action inadequate to individual and group stability. It also develops and sustains equilibrium, and contributes to the solidarity of the group by fastening the proper attitudes toward what is considered sacred in society. Its relation to various kinds of crises has been discussed. Other social systems, such as the state, may be involved in carrying out certain of these functions. Thus, people may be required to respect the flag and other symbols of the state. However, only the church gives its major attention to that phase of human life in which the profane is kept in its place, sacredness is nurtured, individuals and groups are assisted through crises, and group solidarity is thereby maintained and strengthened. In modern society, the church may take over other functions such as that of education, but by so doing, it is taking over the activities for which other social systems are established. It is recognized, of course, that human life is a whole which cannot be completely segmented, and that the various needs of man tend to be met by social systems which may have overlapping functions.

The Church As a Social System and Its Age and Sex Composition. The church is one of the few social systems that serve and count as participants all ages and sexes. Alert church leadership will be continually on the watch to see that these groups are equally and fully represented in the church organization. R. C. Smith¹ has demon-

¹ Rockwell C. Smith, *The Church in Our Town*, New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1945, pp. 42 ff. The unit for charting the percentages in Table 23 is not simply linear but is the square equal to 1 percent. Thus, there are 100 such squares within the line which bounds the entire pyramid and not 100 squares for males and 100 for females. Thus, a disproportion of males and females in a given population is revealed by an unbalanced pyramid. Above the age 45 the intervals are for ten years instead of five, and therefore the vertical dimension is doubled and the horizontal dimension is accordingly cut in half. Township data relating to age composition may be found in Table 28 of the *Second Series: Characteristics of the Population*, 16th Census of the United States, 1940.

strated how this may be done for an administrative district of a church organization. The same principles may be applied to the local church organization. Its age and sex pyramid may be compared with the pyramid based upon data from the federal census for the minor civil division in which the church is located. (See Figure 130 and Table 23.)

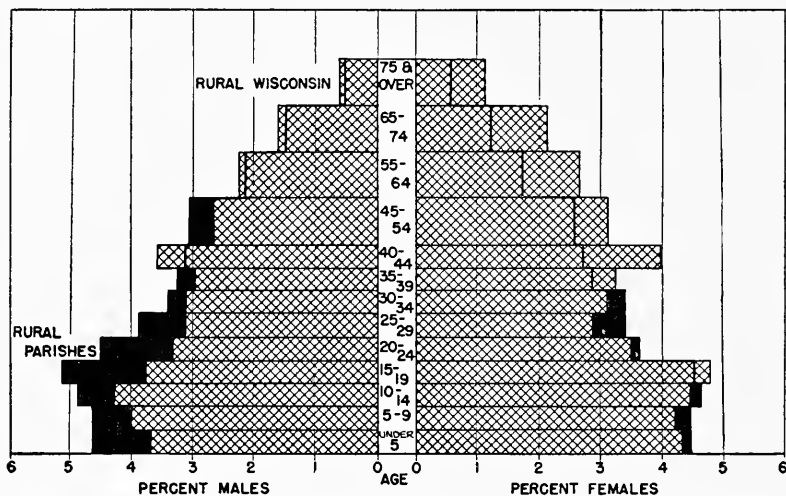


FIG. 130. A comparison of the age-sex distribution of the population of rural Wisconsin, 1940, and that of the rural Methodist parishes of the Madison-Platteville district, Wisconsin, 1939. (Adapted from R. C. Smith, *The Church in Our Town*, pp. 42-43.)

Since the two youngest age bars shown in Figure 130 are shorter than the next two bars, we may infer that the birth rate of the people represented in both pyramids has decreased during the past ten years. While 53.3 percent of the rural population of Wisconsin are male, only 46.9 percent of the rural Methodists represented in Figure 130 are male. Furthermore, in each age group below 40, the state population has a larger percentage than the church population. In this case, the church seems to be failing to serve the males and the younger age groups. In discussing this illustration, Smith asks the following question: ". . . What is the fate of a denomination which identifies itself with age as over against youth?"² He recommends that each pastor compare the age and sex pyramid of the constituency, participation, and persons receiving pastoral assistance with the age and sex

² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

pyramid of the local population. He also recommends carrying the analysis further through the local banker, who would be requested to indicate the number of families in each income group in the com-

TABLE 23

*Percentage Age and Sex Distribution of the Rural Wisconsin Population, 1940 and of the Methodist Rural Parishes of Madison—
Platteville District, 1939*

Age	Percent Distribution Rural Wisconsin			Percent Distribution Rural Parishes of Madison — Platteville District		
	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female
Total	100.0	53.3	46.7	100.0	46.9	53.1
Under 5	9.0	4.6	4.4	8.0	3.7	4.3
5- 9	9.0	4.6	4.4	8.2	4.0	4.2
10-14	9.5	4.9	4.6	8.7	4.3	4.4
15-19	9.6	5.1	4.5	8.6	3.8	4.8
20-24	8.0	4.4	3.6	6.8	3.3	3.5
25-29	7.3	3.9	3.4	5.9	3.0	2.9
30-34	6.7	3.6	3.1	6.1	3.0	3.1
35-39	6.2	3.3	2.9	6.1	2.9	3.2
40-44	6.0	3.2	2.8	7.6	3.6	4.0
45-54	11.8	6.3	5.5	12.4	5.7	6.7
55-64	8.7	4.8	3.9	9.8	4.4	5.4
65-74	5.5	3.1	2.4	7.7	3.4	4.3
75 and up	2.7	1.5	1.2	4.1	1.8	2.3

SOURCE: Adapted from Rockwell C. Smith, *The Church in Our Town*, pp. 42-43.

munity and in the church. Of course, formal church participation is positively correlated with income. This is shown in the data collected by Sewell³ from 800 Oklahoma families. Table 24 summarizes his major findings.

Church Leadership. Kolb and Brunner,⁴ rural sociologists, and

³ *Ibid.*, p. 46. See also William H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, Stillwater: Oklahoma AES Technical Bulletin No. 9, April 1940.

⁴ J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Third Edition, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946, p. 523.

Chapple and Coon,⁵ cultural anthropologists, agree that the religious leader is a focal center of great importance to religion. The cultural anthropologists have described how the gradual development of

TABLE 24
Church Membership and Attendance of Eight Hundred Oklahoma Farm Families by Standard of Living Quartiles

Item	Percentage			
	Richest Families	Upper Intermediate	Lower Intermediate	Poorest Families
Husband Church Member	74.0	53.0	41.0	23.5
Husband Attends Church	77.9	65.3	54.5	40.5
Wife Church Member	88.0	72.4	57.5	33.0
Wife Attends Church	85.9	74.5	58.5	43.0

SOURCE: Adapted from Rockwell C. Smith, *The Church in Our Town*, p. 46.

more and more complex social units has led to specialized activities of the priest or shaman. These specialists frequently undergo very elaborate training and are required to have special attributes. On the less specialized level, they may engage in the techniques of physicians, astronomers, detectives, and so forth. Pharmacology, surgery, general medicine, astronomy, the origin of the calendar systems, and much of mathematics come from their unspecialized activities. Chapple and Coon narrow down the functions of churches when they say that they “. . . arise from the establishment of sets in which one individual originates to others in times of crisis to restore equilibrium.”⁶ Few ministers will accept this narrow definition of their own and their church's function, but all would agree that it is among the church's most important functions in society.

Rural Ministers. If modern Western civilization is compared with civilizations of other epochs, few characteristics distinguish it more clearly than the development of the professions.⁷ If we accept the

⁵ Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942, pp. 404-405.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

⁷ Talcott Parsons, “The Professions and Social Structure,” *Social Forces*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, May 1939, pp. 457-467.

narrow definition of religious agencies as being sets or groups made up of religious leaders and their followers,⁸ the importance of the minister becomes obvious. Whether or not we accept this definition, we must agree that the complexity of a given culture is usually related to the extent of division of labor and the specialization of the artisans and professionals.

Are rural leaders different from others? Do they have a different value orientation? We do not have scientific data to answer this question conclusively. However, one study of rural ministers indicates that they are quite different from students of other professions, insofar as their verbal reactions are concerned.⁹

The instrument used to ascertain ministers' verbalized value orientation was the *Goals of Life Inventory*.¹⁰ The inventory consists of 20 goals, each of which is paired with the other 19 goals. This technique of "paired comparisons" forces the informant to appraise each of the goals against all the others and to express his preference each

⁸ Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, p. 400. "The characteristic of a religious institution is, therefore, the appearance of an independent set made up of the priest and his followers, and we shall call this the *Religious set*."

⁹ These data were analyzed by John B. Holland. See John B. Holland and Charles P. Loomis, "Goals of Life of Rural Ministers," *Sociometry*, Vol. XI, No. 3, August 1948, pp. 317 ff.; and John B. Holland, "The Relationship Between Students' Verbalized Goals of Life and Certain Selected Background and Experimental Factors," unpublished Master's Thesis, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, M.S.C., 1947. The group studied is a group of rural ministers who attended the Garrett Biblical Institute during the summer of 1946. This school was financed by the Farm Foundation, and the data were collected by C. P. Loomis, who taught this group of ministers. The ministers, part of whom came on Farm Foundation fellowships, represented Methodist, Missionary Baptist, Lutheran, Episcopalian, and other denominations. Nearly all parts of the United States were represented. These ministers, however, cannot be taken as typical rural ministers, since they were outstanding enough to be granted fellowships or to do advanced work on their own.

¹⁰ Ralph W. Ogan, in "The Cooperative Study in General Education," *The Educational Record*, Vol. XXIII, 1942, pp. 692-703, outlines some of the work done by this group. A more complete report of this particular project is contained in the *Staff News Letter* (The Cooperative Study in General Education, 5835 Kimbark Ave., Chicago, Illinois), Vol. II, No. 6, April 1941. Further specific information as to the details of test construction and the validity of the instrument are to be found in "An Inventory of Students' General Goals of Life," by Harold E. Dunkel, *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, Vol. IV, 1944, pp. 87-95.

time. Thus, the maximum score for any one goal is 19; the minimum is zero.¹¹

The mean performance of the 29 rural ministers and the cross section of 403 Michigan State College freshmen and sophomores whose mean age was 21, is presented in Table 25. The findings for the more progressive rural ministers and the cross section of college students attending a land grant college, may be summarized as follows:

(1) The pattern of sentiments expressed by the sample of rural ministers would seem to be relatively consistent, clear, and definite, both with respect to sentiments which were accepted and those which were rejected. That is, the most highly chosen and rejected goals present a pattern of sentiments which are consistent with each other. Moreover, the size of the means indicates agreement within the group as a whole.

(2) The most highly held goals would seem to indicate willingness on the part of the sample of rural ministers to express sentiments which reflect a "service to others" motif. That is, their goals appear to be community-centered, at least on the verbal level.

(3) Some confirmation of conclusion (2) is found in the sentiments which were relatively frequently rejected, particularly, "security" and "getting ahead." These goals are incompatible with service goals and are so recognized by these ministers.

(4) The sample of rural ministers differed significantly from the sample of college students. This difference was most pronounced with respect to the goals which were accepted. Caution is necessary, however, in drawing such a tentative conclusion, because the size of the sample of rural ministers makes it possible that the differences might be due to sampling error.¹²

¹¹ If choices were made with perfect consistency, the goals would be ranked from 19 to 0. Low "top" scores and high "bottom" scores indicate that the informant has neither strong preferences nor aversions. Conversely, high "top" scores and "low" bottom scores indicate positive acceptance or rejection of the sentiments selected.

¹² However, as Table 25 demonstrates, on twelve goals the *t*-test indicates that the possibility of difference being due to chance is below the 1 percent level. That is, a *t*-value of 2.6 would indicate that such a difference between groups might occur by chance once in a hundred times. Since the *t*-values for these twelve goals greatly exceeded 2.6, it would seem that such differences were significant. On one other goal the difference found would seem to suggest a tendency toward significance. The value for the goal of "achieving personal immortality" is 2.24. This figure would be significant below the 5 percent level where a *t*-value of 2.0 indicates that such a difference could occur by chance only five times in a hundred.

Performance of Rural Ministers and College Students On Goals of Life Inventory^a

Goal	Rank Order		Mean		S.E.		S.D.		<i>t</i> -values Rural Ministers Compared with College Students
	Min- isters	College Students	Min- isters	College Students	Min- isters	College Students	Min- isters	College Students	
Serving God	1	11	16.59	10.16	.64	.30	3.38	6.11	9.06 ^b
Serving the community	2	12	15.31	9.95	.41	.21	2.21	4.12	11.65 ^b
Promoting pleasure for others	3	5	14.66	11.52	.51	.21	2.68	4.29	5.70 ^b
Self-sacrifice	4	16	13.90	6.92	.57	.22	2.99	4.46	11.44 ^b
Doing my duty	5	14	13.41	9.31	.58	.20	3.09	3.98	6.61 ^b
Self-development	6	1	13.10	14.97	.53	.14	2.86	2.74	— 3.40 ^b
Handling specific problems as they arise									
Fine relations with others	7	2	12.66	12.77	.61	.16	3.21	3.28	— 0.17
Finding place in life	8	3	11.24	12.35	.57	.18	3.04	3.54	— 1.88
Self-discipline	9	15	9.97	8.64	.82	.21	4.35	4.25	1.58
Peace of mind	10	8	9.86	10.91	.57	.18	3.05	3.70	— 1.78
Ability to "take it"	11	4	9.14	11.78	.75	.22	3.95	4.32	— 3.38 ^b
Achieving personal immortality	12	13	9.00	9.54	.63	.20	3.33	4.07	— 0.82
Acceptance of the world as it is	13	17	8.41	6.39	.86	.26	4.57	5.28	2.24 ^c
Getting deep and lasting pleasure	14	10	7.45	10.20	.56	.21	2.97	4.16	— 4.66 ^b
Security	15	6	6.93	11.24	.58	.21	3.10	4.17	— 6.95 ^b
Getting ahead	16	9	6.31	10.65	.57	.21	3.02	4.24	— 7.23 ^b
Survival	17	7	5.14	10.92	.56	.22	2.99	4.48	— 9.63 ^b
Power	18	18	4.00	4.21	.55	.18	2.90	3.59	— 0.37
Living for pleasure of the moment	19	19	3.38	3.51	.33	.19	1.73	3.81	— 0.33
	20	20	0.72	3.28	.17	.17	0.91	3.55	— 10.67 ^b

^a The number of rural ministers in the study is 29; of college students, 403.^b *t*-value is significant at the 1 per cent level, 2.6, indicating probability of significant difference between the groups compared. Minus sign indicates that the second named group has a higher mean.^c *t*-value is significant at the 5 per cent level, 2.0, indicating tendency toward significance between the groups compared. In this instance significance is almost at the 2 per cent level, indicating a strong tendency toward significant difference between the groups compared.

(5) Keeping in mind the possibility of sampling error, we may draw a tentative conclusion that the differences found between the two samples examined were due primarily to the factors of age and occupation. These factors may concomitantly account for some of the differences in size of mean and in standard deviation. The pattern of sentiments for the two groups, however, is significantly different both with respect to size of mean and in terms of rank order. Rank order is particularly important, since the instrument used requires that all goals be compared with each other. Since the sentiments expressed by the sample of rural ministers are consistent with *a priori* expectation, it would seem that such differences in sentiments are affected by the ministerial occupation itself. Since the sample was small and in most respects heterogeneous except for the factor of occupation, the importance of profession, in this situation, would seem to be emphasized.

From these conclusions we may advance the hypothesis that rural ministers as a professional group have a value orientation and a set of professional ethics which distinguish them from many other groups. Of course, more research is needed to determine whether this hypothesis is true.

The Status of the Rural Minister and His Problems. The goals of life inventory on which the rural ministers were compared with college students in Table 25 does not contain certain goals which sociologists might think important. Three goals of distinctly sociological nature, therefore, were added. The goal, "Having high status in my community," was added and then paired with the 20 original items as well as with the two additional new items. The 29 rural ministers ranked this goal 16th, indicating that the majority either were not or would not admit being interested in high status in their communities.¹³ Another goal, "Developing professional competence," ranked tenth¹⁴ in the total group of 23 goals. Interestingly enough, the third goal added, "Having a happy, well-adjusted family," was ranked fourth.¹⁵ Only the goals, "Serving God," "Serving the community," and "promoting pleasure for others" ranked above the goal of "Having a

¹³ The mean score was 8.34 with the standard error of .65 and standard deviation of 3.5.

¹⁴ The mean score was 12.24 with the standard error of .66 and standard deviation of 3.5.

¹⁵ The mean score was 16.07 with the standard error of .69 and standard deviation of 3.7.

happy, well-adjusted family." Since one of the common reasons given by many professional people for desiring to live in the country involves the supposedly superior conditions under which to rear a family, the relatively high rank given this goal seems significant.

Do rural ministers have a higher status in the community than their verbalized desire would indicate? As would be expected, the ministers' social status in a community is determined largely by the social system of which he is a part. It is not to be expected that the minister of a Holiness church, other things being equal, would have the same social status in a community as the minister of an Episcopal church. Furthermore, a minister who serves a circuit of six churches and receives a total income of \$2000, will probably not have the same status as a minister receiving a salary of \$5000 who serves only one large church of the same denomination.

Actually ministers, whether rural or urban, despite their verbalized reactions, are very conscious of status and class. The pull of city churches for the rural minister supports this contention. It is further supported by the study of rural ministers attending the Garrett Biblical Institute during the summer of 1946.¹⁶ The rural ministers gave the following advantages¹⁷ of being rural ministers. Those items given the highest rank scores are listed first: (1) "I get into close personal contact with people"; (2) "I have a more wholesome environment in which to rear the family and to live myself"; (3) "I have a relatively greater influence in the affairs of the community"; (4) "Religion and the church are more important in the lives of rural people"; (5) "It is easier to operate a church program because the population

¹⁶ The Interdenominational School for Rural Leaders. Actually 42 were active rural ministers. Selection may have entered into the study, since only 61 percent of the group filled out the questionnaire. The study was made by Orlando J. Goering as a term paper in Rural Social Institutions. Of the active ministers, 30 were Methodist; 2, Disciples of Christ; 1, Mennonite; 2, Evangelical; 2, Congregational; and 5, Lutheran.

¹⁷ The other advantages listed in the order of their importance were: "I can enjoy greater security even though my salary may be lower than it would be in the city"; "I can escape much of the 'red tape' and complex organizational structure that characterizes the city church"; and "I have more freedom in the use of my time." The ministers were requested to place an X after items they felt did not belong in the list of advantages of the rural ministry. Approximately one-fifth placed an X after the last three items. The items were derived from free responses of 31 ministers to the statement, "I believe the greatest advantages a rural minister has over an urban minister are." These items were then used as specific interview categories.

is more stable"; and (6) "I have more direct contact with nature." Note that the item "I have a relatively greater influence in the affairs of the community," which ranks third, is an indication of a desire for status. On the other hand, the ministers, when considering the disadvantages of the rural ministry, gave the item, "I am on a lower economic level, i.e., I have less by way of conveniences," a very low rating (seventh place out of ten items). This rating would indicate that these ministers are not willing to admit that economic status for themselves is very important.

The seven items¹⁸ which rated highest as disadvantages were as follows, with those rated as the greatest disadvantages listed first: (1) "I have poorer buildings and equipment to work with"; (2) "I am too far away from educational and cultural facilities and programs"; (3) "I have several churches instead of one church"; (4) "I have less specialized help and local talent and leadership to draw upon"; (5) "Being away from cultural centers makes it more difficult to operate a progressive, intellectually stimulating church program"; (6) "Transportation facilities are more limited and my parishoners are more scattered"; and (7) "Rural people are more steeped in tradition, making the inauguration of needed changes more difficult." When the ministers were asked to list their chief frustrations in an open-ended question, the following were the most frequently mentioned: "Indifference of the people to religion," "Lack of funds," and "Difficulties in inaugurating changes."

From the 1940 census of the labor force of the nation, we learn that 51 percent of the rural and urban ministers received salaries of \$1,199 or less per year. Most of these low-salaried ministers were probably rural. A little over 90 percent of all clergy received less than \$2,500. Even though these figures do not include parsonages and other perquisites, it is safe to say that over half of the ministers receive salaries which are less than those of the lowest category of federal employees. According to the census, Roman Catholic priests averaged \$1,200 and a rectory, Negro pastors, \$480.¹⁹ The ministers' salaries are inade-

¹⁸ For derivation of the items see the footnote immediately preceding. The remaining items listed in order of their importance as disadvantages are: "The rural area has poorer schools, etc. for the training and education of my children"; "I am on a lower economic level, i.e., I have less by way of conveniences"; and "I have less opportunity to participate in the professional life of the denomination."

¹⁹ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, pp. 527-528.

quate to support a family and require that nearly one-fourth of the Protestant clergy supplement their income by working part-time at another occupation. Even though rural ministers are not motivated by salary considerations to the extent that other professionals are, in the face of such unfavorable conditions, especially from the point of view of a satisfactory life for their children and families, it should be no surprise to find many of the most effective ministers leaving rural areas.

The census returns for 1930 for agricultural villages indicated that nearly three-fifths of the village clergy were over 45 years of age and one-tenth were over 65. In 1940 the median age of clergy was 45.8 years. Although village clergy seem to be slightly younger than village doctors, the problem involved in the two professions is the same: rural areas are not attracting enough ministers to maintain the existing religious service, just as they are failing to attract enough doctors to take care of their medical needs. According to the federal religious census of 1926, more than half of the Protestant rural clergy, excluding the Negro denominations, lacked both college and theological seminary degrees. Most of the Roman Catholic clergy have had both college and seminary training.²⁰

There are indications that less than one open-country church out of ten, and two out of five village churches, have a full-time resident minister.²¹ A study of 3000 churches in Missouri reports that only 14 percent of the open-country churches employed a full-time pastor, whereas 63 percent of the village churches did so. Only one-fourth of the churches conducted full-time services and 15 percent of all churches in the open country were either abandoned already or on the verge of abandonment.²² As Smith indicates, the areas in which the neighborhoods persist, especially in the South, retain many small, inadequately serviced and unkept churches.²³

The emergence of the trade-center community, with its village-centered church, is bringing about a revolution in religious activity just as it is in the fields of education, health, government, and business. The status of the minister as a professional person is being

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 527-528.

²¹ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947, p. 426.

²² Melvin W. Sneed and Douglas Ensminger, "The Rural Church in Missouri," Columbia: Missouri AES Research Bulletin 225, June 1935, pp. 65-70.

²³ T. Lynn Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

greatly affected by the emergence of what may be termed the village-centered contractual Gesellschaft, the voluntary bureaucracy, and the small urban, middle-class family and society.

Activities of Rural Ministers. Table 26 describes how a sample of rural ministers from all parts of the United States spent their work

TABLE 26
Median Percentage of Work Week Ministers Spent on Activities

Activity	Median percent	Number of Ministers
Preparation for and participation in regular church services	24.15	181
Pastoral calls and counselling	22.85	180
Professional reading	12.26	159
Work with church groups, youth, men's, women's	5.86	168
Personal devotions	5.52	198
Committee meetings for church work	4.68	164
Other activities	4.47	50
Work for special projects such as building church	4.06	141
Preparation and delivery of talks to various groups	3.86	153
Leadership in community youth work (Scouts, 4-H Club, etc.)	3.42	156
Attending religious conferences	3.25	173
Performing religious rites (weddings, etc.)	2.18	185
Helping with public school functions	1.90	133
Cooperating with county agent to promote better rural life	1.82	113

SOURCE: Richard O. Comfort, "Survey of Activities and Training of Selected Rural Ministers in the United States," p. 378.

week.²⁴ The amount of time spent with agricultural agents and other non-church groups is relatively small. However, as Table 27 indicates, training which would lead in this direction was lacking. What is significant is that ministers desired more training in these fields. Interestingly enough, of the 139 who reported seminary training, only one majored in the rural church. Since these ministers averaged 49 years of age, most had been out of seminary at least 15 years; opportunities to major in the rural church were less prevalent 15 years ago. Rural sociologists will be interested to know that in this study rural sociology ranked sixth in the list of deficiencies most frequently reported by the ministers. Above rural sociology were: how to work

²⁴ R. O. Comfort, "Survey of Activities and Training of Selected Rural Ministers in the United States," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 4, December 1947, pp. 375-387.

with governmental and community agencies, scientific agriculture, rural church administration, and practical and pastoral theology.²⁵

The Church as a Channel of Communication for Otherwise Isolated Groups. In Chapter 5, which dealt with informal friendship groupings, an example of a neighborhood divided into what the local people called the "churchy" and "non-churchy" group was treated. The relationships of the families in the Haller's Corners neighborhood are described in the sociogram, Figure 41 of that chapter. If the reader will turn to this sociogram, he will note that both groups,

TABLE 27

Activities for Which Ministers Have Received No Professional Training and for Which They Wish Further Training

Activity	Ministers Having No Professional Training		Ministers Wishing Further Training	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Cooperating with county agent to promote better rural life	95	41.1	108	46.7
Leadership in community youth work (Scouts, 4-H Club, etc.)	83	35.9	114	49.3
Helping with public school functions	69	29.8	51	22.0
Work for special projects such as building church	57	24.6	39	16.9
Work with church groups, youth, men's, women's	44	19.0	79	34.2
Committee meetings for church work	37	16.0	35	15.1
Pastoral calls and counselling	37	16.0	82	35.5
Others	30	12.9	35	15.1
Preparation and delivery of talks to various groups	25	10.8	46	19.9
Performing religious rites (weddings, etc.)	24	10.3	19	8.8
Attending religious conferences	18	7.7	15	6.5
Professional reading	18	7.7	23	9.9
Personal devotions	17	7.3	28	12.1
Preparation for and participation in regular church services	8	3.4	33	14.2
Median percent	—	17.2	—	21.8

SOURCE: Richard O. Comfort, "Survey of Activities and Training of Selected Rural Ministers in the United States," p. 382.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 385.

the "churchy" and the "non-churchy," tend to select leaders from within their own membership. The reader will note from this sociogram that any agency that attempts to work with the farm people of the community will do well to consider the network of relationships existing among the so-called "churchy" people. The home demonstration agent recently attempted to get the women who do not belong to this network of relationships to assist in the organization of a home demonstration club. Although the local club leader was a leader in the area, she was unable to get the "churchy" group into her organization. She finally told the home demonstration agent: "You know I'm not in church affairs around here. That may be why we don't get under way."

R. C. Smith asked pastors in a small rural area of Wisconsin who the most effectively evangelized persons of the community were. Of the resulting list of 61 persons only 5 were included in the 38 names given by the county agent, county superintendent of schools, and the home demonstration agent when they were asked to list leaders in the community.²⁶ Smith does not explain the nature of the situation, but he is perturbed that only 5 of 61 "best Christians" were among the leaders. If the professional, educational, and agricultural services merge into one class group, let us say the middle class, and the church groups represent a different class with its supporting cliques, the channels of communication of the ministers and of the educational, agricultural, and professional leaders will be different.

The Church as Potential Disintegrative or Integrative Factor.²⁷ The county agent of Ionia County, Michigan, learned through years of experience with various types of promotional and educational activity in his county that it was difficult to get adoption of new practices and to develop various types of organizations in Sebewa Township. As a result, he requested a sociological analysis. This township, with a population of some 250 families, supports seven churches.

Figure 131 describes the location of those churches as related to the neighborhoods and to their memberships. In order to test the hypothesis that the churches were a divisive force in this area, several sociograms of member and non-member interaction were constructed. Figure 132 describes the leadership choices of families in

²⁶ Rockwell C. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

²⁷ Harvey J. Schweitzer, Jr., "The Rural Church and the Social Structure of Sebewa Township, Ionia County, Michigan," Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College, 1947.

the Sebewa Center neighborhood as delimited by the people in that area.²⁸ In this sociogram, the leaders with high prestige are desig-

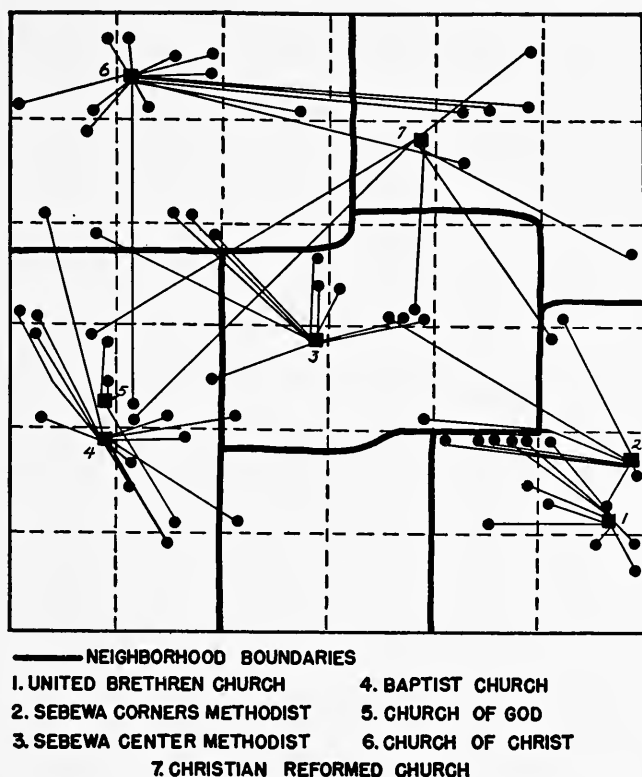


FIG. 131. Location of families who are active members of seven rural churches in Sebewa Township in relation to neighborhood boundaries, Ionia County, Michigan. (Adapted from Schweitzer, "The Rural Church and the Social Structure of Sebewa Township, Ionia County, Michigan," p. 82.)

²⁸ The choices were made after the following exposition was presented to each respondent: "It has been the experience of many local folks and many workers in rural areas, that, over a period of years, two or three families in the neighborhood become leaders in most social functions; are highly respected; and the ones to which people go for help and advice; and who, generally, can be counted on to 'sparkplug' things through. Since a fairly intensive study of the community situation is to be made in _____ county, it would be of great help if these leaders could be known—in order that they could contribute from time to time important necessary facts to the study. Therefore, in your opinion, who are the individuals and families in this neighborhood that have become leaders, and have been accepted as such by the folks in the neighborhood?"

nated. By comparing the actual choices made by the church and non-church member families with the choices which might be expected if choices were made in proportion to their total numbers, it is ap-

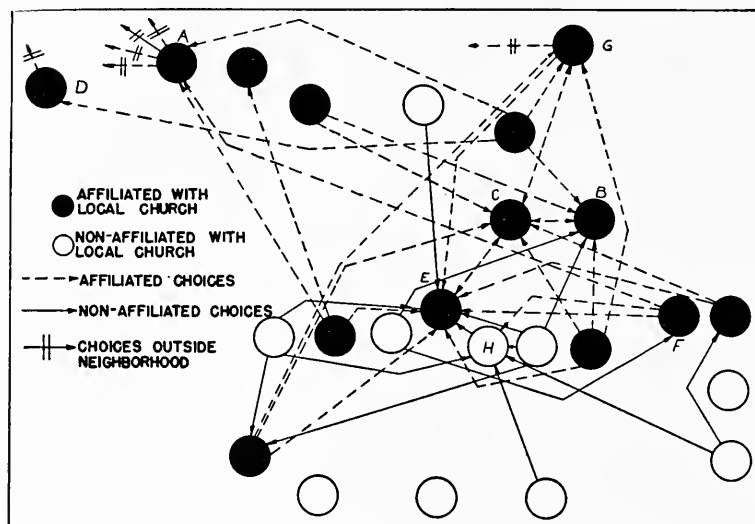


FIG. 132. Leadership choices in the Sebewa Center neighborhood, Ionia County, Michigan, according to local church affiliation. (Adapted from Schweitzer, "The Rural Church and the Social Structure of Sebewa Township, Ionia County, Michigan," p. 120.)

parent that the church group tends to be an in-group.²⁹ Families *E*, *C*, and *B* stand out as leaders. Not only are they the church leaders but also they are obviously the neighborhood leaders. Family *E* is, in a sense, a key family in that it was chosen by both church and non-church families. The investigator recommended that, for many programs, it might be well to contact this leader. The Sunday School superintendent is from family *E*, and family *C* is very active in the church. Both families *C* and *G* are accepted leaders in the church. In order to be effective, any educational activity in this neighborhood which is expected to reach these families must take into account these networks of relationships.

Co-workers for the Church. It is a well-known fact that people will frequently choose different associates as co-workers than as

²⁹ On the basis of the number of families in the neighborhood, it might be expected that local church families would choose 19 leaders from other local church members and 9 from non-church families. The observed frequencies were 27 and 1 respectively.

leaders.³⁰ For Sebewa Center Methodist Church, co-workers were chosen. They are represented in Figure 133. In conducting this study,

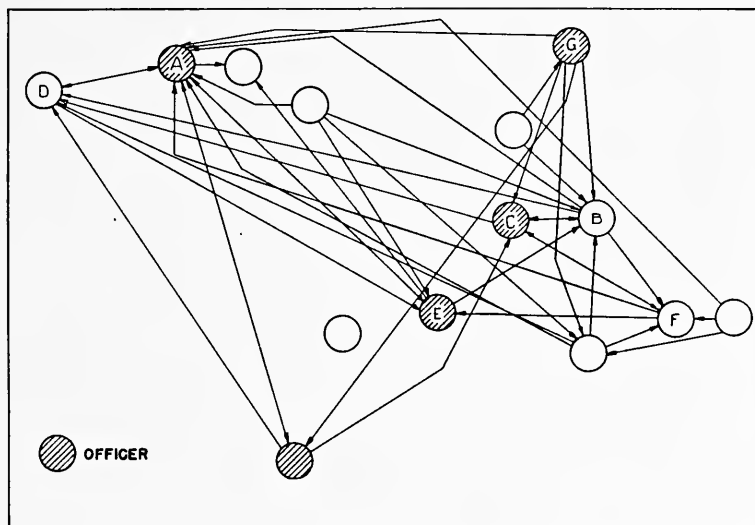


FIG. 133. Co-worker or congeniality choices of church families in the Sebewa Center neighborhood churches, Ionia County, Michigan. (Adapted from Schweitzer, "The Rural Church and the Social Structure of Sebewa Township, Ionia County, Michigan," p. 127.)

the membership list was shown to each informant, and he was asked to check his choices.³¹ Family A received 9 choices, whereas, as indicated in Figure 132, the family received only 3 choices as a leader. Co-worker and leadership choices for family B were 6 and 4, respectively; for family C, 5 and 1; E, 4 and 11. Ministers who wish to group their members effectively for various purposes or who plan programs requiring various types of leadership must take into account such factors as described in Figures 132 and 133.

Cliques Within the Church. All administrators, including church leaders, must deal with small in-groups or cliques. As emphasized in Chapter 5, cliques can implement or hinder administrative objectives, depending largely upon the stability of the structure of the

³⁰ Helen Jennings, "Structure of Leadership—Development and Sphere of Influence," *Sociometry*, Vol. I, Nos. 1 and 2, July–October 1937, pp. 99–143.

³¹ Co-worker choices were obtained through posing the following question: "If, when the results of this survey are summarized, your minister and your church congregation decide they would like to discuss some of these neighborhood problems further to find possible solutions, what three or four families would you like to meet with for such discussions?"

social system. The effective church administrator has the support of all the small clique or friendship groups. These groups may furnish a means of strengthening the church, but if factions develop on the clique basis, administration becomes difficult.

Most rural organizations suffer from the over-use of a few leaders who are willing to help. Sometimes a feeling develops on the part of rural church congregations that the organization is run by an officers' clique. This clique may be the leaders who have been in church work for a long time, a class-structured group, or both. From Figure 132, it is not difficult to ascertain whether or not, on the basis of co-worker choices, the leaders constitute an in-group. Actually, the officers received 8 choices and would have been expected to receive 7 choices. The officers made 10 choices of non-officers but might have been expected to make 10 if choices were made on the basis of their representation in the total. These and other data on the choices led to the conclusion that a basic cleavage did not exist between officers and non-officers in this church.

In another study of the informal groupings in a progressive church in Ionia County, the findings indicated that an officer clique was present. Each member was presented with a list of church members and asked to indicate the names of 5 members he would like to invite to his home to discuss matters concerning the church and the community. There were 125 families represented in the study. On the basis of the proportions who were officers and non-officers, 46 choices should have gone to officers and 72 from the officers to non-officers. Actually, the officers directed 84 choices to officers and only 34 to non-officers. These and the other data used to compute statistical measures proved that there was a so-called "officers' club" in the church. Since this church is one of the most progressive in rural Michigan, it cannot be used to show that in-group tendencies on the part of the officers is always a condition that destroys the effectiveness of the organization.

ECOLOGICAL FACTORS

In view of the great mortality of rural churches, Carl Taylor and his associates have recommended that in new settlements there should be an enlargement of the area served by a single church and that both town and country people should participate in the same church organization.³² The national rural church executives of the various Protestant denominational boards have declared one church

³² Report on Problem 27 of the Columbia Basin Joint Investigations, pp. 2-3.

for each thousand persons of like nationality or tradition to be the desirable norm or ideal toward which to strive.³³ From a study of 179 counties, Kolb and Brunner observed that the denser the population of an area, the larger the number of churches per 1000 population.³⁴ Smith has shown that this relationship is in part to be accounted for in the cultural variations of the regions and is not entirely due to population density.³⁵ The newer Rocky Mountain Region, with 1219 persons per church and with relatively sparse population, has been increasing in the number of churches per 1000 population. In the South, with only 317 persons per church, as in other sections except for the Rocky Mountain Area, the number of churches per 1000 persons has been decreasing.³⁶

According to the Census of Religious Bodies taken in 1936, the Roman Catholic members numbered 19,914,937, with a very large average of 1,082 members per church. Of this number, 3,873,173 were rural, with an average membership of 382 per church. Protestant churches were smaller on the average. Average membership per church varies greatly from denomination to denomination, but rural churches are usually smaller.³⁷ Of course, many factors influence the

³³ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 533.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

³⁵ T. Lynn Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

³⁶ Edmund deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1937, p. 300.

³⁷ Membership, of course, depends upon various criteria so that average membership figures are not strictly comparable. Comparable data for other selected denominations are as follows:

Denominations	Total	Urban	Rural
All Denominations	280	541	133
Northern Baptist Convention	211	367	100
Southern Baptist Convention	195	556	140
Negro Baptists	164	248	123
Disciples of Christ	215	398	122
Jewish Congregations	1,245	1,282	295
Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other states	297	441	202
American Lutheran Church	277	472	206
Methodist Episcopal Church	191	440	106
Methodist Episcopal Church, South	180	552	114
Protestant Episcopal Church	271	400	98
The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.	231	419	100
Roman Catholic Church	1,082	1,939	382

SOURCE: *United States Census of Religious Bodies*, 1936, Vol. I, Table 13.

ecological pattern of rural churches.³⁸ Since Catholic churches are larger than Protestant churches in rural areas, any area with a large proportion of Catholic churches may be expected to have a larger church membership than areas with relatively small proportions of Catholic churches. The stronger the neighborhood solidarity and the more frequently the neighborhood is organized about the church, the smaller will be the average church membership. Conversely, the more the expanding village trade-center development has eliminated the small neighborhoods and their churches, the larger will be the average church membership. An area with many closely knit ethnic or racial groups may have smaller churches than areas in which the population is more homogeneous.³⁹

Trends. Studies of 140 village trade-center communities have furnished the most complete data on rural churches.⁴⁰ The studies reveal that church attendance per person is declining. The number of rural churches is decreasing, but the number of members per church is increasing. The significant losses in membership were confined to white Protestant churches outside the South. The greatest gains were in villages, with greatest losses in the surrounding open country occurring in the Far West. Catholic churches gained most markedly, the average membership growing from 148 in 1924 to 171 in 1936; increases in the open country for the same period were from 80 to 93. The average monthly attendance per person was estimated at 1.2 for 1924 and .96 for 1936. Monthly church attendance per resident member for the two years was 3.9 and 2.8, respectively.⁴¹ Between 1924 and 1930

³⁸ See a brief but instructive statement by T. Lynn Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

³⁹ C. Horace Hamilton and John M. Ellison, *The Negro Church in Rural Virginia*, Blacksburg: Virginia AES Bulletin 273, June 1930.

⁴⁰ See Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*; Brunner, *Village Communities*, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., Inc., 1928; and Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, pp. 517-518.

⁴¹ Lindstrom states the rural church problem as follows: "Rural churches seek more members—they need them to operate properly. With small congregations which are diminishing, the cost of upkeep is too high. So buildings become run-down, resident pastors are let go, visiting pastors come in, the church competes with other churches in the community and finally the church ceases to operate. Many reasons are given for this trend: the atmosphere of the church is cold, increasing tenancy causes instability of membership, and people have lost interest or have been 'weaned away' by the school or other community activities." (David E. Lindstrom, *The Church in Rural Life*, Champaign: The Garrard Press, 1939, p. 53.) Sanderson names a few of the competing agencies which have entered

financial support for rural churches declined slightly, but between 1930 and 1936 it declined sharply. The salaries of rural ministers declined by almost one-third from 1924 to 1936.⁴²

The Drift Toward Village-Centered Religious Activities. In religious activities, as in other affairs in rural America, few trends are more significant than the increasing importance of the village and town trade centers. In 1924, 31.6 percent of the attendance of village churches was made up of persons from the open country; by 1936 this figure had increased to 38.2 percent.⁴³

In 1924, 22.6 percent of the membership of village churches and 6.0 percent of that of the town churches came from the open country. The figures were 39.3 and 23.9 in 1930. Forty percent of the members of village churches came from the open country in 1936, and this year the open country members in town churches had increased to 35.9 percent.

Relating the Church to the Community. Ministers and other church leaders cannot be effective as stewards of their organizations unless they study the ecological pattern of the social system in which they operate. Is the membership scattered over more than one neighborhood? Is the church oriented to a trade-center community? Which areas in the trade-center community or neighborhood does the church fail to reach? Church leaders have found it advantageous to study the location of their members' homes in reference to the locality groups plotted on a road map. Often the pastor may find that ease of communication is important. Figure 134 describes Mather's findings⁴⁴ as to the relationship between high-school youth's church participation and the pastor's attention devoted to them as influenced by ease

into the picture: "Today there are strong high schools and consolidated schools which are the centers of the life of the young people; there are Scouts and 4-H clubs for the boys and girls; there are numerous organizations of farm men and women, such as the Grange and the Farm and Home Bureaus; there are moving picture theaters and other attractions with which the church has to compete. This necessitates a change in the program of the church, which has not been effected as rapidly as the changing environmental conditions." (Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1942, p. 323.)

⁴² Changes since 1936 are no doubt great. The last Religious Census was taken in 1936.

⁴³ Brunner and Lorge, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-305.

⁴⁴ W. G. Mather, Jr., *The Rural Churches of Allegany County*, Ithaca: Cornell University AES Bulletin 587, March 1934.

of communication. Often the minister's activities are important in determining the ecological pattern of the church.

It has been observed that the more prosperous, upper-class groups

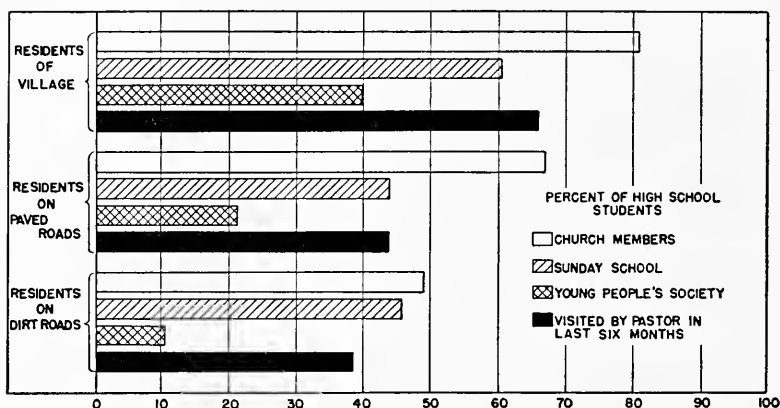


FIG. 134. The relation between high school youth's church participation and pastor's visits as influenced by type of residence. (Data from R. C. Smith, *The Church in Our Town*, p. 40.)

usually continue to live in the country but transfer their memberships from the open-country church to the village. In many cases this represents an attempt to climb the social scale. The country church may lose its strongest and most influential members and may in this way be undermined and eventually destroyed. As Morse and Brunner have indicated, the greater the distance from the church to the village, the greater its chance of survival.⁴⁵ When open-country churches close their doors, it is seldom that the village churches absorb all the constituents of the abandoned churches.⁴⁶ Indications are that village ministers are frequently so class and locality bound that they do not adequately work their hinterland. Since the village trend is likely to continue, church denominations representing the so-called respected middle class must serve the classes in accordance with their needs. Otherwise, the so-called emotional churches will continue to increase among the open-country residents and among the lower-class migrants to the city.

⁴⁵ H. N. Morse and Edmund deS. Brunner, *The Town and Country Church in the United States*, New York: George H. Doran Co., 1923; and Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 518.

⁴⁶ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 518; and T. Lynn Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 430. See also C. E. Lively, *Some Rural Social Agencies in Ohio*, Columbus: Ohio AES Bulletin, 1924.

The reason that village and town churches are more likely to survive and that the village-centered religious organizations are gaining momentum may be seen from Figures 135 and 136, constructed from

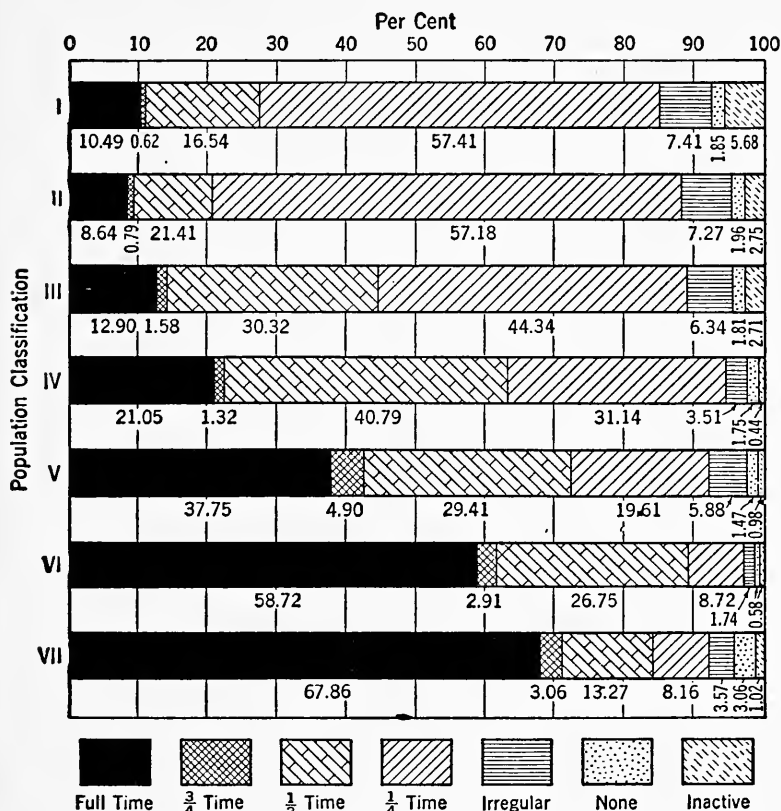


FIG. 135. Availability of pastors in 2,561 rural churches in Missouri, 1934. The key to the population classification is as follows: I—open country; II—under 200; III—200–400; IV—400–600; V—600–1,000; VI—1,000–1,500; VII—1,500–2,500. (Reproduced from T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, p. 427, after Sneed and Enslinger, *The Rural Church in Missouri*, p. 29.)

a study made in Missouri.⁴⁷ Not only does size of community influence the church activities, but prosperity is also important. The per capita sales for villages is directly related to per capita church contributions, as indicated by the following figures calculated from the 1930 Census of Distribution for per capita retail sales. See Table 28, prepared by

⁴⁷ Sneed and Enslinger, *op. cit.*

Kolb and Brunner.⁴⁸ The ecological factors which are related to the decrease in per capita contributions in communities having at least \$500 per capita sales should be investigated. Kolb and Brunner infer

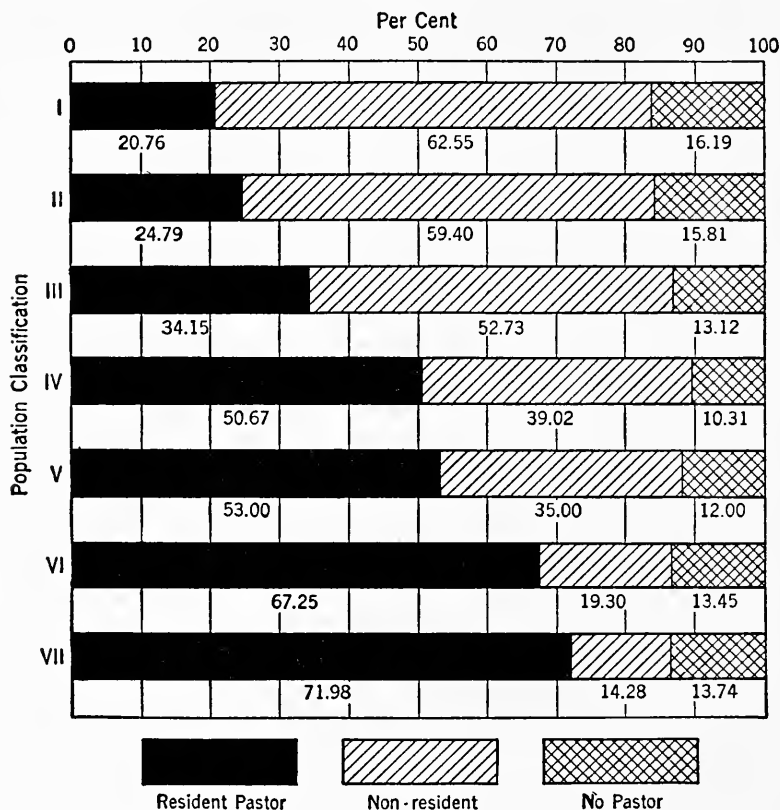


FIG. 136. Frequency of preaching services in rural churches in Missouri, 1934. The key to the population classification is as follows: I—open country; II—under 200; III—200–400; IV—400–600; V—600–1,000; VI—1,000–1,500; VII—1,500–2,500. (Reproduced from T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, p. 428, after Sneed and Ensminger, *The Rural Church in Missouri*, p. 21.)

that the relationship is inherent in the nature of the church organization. Wealthy communities go in for benevolences as a sort of luxury item. Can it be that there is an optimum set-up which satisfies the communities needs, i.e., *rites of passage*, *rites of intensification*, and the other needs?

⁴⁸ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 531.

Per capita expenditures in village and country Protestant churches located in the various regions are shown in Table 29. Note that per

TABLE 28

The Relationship Between per Capita Retail Sales and the Average per Capita Contribution to Churches, 1930

Per Capita Sales	Per Capita Contributions
Under \$200	\$ 9.84
\$200 to \$300	13.05
\$300 to \$400	14.48
\$400 to \$500	18.38
Over \$500	16.92

SOURCE: United States Census of Distribution, adapted from Kolb and Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, p. 531.

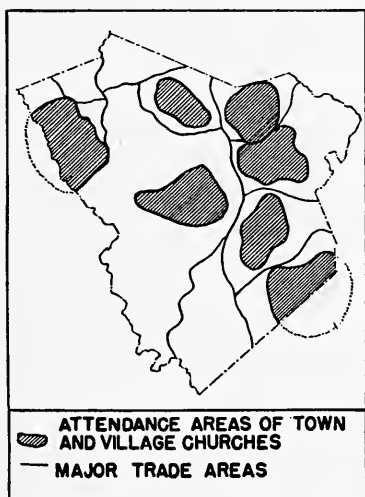


FIG. 137. Church attendance areas as related to the general trade areas, Greene County, Georgia. (Adapted from C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, p. 170.)

capita expenditures declined in both village and country between 1924 and 1936.

Neighborhood-Centered Churches. Figure 137 indicates how neighborhood areas in a southern county are often practically coterminous with the church areas.⁴⁹ Figure 138 also demonstrates the nature of the community-centered church in Covington County, Mississippi. If the development of that type of consolidated or coordinated church effort is contemplated in the trade centers in the neighborhood-centered areas of the South, it is obvious that every ecological consideration would be entailed. In sharp contrast

⁴⁹ C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, p. 170. For an example of neighborhood-centered churches, see Vernon J. Parenton, "Notes on the Social Organization of a French Village in South Louisiana," *Social Forces*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, October 1935, pp. 73-82.

are the trade-centered communities in areas where the neighborhoods are disappearing or giving up their functions to the towns.

TABLE 29
*Per Member Expenditures in Village and Country
Protestant Churches by Region*

Region	Village			Country		
	1924	1930	1936	1924	1930	1936
All regions	\$16.89	\$16.38	\$10.45	\$ 8.13	\$ 8.57	\$ 5.67
Middle Atlantic	17.09	18.61	12.70	12.40	12.34	8.30
South	16.33	15.22	8.51	5.38	5.40	3.02
Middle West	17.81	16.25	9.93	12.39	12.57	8.81
Far West	19.35	19.54	12.79	12.33	16.13	6.68

SOURCE: Kolb and Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, p. 530.

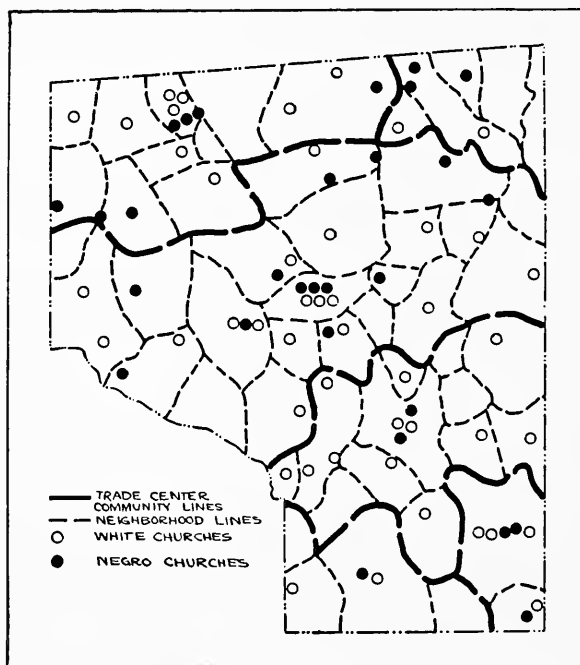


FIG. 138. Distribution of churches in Covington County, Mississippi. Several churches are located in each of the community centers, but most of them are in the neighborhoods. (Adapted from Hoffsommer and Pryor, *Neighborhoods and Communities in Covington County, Mississippi*, p. 19.)

Possibly the most important study of the ecological aspects of secularization is to be found in *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*.⁵⁰ Here villages of various degrees of isolation are compared with each other. In terms of the concepts presented here, it was found that the familistic *Gemeinschaft* tended to disappear as one approached the areas influenced by city civilization.

Programs that Coordinate Church Activity on the Trade-Center Community Basis. Proceeding on the basis that good policy and procedure require cooperation with the inevitable trade-center community development, several plans have emerged. One is the larger parish plan. The larger parish is "a group of churches in a larger rural community, or a potential religious community, working together through a larger-parish council and a larger-parish staff to serve the people of the area with a diversified ministry."⁵¹ The unification of all the religious work in a trade-center community area is under the direction of a single pastor working with a staff.⁵² The ecological pattern of organization of the larger parish of a rural New York community is described in Figure 139. The reader will note the village-centered aspect of this plan.

In the larger-parish plan, the staff ordinarily consists of the pastors of individual churches and such specialists as are employed by the larger parish. Thus members may specialize in the type of work for which they are particularly fitted. A council, comparable to a church board, directs the functions of the organization. It may, for example, call the minister, whose responsibility it is to organize and manage the work of the member churches. This permits unification and co-ordination. Thus youth work may be unified so that there will not be

⁵⁰ Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, Chapter II.

⁵¹ Mark Rich, *The Larger Parish*, Ithaca: Cornell Extension Bulletin, 1939.

⁵² See R. C. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 138. According to Dr. Malcolm Dana, who has done a great deal of work on the larger parish and who has written much on organizing such a parish, "The larger parish is a theory and philosophy of rural religious work rather than a standardized plan or procedure everywhere the same. Its real genius and purpose are: first, a ministry over areas as well as churches, and second, a major emphasis upon populations instead of 'constituencies.' It embodies a ministry to all of the people who live upon a definite area of inhabited land." Malcolm Dana, "The Larger Parish and Rural Reconstruction Unit," *Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin* No. 15, October 1936. See also Eugene Smathers, "A Rural Church Program that Makes Religion the Qualifying Factor in Every Experience of Life," *Christian Rural Fellowship Bulletin* No. 66, November 1941.

a number of small youth groups, but one large group with special programs which may be broken down on the neighborhood basis.

In a hypothetical example used by R. C. Smith, a community of 67

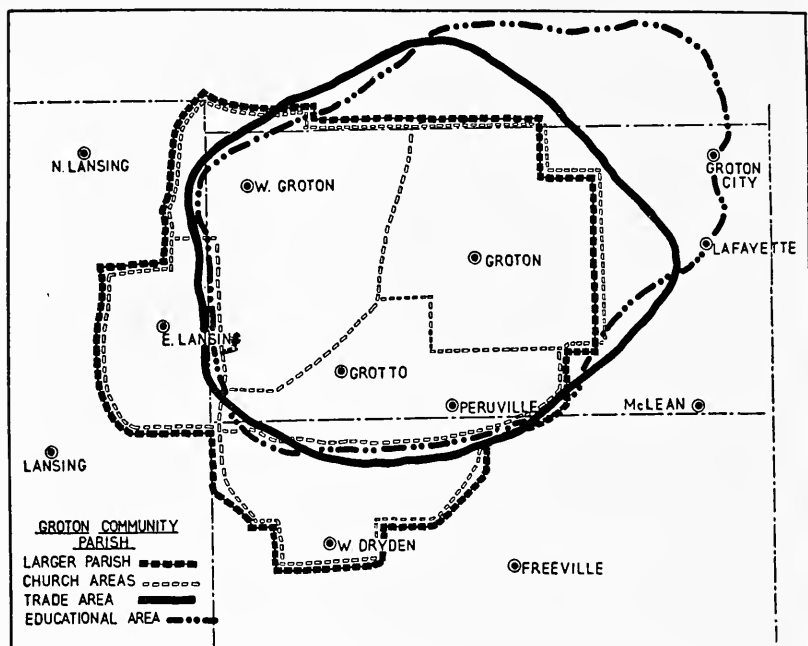


FIG. 139. The larger parish, Groton community, New York. There are four Protestant churches at the village center and four small open-country churches. Without closing any of the churches or doing away with individual church programs, the larger parish proposes a plan whereby all churches can work together. (Reproduced from Mark Rich, *The Larger Parish*, p. 5.)

square miles, centered in a village of 800 people, had a total of nine evangelical churches and one Roman Catholic church. Four of the Protestant churches were in the village and one remained outside. The best paid of the seven ministers received \$1500 a year, while the total expenditure for ministers' salaries was only \$6,600. Under the larger-parish plan, the Protestant churches unite and set up a council made up of an equal number of representatives from each church. Committees are set up and a pastor is hired at \$2400 a year plus parsonage. At his suggestion, a junior pastor is employed at \$1800 a year plus parsonage, and a woman director of religious education is ap-

pointed at \$1600 and lodging. Thus, for \$5000 a year, the staff of the larger parish is secured. The \$800 remaining is used for many functions in which the whole parish joins. There is a Sunday evening parish-wide worship service in one of the churches, with a choir from another church furnishing the music. A parish-wide educational program is also introduced. R. C. Smith emphasizes the minister's status as a factor recommending the plan, as follows: "Just as the superintendent of schools speaks for all of the schools of the community, so the chief pastor of the parish speaks for all the churches of the community."⁵³

Another form of cooperation which permits the minister to organize his work with more attention to the local community is called the exchange of rights.⁵⁴ This system is useful only when two denominations have a minimum of two churches in two separate centers, let us say in Gering and Hatch. In this case, the two Methodist and Congregational ministers may both be spreading themselves over two communities. The Methodist church, which is strong in Gering, may offer to exchange its church in Hatch with the Congregationalists for the Congregational church in Gering. After the exchange, each community has a resident pastor and each pastor has a self-sufficient church.

Federation is more generally applicable than the exchange of rights.⁵⁵ In this plan, the individual churches agree to maintain their denominational affiliations intact but in local affairs to act as a single congregation. This means that they may "call" one pastor, unite in common worship, amalgamate Sunday schools, women's organizations, brotherhoods, and youth organizations. Although people will remain members of their original denominational bodies, a unified church leadership and a single church program results in the local community. Federation, like other forms of community church cooperation, has failed to make a great deal of headway. However, Kolb and Brunner report that four-fifths of 4,200 Methodist laymen and ministers replied affirmatively to the question: "Should rural churches be federated on community lines?"⁵⁶

⁵³ R. C. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁵⁵ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 538. These writers estimate that there are about 400 federated churches in America. They state that only 10 percent of the federations concern more than two denominations.

⁵⁶ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 540.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL STATUS

A Commercialized Farming Community in the Western Specialty-Crop Area. In Chapter 12 the differences between the sects, with their lower-class membership, frequently suffering from *anomie*, and the denominations, with their middle- and upper-class membership, were treated. Figure 140 describes the occupational characteristics

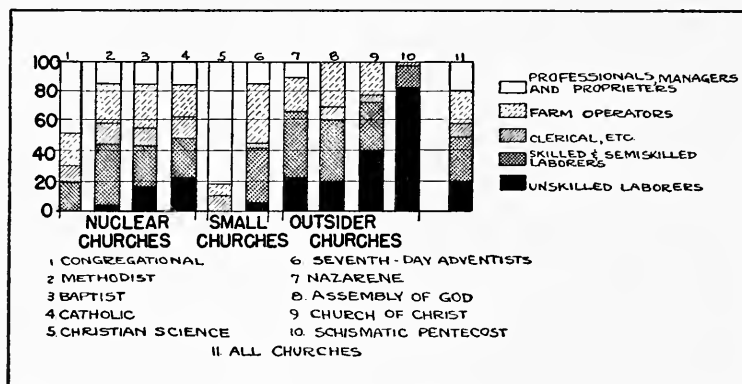


FIG. 140. Occupational distribution in nuclear and outsider churches in Wasco, California. Note that the outsider churches contain large proportions of unskilled laborers. (Adapted from Walter Goldschmidt, *As You Sow*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947, p. 137.)

of four churches of the "old timers" and four churches of the more recent arrivals in California. Goldschmidt⁵⁷ calls the churches of the more recent arrivals "outsider churches," and those of the old timers "nuclear churches." In the nuclear churches, one-third of the members are laborers, whereas laborers comprise three-fourths of the outsider congregations. Agricultural laborers constitute only 6 percent of the former group and about half (42 percent) of the latter. Only 3 percent of the latter are of the professional or managerial class.

The Congregational church, the church of the elite in the community, has the fewest laborers, and half of its membership is in the entrepreneurial and professional occupational categories. Only one person is an unskilled laborer. This church's leading patron is president of the biggest business enterprise in the community. "A silent

⁵⁷ Walter R. Goldschmidt, "Class Denominationalism in Rural California Churches," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLIX, No. 4, January 1944, pp. 348-355. For a detailed treatment, see Walter Goldschmidt, *As You Sow*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947, pp. 124-148.

pressure," Goldschmidt says, "brought all the teachers into the fold." The other churches of the old timers serve the middle rungs of the social hierarchy. Lowest in the scale is the Pentecostal church, with 100 percent laborer members. The other sect churches have more middle-class members, although not many. Sentiments which reveal the importance of these religious groups in the support of the class structure are very strong, and the churches rise in the social scale as their members increase their security, income, and the length of residence in the community. Nazarenes refer to their earlier ministers and a former preacher as people requiring "sensual and physical thrill." The church members of the sect classes above, which ten years before had the same sentiments as those below, speak of the "transient migratory type," an appellation which appeals to their own "sturdy middle class." Although the Assembly of God is a Pentecostal church, its minister said, "We don't call ourselves Pentecostal because of their extremist attitudes." On the other hand, one member shifted to the newer Pentecostal group because at the older one "They set you down" or "They won't let you get up and shout when you get the spirit and that is not right."

That denominations cannot be used to place people irrespective of the particular community is illustrated by the fact that 25 out of the 51 recent migrants interviewed had been members of Methodist and Baptist churches in former communities located largely in the southern and southwestern states. Only one of the 25 attended Methodist or Baptist churches after moving to California and 12 had joined one of the sect groups. There were no shifts in the opposite direction. One informant said: "To tell the truth, I don't like the Baptists here because they are a different class of people and I'd rather stay around my own class."

Throughout the Western world, one of the great accomplishments of the Catholic Church is its ability to hold various class groups in one organization. It does not completely avoid differentiation of status, however. Status is revealed by the following words of a priest in speaking of the newly arrived Spanish-speaking colony and the older members: "We make no distinction between the two groups. . . . The Mexicans are children of nature, and do not take their religion very seriously. . . . We have card parties and socials to raise money. The Mexicans do not come to these. They would rather be with their own kind. . . ." ⁵⁸

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 351.

Marginal Groups. Few situations can be found which provide a better opportunity for studying religious activity and church organization as they are related to social stratification and social class than that provided by marginal groups. In Donovan Senter's study of the class structure of the Spanish-speaking families in New Mexico,⁵⁹ the religion of the village lower class was described as "Penitente or operating in a society, where the Penitentes are more important than Catholic church organization." The village lower middle class was described as "Catholic or Protestant." The Penitentes are usually considered to be of the lower class. Most of the people regularly attend Mass but avoid Penitente ceremonies.⁶⁰ The upper middle class of towns and the upper class of the villages were described as "Catholic or Protestant." To adjust better with Anglos, some change from Catholic to Protestant. Villagers who become state leaders associate with the church and may be town members of church organizations such as Knights of Columbus. Almost all upper-class Spanish-speaking people in New Mexico are Catholic.⁶¹

In New Mexico, where Anglo culture dominates and where an ethnic group climbs the social scale in accord with the criteria of the dominant culture, there is a tendency for the climbing group to change denominations as it attains status. When whole groups rise, the denominations may move up the social scale as whole systems. This avoids the strains and tensions resulting when individual families shift affiliations, using the organizations as rungs on a ladder.

Migrant groups are very frequently marginal people. As Figure 141 indicates, the newer an area's population, the smaller the proportion of church members. There also appears to be a close association between the proportion of migrants into a state and the prevalence of holiness groups. Of the 16 states having the highest percentage of immigrants in 1930, eight were in the upper third in proportions of religious sect members. In only three of the sixteen states were the proportions of sect members below average.

Although the data provided in the Census of Religious Bodies are incomplete and inadequate, they are nevertheless suggestive. In the decade between 1926 and 1936, the major sect groups gained in mem-

⁵⁹ Donovan Senter, "Acculturation Among New Mexican Villagers in Comparison to Adjustment Patterns of Other Spanish-Speaking Americans," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. X, No. 1, March 1945, pp. 31-47.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-47.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

bership by 85 percent. In the same period, many of the major Protestant denominations lost members. According to the Religious Census data, the membership belonging to the Southern Baptist Convention

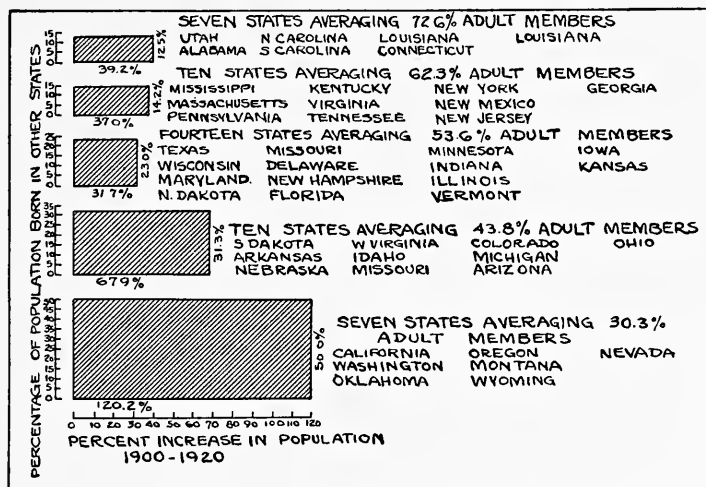


FIG. 141. Influence of the mobility of population on church membership, by state. Note that the ratio of adults belonging to a church varies inversely with the rate of population increase. (Kolb and Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, p. 521.)

decreased by 23 percent. Similarly, the Methodist Episcopal membership declined by 14 percent and the Presbyterian membership decreased by 5 percent. None of the major Protestant groups or the Roman Catholic Church increased its membership by more than 20 percent.

The increase in membership of some of the sect groups in the decade 1926 to 1936 was phenomenal. The Assemblies of God increased by 209 percent; the Church of God, with headquarters at Cleveland, Tennessee, increased by 93 percent. Of the seven major groups, only the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World experienced a decrease of membership in the decade.

The Church and Stratification in a Rural Corn Belt Community. In Chapter 10, the class system of an Illinois community located on the outskirts of a town of 6,000 was presented.⁶² The community was

⁶² Evon Z. Vogt, "Social Stratification in the Rural Middlewest: A Structural Analysis," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 4, December 1947, pp. 364-375.

divided into Lutheran Norwegians and the Yankees. As the Norwegian families attained higher status in the community, they became acculturated. "The degree of acculturation," says Vogt, "is largely a function of the number of generations by which a family or individual is removed from the immigrant forebears. The most acculturated Norwegian families are now beginning to participate in the Yankee class system."⁶³ The structure and ideology of the Lutheran church in the community function to minimize the social stratification found among the Norwegians. The Norwegians satisfy most of their social and associational needs in the Lutheran church. The only other organization that they have joined in any considerable number is the Farm Bureau.

Social Status and Prestige in a Rural New York Community. In Chapter 11 the status structure of a community of 1,235 was presented.⁶⁴ Table 30 describes how the method employed may be used in the description of church groups. As previously indicated, 14 persons who knew the community ranked the people in five groups in terms of "standing," "reputation," or "respect." The membership of the various churches of the community, two-fifths of whose members live in the village and the remainder in the open country, is presented in Table 30. This method makes it possible to classify the separate social systems of the community on the basis of the "prestige class-rank of the organization," which is based upon the average prestige scores of active members. Thus in Table 30, officers ranked higher than other active members and these two groups ranked higher than inactive members. The Presbyterian church ranked higher than the Federated church, which was composed of a Methodist and a Baptist church. Here, as in the instance of the Norwegian community, the Oldland Evangelical church was composed of an ethnic group in the process of being acculturated. Its members were largely in the middle prestige groups. That prestige in this community is related to church membership is indicated by the fact that while only 32 percent of the members of the community were in the highest prestige groups, i.e., classes 1 to 3, four-fifths of the active church members were in this class.

A Church in the General and Self-Sufficing Farming Area. Figure 123 in Chapter 11 describes the relationship between the church

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

⁶⁴ Harold F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*, Ithaca: New York AES Memoir 260, March 1944, p. 16.

Prestige, Place of Residence, and Ethnic Characteristics of the Members of the Religious Organizations

Organization	Number of Members in the Study	Percent of Membership in Prestige Classes:				Mean Prestige Class of Members	Prestige Class-rank of Organization	Percent of Membership in:	
		1-2	2.5 and 3	3.5 and 4	4.5 and 6			Open Country	Oldland Group
Presbyterian Church:	126 ^a								
Officers	28	82	18	0	0	1.7	—	4	0
Other active members	65	47	42	9	2	2.1	2 ^b	25	0
Inactive members	33	15	42	43	0	2.9	—	36	0
Women's society	41	62	29	9	0	2.1	3	20	0
Men's Bible class ^c	30	59	26	15	0	2.2	4	10	0
Federated Church:	137 ^a								
Officers	31	38	52	10	0	2.4	—	26	0
Other active members	32	12	47	41	0	3.1	8 ^b	22	0
Inactive members	74	1	35	49	15	3.6	—	35	0
Women's society	35	12	58	30	0	3.0	—	9	3
Oldland Evangelical Church	33	0	39	57	4	3.4	13	79	100
All active church members	197	36	41	22	1	—	—	31	17
Total population	954	9	23	51	17	—	—	51	21

^a Total church membership in the study; includes officers, other active members, and inactive members.^b Applies to all active members, including officers.^c This is an independent organization.Source: Harold F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*, p. 16.

affiliation and the status structure of Plainville,⁶⁵ a town of 275 persons in Missouri. In this community, "Only Holiness people . . . have set up an integrated social system of neighborliness, by which they are able to deny wholeheartedly for themselves the standards of the dominant class. . . ." ⁶⁶ However, even the Holiness people treat the "people who live like animals" as if they have no souls to be saved. In this community, backsliding may mean that "a lower-class person" moves from the "good religious lower class" to the "lower element." (See Figure 123 in Chapter 11.) Backsliding for an upper-class person does not "de-class" him. Salvation may move one from the "lower element" up to "lower-class religious" status.

The Church, the Class Structure, and the Increased Importance of the Trade Center. The emerging trade center with its village or town center is one of the most important status-giving factors in rural America today. Sorokin⁶⁷ has called attention to the church as a channel of vertical mobility, and its function in bringing people "on the make" up the class structure cannot be denied. It is usually those rural families who aspire to middle-class town status that leave the old rural neighborhood churches. When sufficient numbers of the prominent leaders go, the churches close and the poorer members are left with no church. Kolb and Brunner have called attention to the fact that it is the well-to-do who transfer their membership to the town churches.⁶⁸ The development of the trade-center community and the weakening of the neighborhood has been accompanied by secularization. Competition such as movies, school programs, and many other city-centered activities has modified and killed many churches.

Classes Within the Church. Not only does the social system of a given church organization place its members in the status system of a community, but also in the status system of the church itself. Various criteria determine status. Each member of a progressive open-country Methodist church in Ionia county, Michigan, was requested to indicate the names of five members he would invite to his home to discuss matters of concern to the church and community. In order to determine whether this rural church was class-structured, the

⁶⁵ James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 128-133.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁶⁷ P. A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927.

⁶⁸ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

members were classified by the minister on an economic basis, into high-, middle-, and low-income families.⁶⁹ The results are presented in Figure 142. Statistical indices show that those in the upper-income

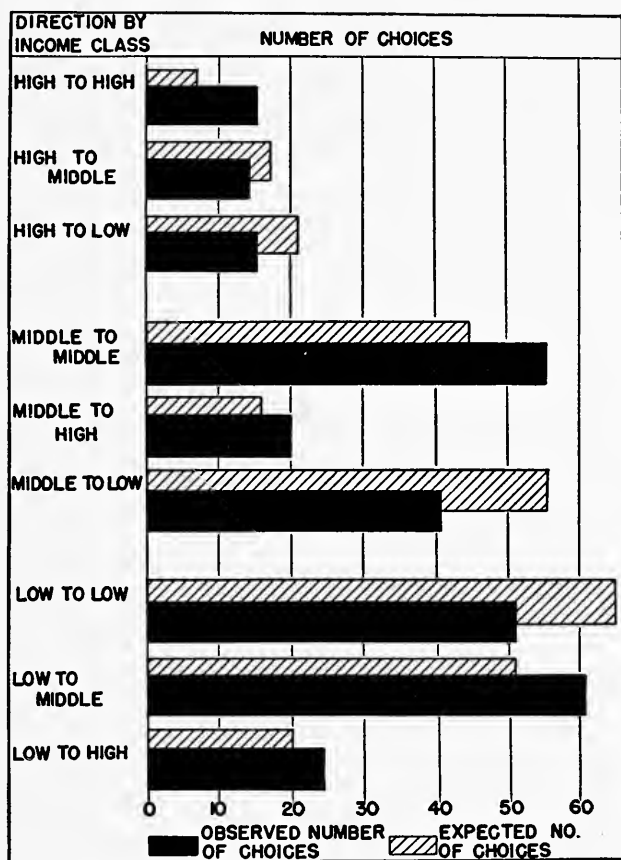


FIG. 142. Choices of co-workers in the Sebewa Center church in Ionia County, Michigan, classified by income. (Adapted from Schweitzer, "The Rural Church and the Social Structure of Sebewa Township, Ionia County, Michigan," p. 137.)

class chose more from their own class than would be expected if the choices were left entirely to chance. Middle-class members chose more upper-middle-class families than expected, and low-class fami-

⁶⁹ These data are the same as those described in the section dealing with cliques within the church. See Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

lies chose more middle- and more upper-class than expected. These choices illustrate the prevalent tendency of many members in a given class to try to identify themselves with the families in the classes above.

Table 31 indicates the calculations made to test whether or not there were cleavages in the rural Methodist church under discussion.

TABLE 31

*Chi Square Tests of Economic Cleavage for Co-worker Choices
Made by LeValley Church Members, Ionia County, Michigan*

Choices by Economic Class	Observed (f)	Expected (f^1)	Chi Square $\frac{(f-f^1)^2}{f^1}$	p
1. High to high	15	6	13.50	>.05
2. High to middle	14	17	3.00	<.2
3. High to low	15	21	1.71	<.3
a. High to middle and low	29	38	2.13	>.3
A. Total High: (Chi Squares items 1+2+3) (2df)			18.21	>.01
B. Sum (Chi Squares items 1+a) (1df)			15.63	>.05
4. Middle to middle	56	44	3.27	>.2
5. Middle to high	20	17	.53	<.7
6. Middle to low	41	56	4.02	>.2
b. Middle to high and low	61	73	1.97	>.3
C. Total Middle: (Chi Squares items 4+5+6) (2df)			7.82	>.02
D. Sum (Chi Squares items 4+b) (1df)			5.24	<.1
7. Low to low	51	65	3.02	<.2
8. Low to middle	61	51	1.96	<.3
9. Low to high	24	20	.80	>.6
c. Low to middle and high	85	71	2.76	<.2
E. Total Low: (Chi Squares items 7+8+9) (2df)			5.78	<.02
F. Sum (Chi Squares items 7+c) (1df)			5.78	<.1
G. Sum of Chi Square items B+D+F (2df)			26.65	>.01
H. Total Chi Square items A+C+E (4df)			31.81	>.01

SOURCE: Harvey J. Schweitzer, Jr., "The Rural Church and the Social Structure of Sebawa Township, Ionia County, Michigan," pp. 136-137.

The larger the chi square measures, the less likely is the difference between the observed and the expected frequencies to be due to chance. The probable error listed in the column *p* indicates the chance in 100 that a chi square of the magnitude indicated might have been due to chance. These probable errors may be read from a table when the degrees of freedom and the above-mentioned facts are known. Such a procedure may be used by ministers and others to determine the nature of cliques and cleavages in their churches.⁷⁰

SUMMARY

The rural minister forms a part of the middle class, that class which

⁷⁰ The chi squares to the right of the lines headed by the symbols *B*, *D*, and *F* test the hypothesis that members of the socio-economic class indicated to the left direct their visiting relations without reference to whether the families chosen are of the same class affiliation or not, and that their choices are distributed among the groups specified and other groups of families in proportion to the number of the families in the group specified and the other groups. Thus the chi square of 15.63 (1 degree of freedom) tested the hypothesis that upper-class persons directed their choices without reference to whether families chosen are upper class or not and that their choices are distributed between upper-class and non-upper-class families in proportion to the number of families in the two groups. This chi square indicates that less than .05 times out of 100 would the observed results have been obtained by chance from a sample of the size used if the hypothesis were true. The chi squares (to the right of lines *B*, *D*, and *F*) may be compared to indicate which group manifests the greater in-group cleavages. Thus, the upper class with a chi square of 15.63 manifests the greatest tendency toward in-group cleavages.

The chi squares to the right of the lines headed by the symbols *A*, *C*, and *E* test the hypothesis that the members of the group indicated to the left direct their choices without reference to the various class affiliations of families chosen and that their choices are distributed among families of different class affiliation in the community in proportion to the number of families in each of three class-affiliated groups. For the upper class this chi square is 18.21 (2 degrees of freedom). The value for this chi square is .01, which indicates that less than 1 time out of 100 would the observed results be obtained by chance in a sample of the size used if the hypothesis were true.

The chi square having the value of 7.82, the sum of the chi squares to the right of the symbols *B*, *D*, and *F*, tests the hypothesis that choices in the church are not affected by whether families are of the same class affiliation. Thus, for the church the chi square value of 26.65, with three degrees of freedom, indicates that visiting relations are relatively more frequent between families with the same class affiliation than between families of different class affiliations.

The chi square to the right of symbol *H*, the sum of the chi squares at the right of symbols *A*, *C*, *E*, and *G*, tests the hypothesis that visiting relations in the church are independent of the particular class affiliations of the family chosen.

we have designated as the one most greatly influenced by the contractual *Gesellschaft*. It is in this class that the small, mobile, and isolated conjugal family is typical. On the level of verbal reactions to a goals of life test, a group of rural ministers manifested value orientations quite different from those expressed by students of other professions. Ministers ranked serving God, serving the community, and promoting pleasure for others relatively high.

The incomes of rural ministers are unbelievably low and, as in other professions, there is a tendency for the most effective to take city positions. In listing the advantages of ministering in rural areas, pastors often mention the satisfaction of working with people having a familistic *Gemeinschaft* orientation. The rural ministers work with poor equipment, and most frequently serve several parishes which do not have full-time services.

One of the most important developments in rural America is the emergence of the trade-center community as the ecological unit most important to religious programs. Village churches are growing at the expense of neighborhood churches. Various plans have been devised through the cooperation of the church denominations to increase the efficiency of the religious programs in trade-center communities. In order to be effective, pastors should study the age and sex composition of the church's service area and that of the active church membership to make sure that all groups are adequately represented. The simple expedient of plotting the church membership on a map often reveals areas which should require more home visiting and a more active ministry.

Professional persons interested in changing the attitudes and habits of rural people cannot afford to ignore the church as a possible channel of communication through which the people may be reached. The Soil Conservation Service has appealed to church members through the sentiment of the stewardship of the land. In some neighborhoods the strongest formal alignments are church groupings. Frequently churches are important in the structuring of social classes. The emotional church furnishes the rites of intensification for the poor non-Catholic migrant of the disadvantaged classes. A device for the description and measurement of cleavage in a church organization is presented. Very frequently, as the trade-center churches grow at the expense of those in the rural neighborhoods, the wealthier farmers tend to withdraw to the town churches, leaving other farmers without adequate church facilities.

PART V

EDUCATIONAL GROUPS AS SOCIAL SYSTEMS

CHAPTER 14

THE PERFORMANCE OF THE RURAL SCHOOL

EDUCATION MAY BE DEFINED as the process whereby culture is transmitted. Schooling, of course, constitutes only that portion of the process which is conducted by the professional educator. Although various types of cultural transmission do not involve children, education is usually thought to be primarily concerned with those processes whereby the infant, born untutored, is given the cultural heritage of the group. Elements of the cultural heritage include skills, ideas, reaction patterns, moral values, social attitudes, and the beliefs which constitute citizenship and personality.¹ In reality, the educational process is going on in all societies among all ages and both sexes most of the time.

In reporting an informal discussion in a casually formed group of Guatemalans, Redfield intimates that people learn more in such situations than in school. A brief excerpt from his article will illustrate the process which he is stressing. "After a short period of silence, conversation begins about snakes, one man having recently killed a large snake. A young boy, apparently wishing to make an effective contribution to a conversation in which he has as yet played no part, remarks that the coral snake joins itself together when cut apart. The man who (previously) laughed at the Indian belief about tired legs scornfully denies the truth of the statement about coral snakes. Another older man in the group comes to the support of the boy and in a tentative way supports the truth of the belief as to coral snakes. A younger man says that it is not true, because he cut apart such a snake without unusual result. The skeptical man appeals to the company; another witness offers testimony unfavorable to the belief. The boy has not spoken again; the other man who ventured to support him withdraws from the argument. . . . The bystander recognizes that there is substantial consensus on the points raised; the boy is ap-

¹ Bronislaw Malinowski, "The Pan-African Problem of Culture Contact," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 6, May 1943, pp. 649-665.

parently convinced.”² In commenting on this incident, Redfield says, “. . . In any society the process of education depends more on such events . . . than it does upon all the formal pedagogical devices which exist in the society.”³ Psychological experiments have demonstrated that this form of interaction is of utmost importance in the development of social norms and individual orientation.⁴

The importance of the early experiences of the child in character and personality formation was discussed briefly in Chapter 2. In most societies, no agency is more important in the educational process than the family. An increasing body of research seems to demonstrate that the family, through inhibiting and facilitating the basic impulses of the young child, lays the foundation for the individual's basic character structure and thereby creates the basic characteristics and ethos of a given society. Excretory control, for example, imposed severely and at an early age may be associated with premature development of responsibility and conscientiousness.⁵ A punishing parent may be “internalized,” thus making the act more inhibitive than if it were the act itself which caused the pain. In such a case, a more difficult interpersonal adjustment pattern may be produced. Social classes or groups which develop in young children strict behavior involving regularity in eating, sleeping, cleanliness, controlled sex behavior, and the like, and which enforce thereby severe controls, may require that children take responsibility earlier. They may also have children who engage more frequently and for a longer period of time in such actions as thumb sucking and nail biting. The proba-

² Robert Redfield, “Culture and Education in the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala,” *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 6, May 1943, p. 645.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 647.

⁴ See Muzafer Sherif, *The Psychology of Social Norms*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1936, pp. 89–112. In one experiment, individuals in a dark room attempt to estimate the distance a point of light is from the observation point and how far it moves. When such estimation is done in a group situation, the estimates made by the members converge. This offers an excellent opportunity to study leadership by appraising the relative influence of various members on the group norm which is being established.

⁵ Scudder Mekeel, “Education, Child-Training, and Culture,” *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 6, May 1943, pp. 676–681; Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1939, and *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945; also W. Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, *Father of the Man*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947.

bility of having certain psychoses is also increased.⁶ Societies such as our own which require one set of behavior for the youth and another for the adults, universally have various types of *rites of passage*, discussed in Chapter 12.⁷ Not too much is known about the permanent structuring effect of the early learning in childhood, but one thing is sure: the school as an educational agency must deal with it. The rural school, although more homogeneous in its constituency than the city school, will have children with very different character structures. Some of these differences will be related to class, some to ethnic groups, and some will be individual variations.

The relative importance of the family, clique, and other groups not specifically educational in function, in setting the whole value orientation and structure of society, has led many modern students to doubt the American faith in education which Clark Wissler has listed as one of the dominant American cultural traits.⁸ On the other hand, there is no doubt that various forces, particularly when directed from the centers of totalitarian states, may not only develop a rift between the home and the school, but may also give major responsibility for value orientation and character formation to the schools.⁹ Because the

⁶ Allison Davis and R. J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 6, December 1946, pp. 698-710. See also Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage*, Washington: American Council on Education, 1940, Chapter 12.

⁷ Ruth Benedict, "Transmitting our Democratic Heritage in the Schools," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 6, May 1943, p. 727. For contrasts with our society, see Margaret Mead, *From the South Seas, Coming of Age in Samoa*, New York: William Morrow & Company, 1939.

⁸ Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1932. ". . . Our culture is characterized by an over-ruling belief in something we call education—a kind of mechanism to propitiate the intent of nature in the manifestation of culture. Our implicit faith that this formula, or method, will cause this purpose to be more happily fulfilled, is our real religion" (p. 8). Margaret Mead comments that this belief, especially as related to faith in the schools, has often been branded as naive and simple-minded and goes on to say that, "In many of its forms it is not only unjustified optimism but arrant nonsense." (Margaret Mead, "Our Educational Emphases in Primitive Perspective," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 6, May 1943, p. 639.) See also Leslie A. White, "Education: America's Magic," *School and Society*, Vol. LXI, No. 1588, June 2, 1945, pp. 353-354.

⁹ Malinowski, *op. cit.*, p. 649. In Germany not only were the schools told to initiate Nazi propaganda, but teachers constituted a significant support of the Nazi party and movement. See Hans Gerth, "The Nazi Party: Its Leadership and Composition," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLV, No. 4, January 1940, pp. 517-541.

generalized responses of the value-attitude type seem to be easy to establish in childhood but exceedingly difficult to establish in adult life, neither the family, the church, nor the state will surrender the equities which these social systems feel they have in the child's training. However, the importance of the school in rural and urban cultures, as related to the other social systems in which education is carried on, has been steadily increasing for a number of generations.¹⁰

In general, it may be stated that the more important the free professions become in any culture, the more important will be the school system to which responsibility for vocational and professional training falls. As pointed out in previous chapters, the rise of the contractual *Gesellschaft* has been associated with the development of professional and business specialties, each with its own ethic or value orientation and highly specialized skills and knowledge. In peasant cultures, vocational knowledge and skills, for the most part, are passed down through the family. In modern rural and urban societies alike, the importance of the school in preparing youth for these specialties is increasing. Modern commercial farming, no less than other enterprises, requires skills and knowledge to which an effective school system contributes.

THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM

Next to the family, the school influences a larger proportion of the total population than does any other agency.¹¹ Under its auspices, schoolmate, teacher, and student roles are learned. The child, in many cases for the first time, learns to respond to a more impersonal type of authority than he has known in the home. He learns a whole new status system, both as related to formal achievement and informal attainments recognized only by his fellows. If the school is a true system, he develops a certain sense of pride in it and conforms more or less to its law-norms. Symbols such as pennants, school colors, class pins, and songs may be important to students and alumni.

In some small village and rural schools, the family influence is

¹⁰ Constantine Panunzio, *Major Social Institutions*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, p. 252. Panunzio associates the rise of the middle class with the increasing proportions of the population attending school.

¹¹ Educational level appears crucial, for example, in sex behavior, and Kinsey finds it necessary to make a basic division of his data according to level of schooling. See Alfred C. Kinsey *et al.*, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948.

maintained. The teacher may have been a local girl and there may be so little bureaucracy that the school may be characterized as of the nature of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*. Other schools in rural areas may have elements, which in Chapter 1 were described as of the nature of the contractual *Gesellschaft*. In general, the larger the school system and the more heterogeneous the student body and teaching staff, the fewer will be the acquaintanceship and kinship ties among students and teachers in any given school system. Consequently, it will resemble more nearly the contractual *Gesellschaft* and will approach less nearly the familistic *Gemeinschaft*. The significance of these differences will be discussed later.

The Composition of the Rural School in the United States. According to the Bureau of Census data for April 1947, there were 26,244,000 children between 5 and 24 attending schools in the United States. Of these, 12,278,000 were in schools in the open country, villages, and towns of less than 2,500 inhabitants. A slightly larger percentage was in school in 1947 than in 1940. In the case of the farm population, the change was marked. Whereas only 55.7 percent of the farm children attended school in 1940, by 1947, 61.3 percent were attending school. As might be expected, the greatest change occurs in the older age groups.¹²

Despite the rapid rate of rural school consolidation, in 1944 there were 107,000 one-room schools, 30,000 less than a decade earlier. The 20,000 two-teacher schools, taken together with the one-room schools, comprise over two-thirds of the rural schools and over half of all the schools in the United States.¹³

Figure 143 describes the age and sex composition of the farm population in relation to the urban population in the various age groups. As Table 32 indicates, there are relatively fewer rural-farm children than urban or rural-nonfarm children in school in all age groups. Even so, no nation in the world has as large a proportion of its population enrolled in school.¹⁴

¹² Bureau of the Census, *School Enrollment of the Civilian Population: April 1947*, Washington, Series P-20, No. 12, February 16, 1948. Cf. T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 396.

¹³ J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946, p. 434.

¹⁴ Hughes and Lancelot, *Education, America's Magic*, Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1946, pp. 174-183, and the Appendix Table for Warren S. Thompson's estimates of the proportions of various age groups attending school in various countries, p. 185.

Performance. The volumes of the Federal Census for 1940¹⁵ provide useful data dealing with educational attainment for the three

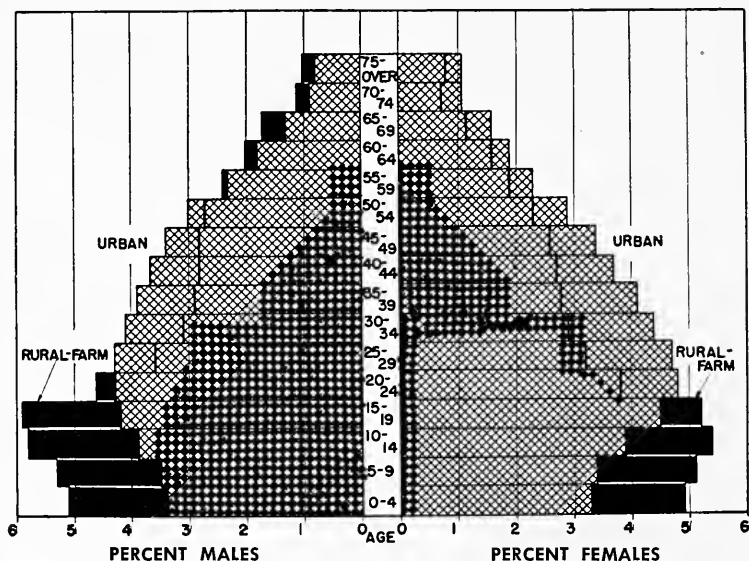


FIG. 143. Age-sex pyramid for the urban and rural-farm population of the United States, 1940. (Data from Sixteenth Census of the United States, Second Series, *Characteristics of the Population*, United States Summary.)

residence groups, and for age, sex, color, and nativity groupings. Such information has been collected for those who were in the school ages, and for the adult population in 1940.

Figure 144 shows graphically the proportions of urban, rural-non-farm, and rural-farm persons in the ages from 5 to 24 who were attending school in 1940. It will be noted that the urban youth at all ages are attending school in larger proportions than either of the other residence groups. At least 95 percent of the urban youth in the ages from 7 to 14 are in school. In the farm population, on the other hand, only three age groups approach this high attendance rate, namely ages 9, 10, and 11. The greatest gap between the urban and the farm youth in school attendance comes in the youngest ages, that is, at 5 and 6, then again at ages 16 and 17.

¹⁵ See Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States, *Population*, Vol. IV, *Characteristics by Age* and Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943 and 1942.

Differences in the proportions of males and females attending school at various ages for the three residence groups are indicated in

TABLE 32

Proportions of the Urban, Rural-Nonfarm, and Rural-Farm Youth Attending School in the United States, by Age, 1940

Age	Percent Attending School		
	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm
All groups 5-24	58.8	57.7	55.7
5 years	28.7	11.0	6.8
6 years	79.7	64.5	56.5
7 years	95.7	92.6	37.1
8 years	97.0	95.3	90.9
9 years	97.4	95.9	92.1
10 years	97.6	96.1	92.2
11 years	97.6	96.2	92.6
12 years	97.4	95.8	91.9
13 years	97.1	95.1	90.7
14 years	96.0	92.9	86.1
15 years	93.4	87.3	77.4
16 years	83.6	75.0	63.8
17 years	67.5	59.9	49.4
18 years	40.0	35.3	30.1
19 years	23.3	19.2	16.8
20 years	14.5	10.7	9.2
21 years	10.3	6.8	5.7
22 years	6.7	4.1	3.4
23 years	4.4	2.5	2.2
24 years	3.1	1.8	1.5

SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, "Characteristics by Age," Table 14.

Figure 145. Careful inspection of this figure will reveal that larger proportions of females in the younger ages are in school. This holds true for each of the residence groups. In fact, larger proportions of farm females than farm males are in school at every age until 21. From 21 to 24, larger percentages of males are attending school. The situation in the urban and rural-nonfarm populations is less extreme. For the urban youth, at ages 12 and 13, identical proportions of males and females are in school. At age 14 and beyond, larger proportions

of males than females are in school. For the rural-nonfarm population, sex differences in attendance are quite similar to those of the urban population.

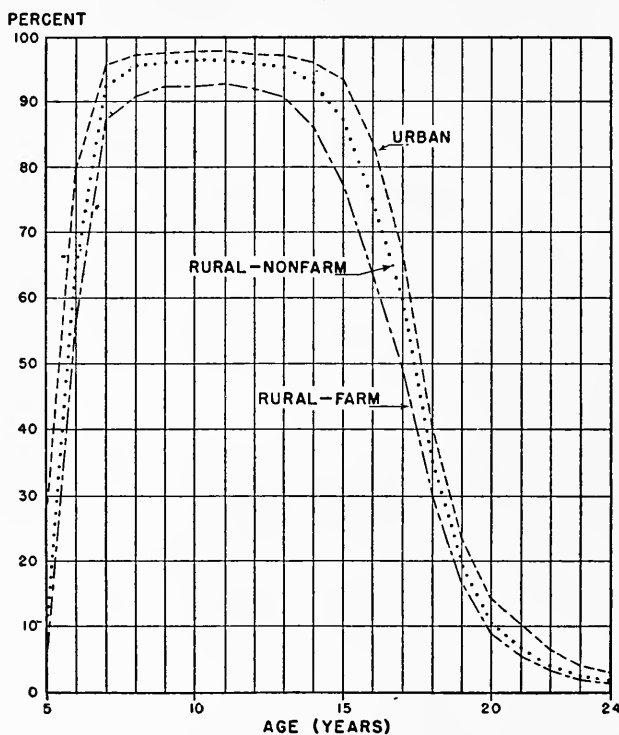


FIG. 144. Proportions of urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm youth aged 5-24 attending school in 1940. (Reproduced from Sixteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV, *Characteristics by Age*, p. xi.)

Many have emphasized the educational disadvantages for the Negro in this country.¹⁶ Even with regard to the proportions attending school, there are great differences between the whites and the Negroes. Figure 146 summarizes these differences for the rural-farm populations. Of the white rural-farm population between the ages of 5 and 24, 56.5 percent were attending school in 1940; only 51.9 per-

¹⁶ See T. Lynn Smith and Louise Kemp, *The Educational Status of Louisiana's Farm Population*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana AES Bulletin 424, December 1947, pp. 2-20; and Hughes and Lancelot, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-106.

cent of the non-white rural-farm population were attending school at the same date. The figure shows that larger proportions of whites than Negroes at all ages are in school. This is true, furthermore, of

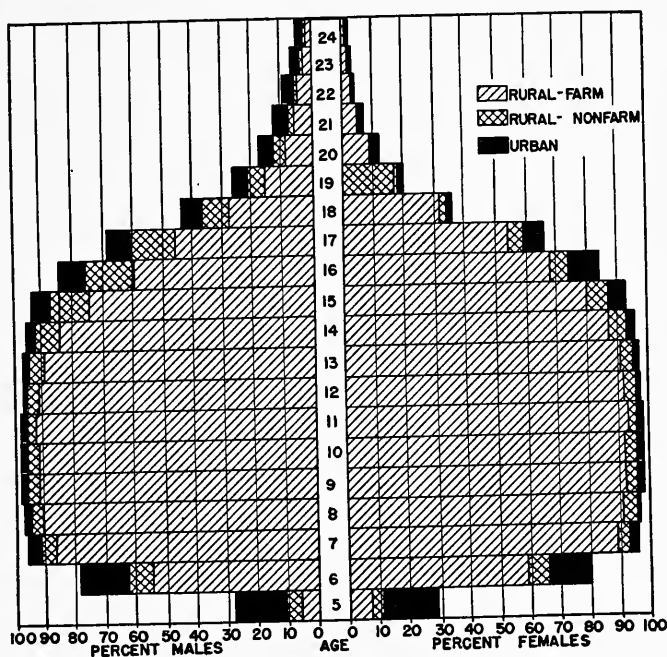


FIG. 145. Proportions of males and females in the three residence groups aged 5-24 attending school in 1940. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV, *Characteristics by Age*, p. xi.)

both sexes. Many leaders in the field of education, however, stress the inequities in facilities available to the Negro and fail to realize that participation of both groups is low in the Cotton Belt and in the South generally. Of all whites between the ages of 5 and 24 in the South, 45.8 percent were not attending school in 1940. The comparable figure for non-whites in this region was 48.5 per cent. In the northeastern region, only 40.2 percent of all persons in these ages were not in school. It will be noted that the age pattern of school attendance for both whites and non-whites is similar.

The percentages of rural-farm and of urban residents who have completed selected levels of schooling are indicated in Figure 147. Urban and farm differences in proportions of the population at vari-

ous ages that have completed 7 or 8 grades are revealing. Urban children between the ages of 10 and 14 have completed grade school in larger proportions than have farm children. From age 15 to 24,

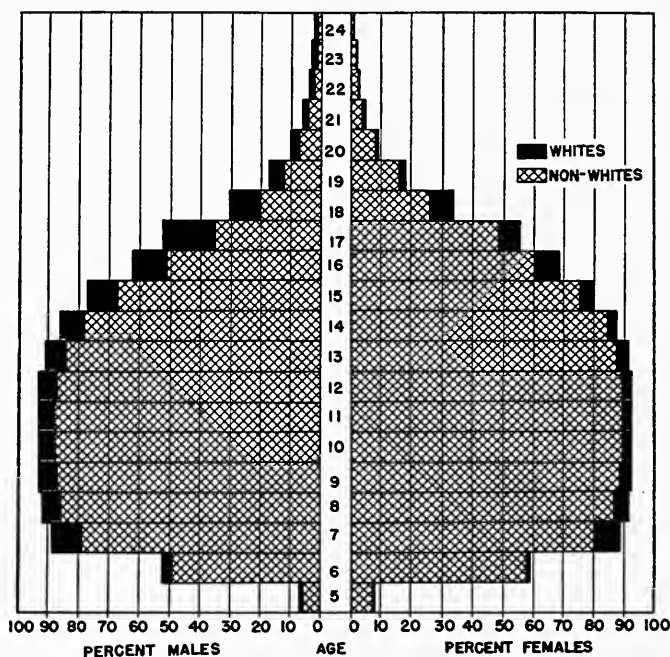


FIG. 146. Proportions of whites and non-whites in the three residence groups aged 5-24 attending school in 1940. Note that larger percentages of whites than non-whites at all ages attended school in 1940. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV, *Characteristics by Age*, Table 14.)

however, the farm proportions are much larger than the urban. Apparently the urban children are able to advance more rapidly and to remain in school for a longer period. The large proportions of farm children who drop out of school after completing grade school begins to show up after age 15 is reached. At 24 years of age, when certainly most persons have completed their formal education, 33 percent of the rural-farm males and 19 percent of the urban males had completed grade school only. The corresponding figures for the females are 29 percent and 20 percent.

Figure 147 also shows the proportions of urban and farm youth between the ages of 15 and 24 that have completed four years of

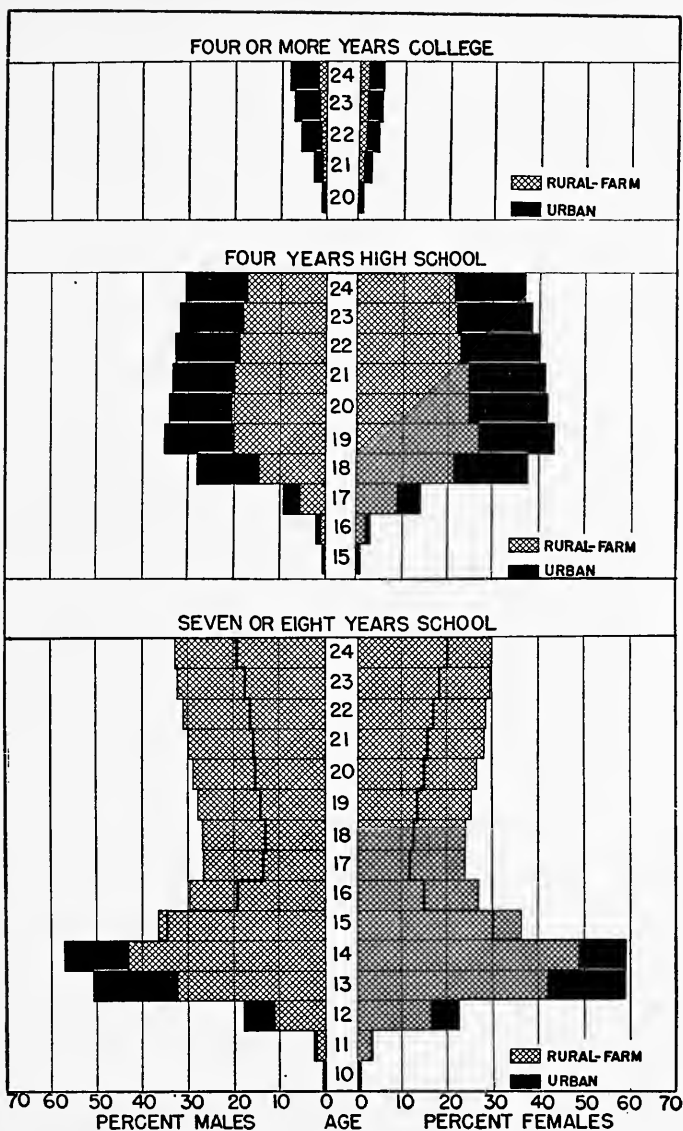


FIG. 147. Proportions of urban and rural-farm youth who have completed grade school, high school, and college, by age, 1940. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV, *Characteristics by Age*, Table 15.)

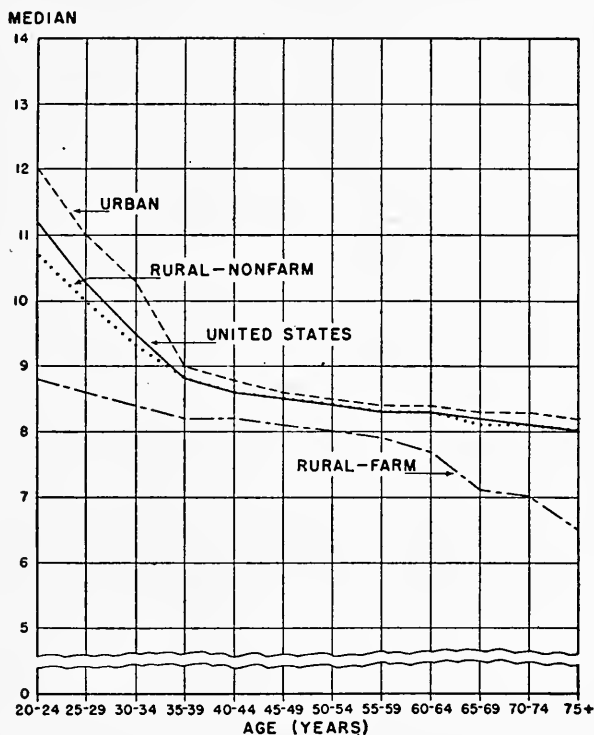
high school. At each age and for both sexes, a much larger proportion of urban than farm residents completed four years of high school. Of persons aged 24, 31 percent of the urban male residents and 17 percent of rural-farm male residents have completed high school only. For the females, the comparable figures are 37 percent and 21 percent. These data, however, do not reflect place of birth. That is, there is no way to discover what proportion of the urbanites who have completed high school have migrated from the farm to the city.

An even greater difference between rural and urban attainment is to be found in that section of Figure 147 which deals with proportions completing four years of college or more. At all ages between 20 and 24, the percentage of the urban population that has at least completed college greatly exceeds the proportion of the farm population that has done so. While 9.1 percent of the urban male population aged 24 has at least completed college, only 1.4 percent of the farm male population claims such attainment. The figures for females are 5.3 percent and 1.7 percent, respectively. Again, it should be emphasized that the effect of migration upon urban educational levels cannot be determined from the data at hand.

So far, the data have dealt principally with persons who in 1940 were in those ages at which formal education normally occurs. It is now necessary to consider the adult population. Figure 148 indicates graphically the median number of years of school completed by persons 20 years old and over. It will be noted that at each age in the life span, the urban population has the best record of school completion. Intermediate, at all ages, we find the rural-nonfarm population. The rural-farm population, throughout the life span, is characterized by the lowest median attainments. The farm population in the youngest and oldest age groups is least well educated when compared with the urban population.

Figure 149 affords a comparison of educational attainments for the urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm populations of the 48 states. The population aged 25 and over in each state is represented by a circle, the area of which varies according to the size of the population. The proportion of each state's population in the various residence groups is shown by segments. The percentage which is urban begins at 9 o'clock on the circle and moves clockwise. The next segment indicates the percentage which is rural-nonfarm, and the last segment represents the proportion of rural-farm population. These segments are then crosshatched in accordance with the median number of

school years completed. A survey of this figure indicates immediately that the urban medians are usually high while the rural medians are low. It will be noted also that the rural-nonfarm segments are inter-



SOURCE: TABLE 23

FIG. 148. Median number of school years completed by residence and age, 1940. (Reproduced from Sixteenth Census of the United States, Vol. IV, *Characteristics by Age*, p. xi.)

mediate insofar as educational attainment is concerned. Furthermore, two regional extremes stand out. Attainment in the Far West is for the most part relatively high, whereas educational attainment in the South, particularly in the Cotton Belt, is relatively low. For the country as a whole, the median numbers of school years completed for the urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm populations are 8.7, 8.4, and 7.7, respectively.

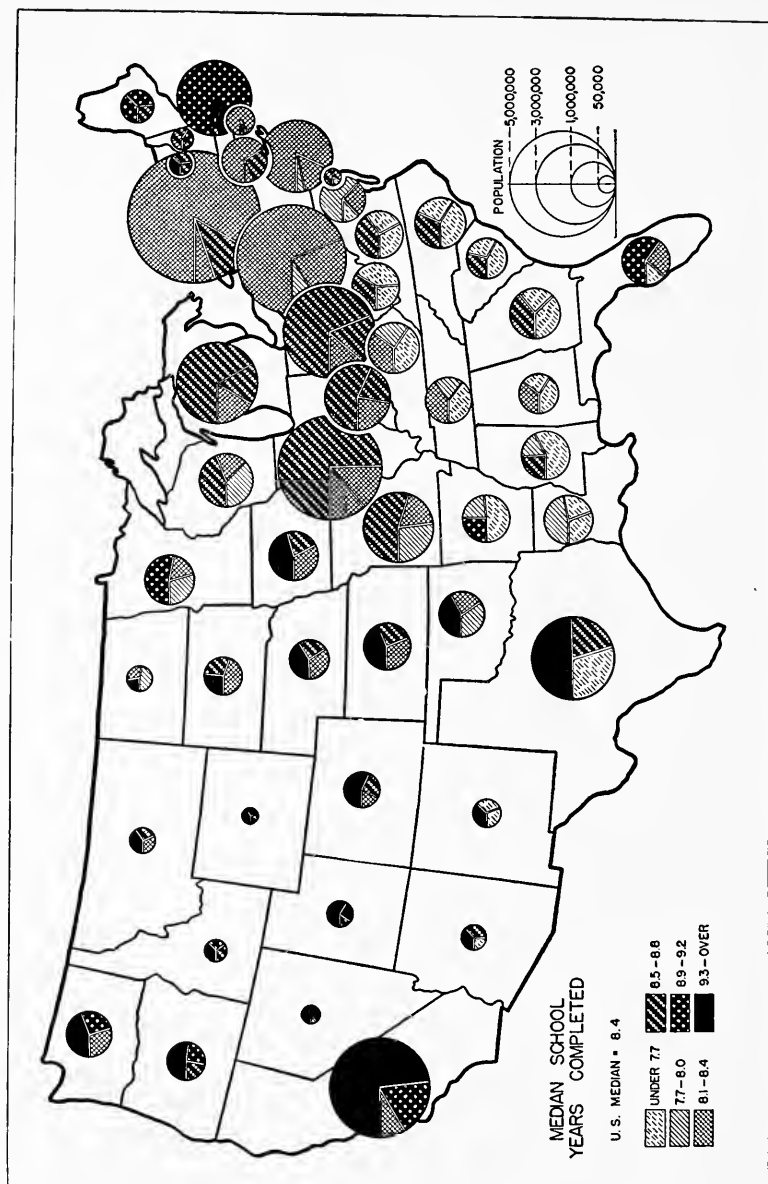


FIG. 149. Median number of school years completed, by residence and state, 1940. (Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Table 13.)

Figure 150, which is constructed in a manner similar to Figure 149, shows the educational attainment of racial and nativity groups. Reading clockwise and beginning at 9 o'clock, the first segment represents the proportion of native-whites in the state, the second segment represents the proportion of foreign-born whites, and the last segment represents the proportion of Negroes. It will be obvious at once that the native-white groups are characterized by the highest attainment levels. Falling considerably below the native-white groups are those born abroad and the Negroes. For the country as a whole, the medians of 8.8, 7.3, and 5.7 represent the educational attainments of the native-white, foreign-born white, and Negro groups, respectively.

Two additional figures afford residence comparisons at the extreme levels of educational attainment. As in Figure 149, the size of the adult population is reflected in the area of the circle, and the proportions residing in urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm places, are indicated by the "cuts" in the circles. Figure 151 shows the percentage of the populations in the three residence groups that has had no formal schooling. The regional pattern revealed is striking. The farm segments of the South, especially in the Cotton Belt, contain very large proportions having had no schooling, whereas all residence groups in the Plain States, Mountain States, and the Far West, especially the Range-Livestock, Wheat Belt, and Western Specialty-Crop Areas, have relatively small proportions having had no formal schooling. Surprisingly enough, the urban populations of states such as New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island have large percentages of persons who have had no schooling. This condition is related, of course, to the large foreign groups living in these states. In the country as a whole, 3.6 percent of the urban population and 4.7 percent of the rural-farm population has had no formal education. In two states, Arizona and Louisiana, more than 20 percent of the farm population has had no schooling. On the other hand, less than 1 percent of the farm population in states such as Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska has not attended school.

The percentages of urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm residents that have completed one or more years of college are shown in Figure 152. It will be noted that the percentage of urban residents having some college is much greater than among rural residents. Nearly one-fifth of the urban populations of North Dakota, Idaho, Utah, and South Dakota has had some college, while less than one-tenth of the urban populations of such states as Connecticut, Maine, New Hamp-

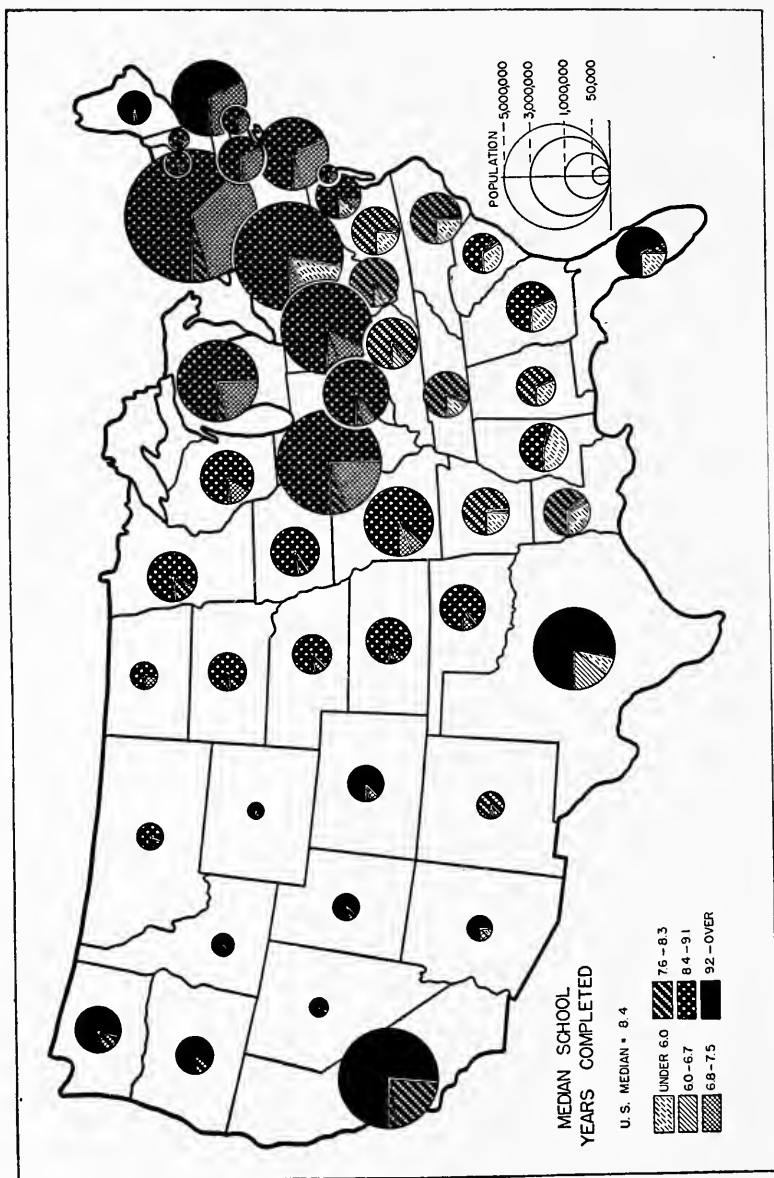


FIG. 150. Median number of school years completed, by race, nativity, and state, 1940. (Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Table 13.)

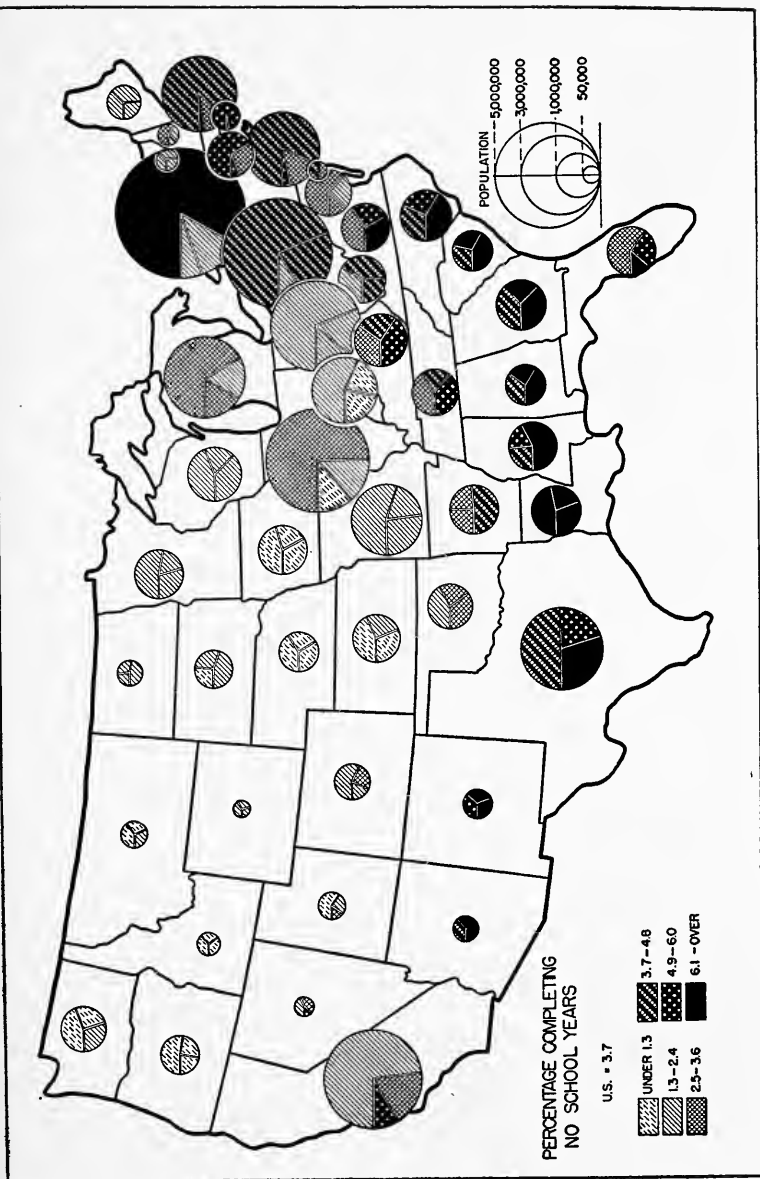


FIG. 151. Percentages of the urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm populations 25 years old and over completing no years in school, 1940. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Table 18.)

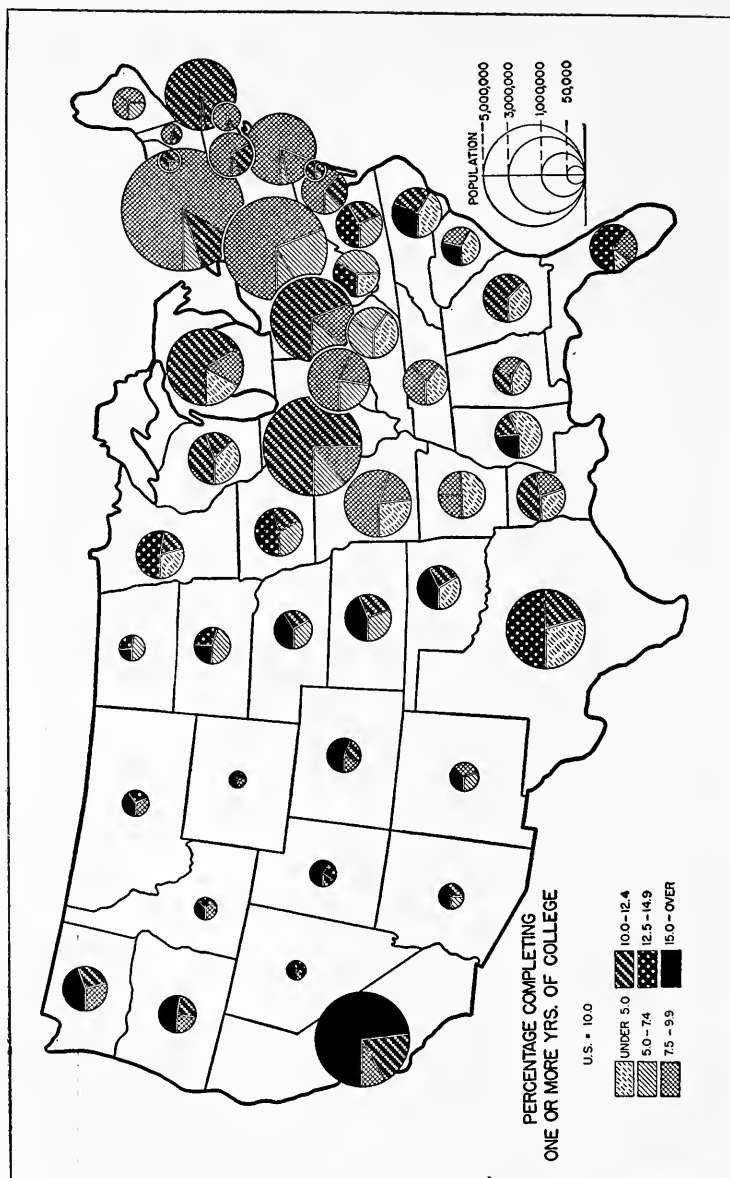


FIG. 152. Percentages of urban, rural-nonfarm, and rural-farm populations 25 years old and over completing one or more years of college, 1940. (Source: Sixteenth Census of the United States, Vol. II, *Characteristics of the Population*, Table 13.)

shire, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland has had some college training. Less than 3 percent of the rural-farm populations of Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Mississippi—all Cotton Belt states—has had college training. Whereas 11.7 percent of the total urban population of the United States has had some college training, only 4.7 percent of the farm population has had this amount of education. The percentage for the rural-nonfarm population is relatively high, 9.9 percent.

Figure 153 describes the educational accomplishment of the states.

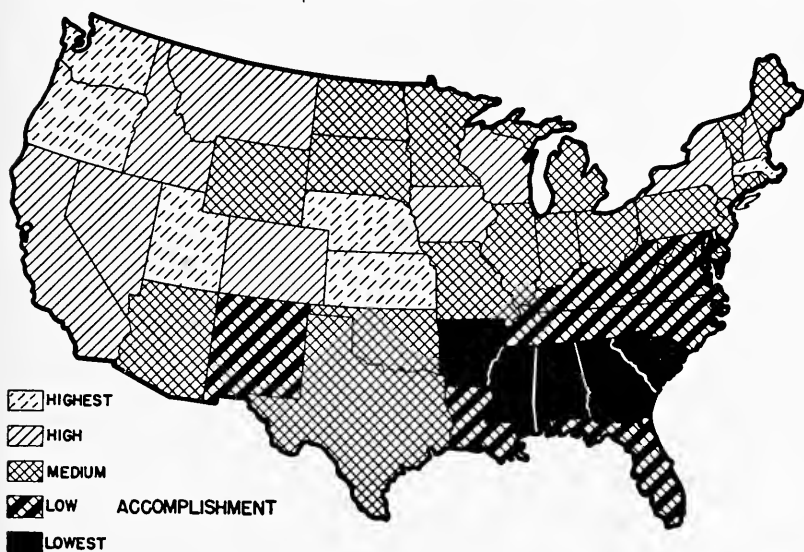


FIG. 153. Accomplishment of the states in education, 1940. "Accomplishment" is based upon the percentage of youth (1) who finish the eighth grade; (2) who attend high school; (3) who are graduated from high school; (4) who attend college; and (5) who are graduated from college. (Adapted from Hughes and Lancelot, *Education—America's Magic*, 1946, p. 52.)

It will be noted that the highest accomplishments are attained by relatively rural states such as Utah, Nebraska, and Kansas. However, the lowest accomplishments are also found in relatively rural states such as Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. The prevalent belief that the low performance of the latter group and other southern states is due chiefly to the large Negro populations is not supported, since the poor white populations of these states avail

themselves of educational opportunities very little more than do the Negro populations.¹⁷

Inequalities. Rural schools, in comparison with urban schools, have generally been considered inferior in performance.¹⁸ However, there is no satisfactory way to measure from census data the relative performance of the two systems, because a large proportion of the students from rural areas now attend city schools. Frequently over half of the high school students in the towns under 10,000 population located in rural states are from the surrounding rural areas.¹⁹ However, the inequalities in educational support by states are manifest in Figures 154 and 155. It is obvious from these maps that the children in the predominantly rural states are greatly disadvantaged in the financial support of the schools they attend as well as in the length of the rural school term. In the educational attainments of the teachers, salaries, equipment, plant, and in practically all features, the rural schools are generally inferior to urban schools.

Figure 156 provides state comparisons of the effort to support education as reflected in the proportion of income devoted to education. This figure demonstrates that the rural states make relatively the greatest effort to educate their children. Actually, rural school attendance, a reflection of the effort to attain education, is not significantly less than urban school attendance. Despite a shorter school year in rural areas, rural children attended an average of 144.5 days

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-106.

¹⁸ The median grade of attainment varies greatly by state. In Missouri in 1940 rural-farm youth attained 8.8 grades as compared with 10.5 and 11.4 grades respectively for rural-nonfarm and for urban youth of 24 years of age. See Margaret L. Bright and C. E. Lively, *Farm Youth in Missouri*, Columbia: Missouri AES Bulletin 504, June 1947, p. 13.

¹⁹ *Rural Michigan*, Lansing: Department of Public Instruction, undated; and J. F. Thaden and Eben Mumford, *High School Communities in Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 289, January 1938. It should be remembered that about half of the young people migrate from rural areas to urban centers to be employed in business and industry. In the highly industrialized northeastern states, 86 percent of the skilled and unskilled workers have had less than a four-year high school education. "Thru failure of the schools in many rural areas to meet their educational obligations these urban residents are placed under such serious handicaps that the social structure of American life may be materially weakened." *Your School District*, The Report of the National Commission on School District Reorganization, Department of Rural Education, National Educational Association of the United States, Washington: 1948, pp. 17 and 18.

of school per year as compared with 158.2 for urban children. In 1939-1940 the rural term averaged 167.6 days per school year, as

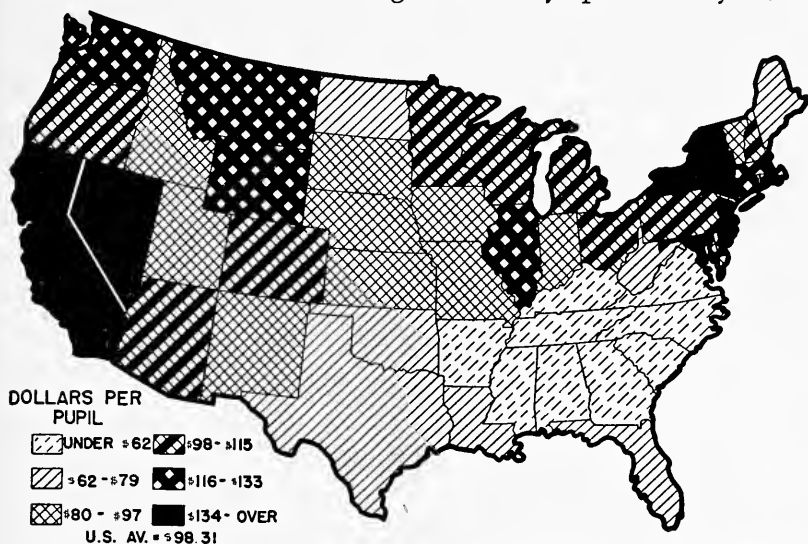


FIG. 154. Current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance in the various states, 1939-1940. (Adapted from Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, 1947, p. 392.)

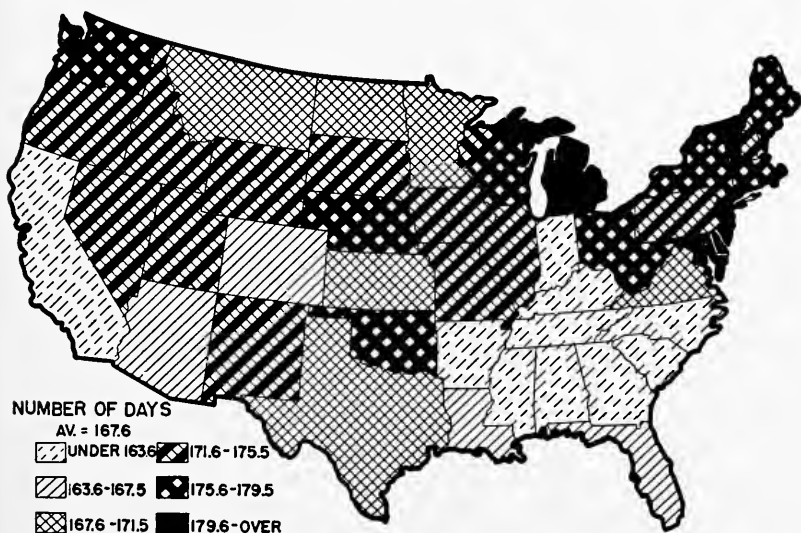


FIG. 155. Average number of days in the rural school term, by states, 1939-1940. (Adapted from Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, 1947, p. 398.)

compared with the urban term of 181.7. Rural teachers received an average salary of \$989 per year whereas urban teachers averaged \$1,955; per pupil expenditure for maintaining public schools was

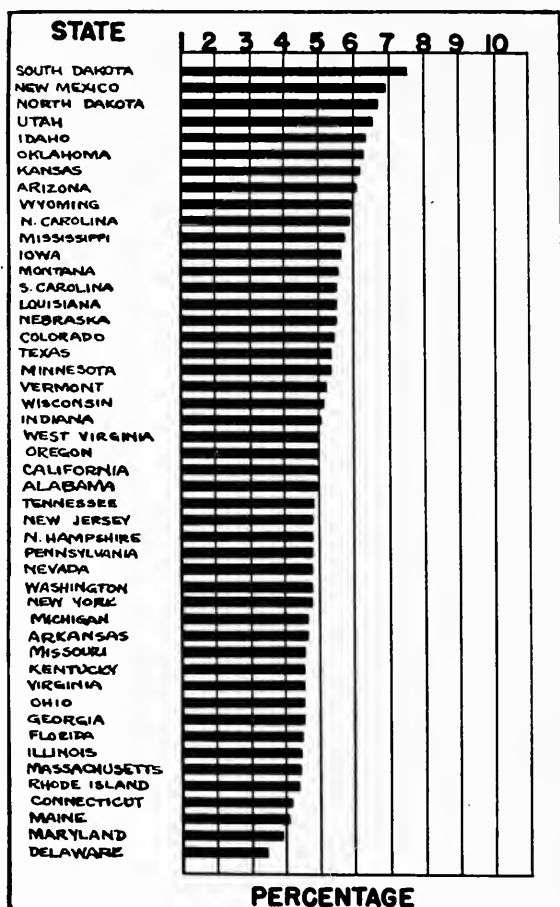


FIG. 156. Rank of the states in percentage of income devoted to education. (SOURCE: Hughes and Lancelot, *Education—America's Magic*, 1946, p. 70.)

\$74 in rural areas as compared with \$112 in urban.²⁰ The importance of these inequalities is emphasized by the fact that 50.7 percent of the nation's children from 6 to 15 years of age lived on farms or in

²⁰ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 396. See also United States Office of Education, *Statistical Summary of Education*, 1941-42, p. 14.

rural territory, whereas only 37 percent of all monies expended on primary and elementary education went to rural schools.²¹ Further inequalities are indicated in Table 33.²²

TABLE 33
Comparison of Rural and Urban Public Schools, 1939-1940

	Urban	Rural
Population 1940	74,423,702	57,245,573
Population 5-17 years	14,703,957	15,041,289
Percent of total	20.0	26.2
Pupils enrolled	13,309,547	12,123,995
Number school buildings	37,700	189,062
Number teaching positions	441,852	469,983
Number pupils per teacher	31.7	26.6
Average length school term	181.7	167.6
Average number days attended by each pupil	158.2	144.5
Average salary of teachers	\$1,955	\$959
Estimated value school property per pupil enrolled	\$405	\$185
Current expense per pupil	\$105	\$ 70

SOURCE: "Statistics of State School Systems, 1930-40 and 1941-42," United States Office of Education, p. 39. Taken from Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, p. 402.

Teacher-Student Relations. Among progressive educators there is the belief that student-teacher relationships should be "democratized," that is, that students should have more rights and teachers less authority than in the past.²³ In the peasant or rural village neighborhood, the teacher and the neighborhood itself are often described as an extension of the family. Student-teacher relationships tend to re-

²¹ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 434. Cf. Milo Peterson and Douglas Marshall, *Are Minnesota's Farm Youth in School?* St. Paul: Minnesota AES Paper No. 582, p. 9.

²² Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1948, p. 402. See also Bright and Lively, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 10-13.

²³ Possibly as typical an expression of the more "liberal" trend in "progressive" education is that of Kurt Lewin and Paul Grabbe in *Conduct, Knowledge, and Acceptance of New Values*, Research Center for Group Dynamics, Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Pub. No. 3, Dec. 1945. "That the normal gap between teacher and student, doctor and patient, social worker and public, can be a real obstacle to acceptance of the advocated conduct is stressed equally for re-education of the alcoholic (Bales), the delinquent (Haydon) and the administrator (Bradford)." p. 11.

semble parent-child relationships insofar as the authority pattern is concerned.²⁴ Without considering the relative merits of various types of progressive trends in education, there is little doubt that its greatest inroads have been made in the city schools. At least one noted anthropologist interprets its spread as a compensation for restrictions on children's opportunities for independence and responsibility in modern cities. With few meaningful and productive tasks, such as farm chores and other adult work, the "persistence of childhood dependency into adulthood—our so-called 'regressions' . . . tend to be more characteristic of the urban than the rural children."²⁵ Although we do not have the facts necessary to prove whether or not less authority on the part of the teacher in the rural areas would improve teaching quality, at least one study demonstrates that the more authoritarian teachers stimulated better performance than others, with regard to the amount of history learned.²⁶ Of course, this analysis does not take into account many factors. With millions spent for education, it would seem that enough could be invested in research to determine the nature of the authority patterns and roles most effective in attaining the objectives of the school. However, trade-center community consolidated schools are setting the pace for American rural education and these patterns imitate those of the cities. We may, therefore, predict that rural education will become increasingly "progressive."

Teachers as a Professional Group. In general, rural teachers have less professional training than do urban teachers. Approximately 16 percent of the rural teachers have had less than two years training beyond high school, as compared with 4 percent in city schools.²⁷

Seventy-eight percent of the 875,477 teachers of the United States, as reported by the United States Office of Education, are women. Actually, the proportion of women teachers in the elementary schools in rural areas is much higher than for the country as a whole. For

²⁴ A. L'Houet, *Zur Psychologie des Bauerntums*, 2 Aufl., Tübingen: Mohr, 1920. L. von Wiese, *Das Dorf als soziales Gebilde*, München: Duncker und Humblot, 1928. See also P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929, Chapter 13.

²⁵ Benedict, *op. cit.*, p. 726.

²⁶ Wilbur B. Brookover, "The Relation of Social Factors to Teaching Ability," *The Journal of Experimental Education*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, June 1945, pp. 191-205; and "The Social Roles of Teachers and Pupil Achievement," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, August 1943, pp. 389-393.

²⁷ "The Status of the Teaching Profession," Research Bulletin, *National Education Association*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, March 1940, p. 59.

example, in Minnesota in 1941 only 7 percent of the teachers in rural ungraded elementary schools were men, as compared with 20.9 percent in cities of over 100,000, and 31.6 percent in other graded elementary and high schools.²⁸

As shown by Figure 157, the teachers of the United States are pre-

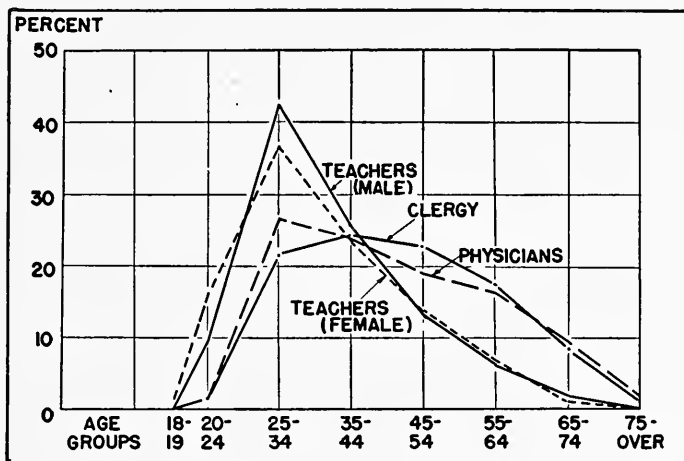


FIG. 157. Age distribution of clergymen, physicians, and male and female teachers in the United States, 1940. (SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States.)

dominantly young. In 1930-1931 the median age for elementary teachers was 27 years; for rural teachers, 25 years; and for urban teachers, 30 years.²⁹ Of all women teaching in 1940, only 24.6 percent were married, an important fact for those who would introduce sex and marriage education into the school systems. The percentage of married men teachers is higher, 71.7. However, it is obvious that the typical elementary teacher is a young, unmarried girl, not more than a few years out of teachers' college. Since a general prejudice against married women teachers prevails, it is not surprising that the complaint is frequently voiced that the teacher is more interested in finding a husband than in her job. These facts, coupled with the fact that salaries, particularly rural, are very low, are determining fac-

²⁸ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 395. As Nelson states, there were 1,030,000 employed teachers as reported by the 1940 census, of whom three-fourths were females. This figure includes county agents.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

tors in the types of relationships that may be expected between teachers and pupils. See Table 34.

TABLE 34
Median Salaries of Teachers by Color and by Size of School, 1935

Type of School	White	Negro
1-teacher schools	\$535	\$263
2-teacher schools	671	287
3-6 teacher schools (open country)	793	378
7 or more (open country)	859	428
7 or more (towns and villages)	979	388
All classes	730	388

SOURCE: Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, p. 397.

With a replacement rate of 40 percent for one- and two-teacher schools and 27 percent for village schools, it is not surprising that the teaching profession has not developed the value orientation and *esprit de corps* found in the medical and other professions.³⁰ Nevertheless, there is no doubt that this profession leaves its mark on those who practice it. Whether "more democratic" procedures advocated by some will bring changes remains to be seen.

Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb³¹ make the point that teachers are recruited largely from the upper-middle and lower-middle classes. Over 90 percent of the teachers in "Hometown," "Yankee City," and "Old City" were members of these two class status groups. In each of the three towns studied, less than 3 percent were "upper-uppers" and less than 3 percent were either "upper-lowers" or "lower-lowers."³² In their study of 1,080 women students attending 15 teachers' colleges, Warner and his associates found that 45 percent were daughters of farmers. Only 8.4 percent of the parents were professionals.³³

³⁰ Wayne T. Gray, in an article entitled "Factors Affecting Teacher Tenure in the Appalachian Highlands," demonstrates how familistic Gemeinschaft-like factors operate in one-room school districts in isolated areas to the disadvantage of professional competence. "School trustees favored relatives and friends when selecting teachers whether or not these were the qualified applicants for the position." *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XIII, No. 3, September 1948, pp. 295-307.

³¹ W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, *Who Shall be Educated?* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

The implications of such a social class background are: "Teachers represent middle-class attitudes and enforce middle-class values and manners. In playing this role, teachers do two things. They train or seek to train children in middle-class manners and skills. And they select those children from the middle and lower classes who appear to be the best candidates for promotion in the social hierarchy."³⁴

THE CURRICULUM

If education is to assist man in adjusting to his environment, it would seem that the problems of food, clothing, and housing should be involved in rural school curricula. Yet in areas in which food habits and customs in clothing and housing contribute least to personal health, these subjects are scarcely treated in the elementary grades.³⁵ The results obtained by the Sloan Foundation and from other experiments in the use of effectively prepared materials concerning diets, clothing, and housing in the elementary schools are eagerly awaited by most educators.

One of the authors visited a New Mexican school; he found little to recommend the curriculum. For the rural children in New Mexico, to spend the few hours available reading about the problems of navigation in Boston harbor is certainly ridiculous.³⁶ Many reading and mathematics books take the rural student no closer than this to the problems he must solve. High schools, however, have been more effective in dealing with practical subjects. Since approximately half the students must leave the farm, vocational education has been shifting toward the high schools.

Through analysis of curriculum trends from 1924 to 1936 in 140 agricultural villages,³⁷ certain tendencies are noted. The social science offerings, including the older term "civics," were available in some form in all junior and senior high schools. Increased offerings in social studies were made possible by dropping Latin, by consolidating various courses in history, and by offering in alternate years such college preparatory subjects as physics, chemistry, and higher mathematics. Vocational training increased greatly, with many more

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

³⁵ Lee Sprowles, "The Sloan Instructional Materials," Bureau of School Service, University of Kentucky, Vol. XX, No. 1, September 1947, p. 13.

³⁶ C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 317-322.

³⁷ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

offerings in home economics, agriculture and commercial courses. The Smith-Hughes Act, passed in 1918, meant that federal support was available for the teaching of agriculture, home economics, and mechanical arts in high schools. Music was found in six out of seven schools, drama in half, and art in two out of five schools. Vocational guidance was found in half the schools, whereas in 1924 it was found in none.

The spirit of adventure and creative ability are often required to make the most of the limited facilities in rural areas. A Michigan teacher had her pupils study conservation of resources by first-hand observation of gullies near the school. They learned how to prevent erosion by the use of check dams and the planting of grass and shrubs. A Minnesota teacher organized a small cooperative as a demonstration project. Each pupil became a member and the state laws were studied and followed. Officers were elected and records were kept. Lessons in arithmetic, writing, and reading, not to mention citizenship, were taught through this experience.³⁸

SUMMARY

Through the processes of education, the group transmits, generation after generation, those elements of culture including knowledge, skills, ideas, reaction patterns, values, social attitudes, beliefs, and other ingredients essential to citizenship and personality development. Important as the school is in this process, its significance is often overestimated. In all probability, the basic personality of the child, the basis of the general ethos or central theme of a given culture, is well shaped before the child enters the school. Nevertheless, no social system other than the family is in more intimate and extended contact with more people than the school. For this reason we find political, religious, and family systems vying with one another for the control of education.

With few components of living levels is it easier to demonstrate the disadvantaged conditions under which rural people live than it is with education. Notwithstanding the fact that city populations fail to reproduce themselves and must rely heavily upon rural areas for replacement, every index of attainment, availability of facilities, and

³⁸ Cited in Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 406. Leone Davison, "Consumers' Cooperative of Centerville," *Progressive Education*, April 1942, pp. 203-206; and Iman E. Schatzmann, *Country School at Home and Abroad*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942, pp. 167 ff.

competence of personnel show the rural school systems to be disadvantaged. With approximately half of the nation's youth in the ages from 6 to 15 living in rural territories, only about one-third of all monies expended on primary and elementary education go to these areas.

The school teaching staffs of the nation have not become as professionalized as the medical, legal, and other professional groups. The stamp of the professional code and value orientation is less deeply ingrained upon the school teachers. In part, this situation is due to the high replacement rates which, in the case of one- and two-teacher schools, approaches 40 percent. These schools comprise two-thirds of the schools in rural areas and one-half of the schools in the nation. Since salaries of urban teachers are much higher than those of rural teachers, it is not surprising that the better teachers gravitate to the cities. Furthermore, it is not surprising that many rural teachers look upon their positions as temporary employment, pending marriage or more satisfactory work.

Rural school curricula which could answer the needs of students for understanding and improving rural life, on the whole, are destitute of such curricula. Nevertheless, the rural areas make a tremendous contribution to the educational system of the country and to the middle-class orientation of the nation. One study shows that half of the teachers were from farm backgrounds and that most were of lower or upper-middle class origin. Thus, the educators are selected largely from the middle classes. Consequently, they are in a position to transmit this value orientation to future generations. Students who either refuse or are unable to acquire the middle-class "life style" are not likely to be in favor with those who control our schools.

CHAPTER 15

THE RELATION OF THE SCHOOL TO OTHER SYSTEMS

ALTHOUGH THERE IS A STRONG TENDENCY to think of the educational social system as an entity apart from other systems, it is closely related to and influenced by other social systems. Its relation to locality systems, for example, is often of primary importance to the satisfactory functioning of education.

Some Conflicting Principles. In a good many parts of the country there is bitter rivalry between two factions, one wishing to retain the neighborhood one- or two-room school, and the other striving to consolidate the smaller rural schools into larger units. As is indicated by Table 35, consolidation is still a controversial issue, especially in some

TABLE 35

Percentage of Replies, by Region, to the Question: Do you favor or oppose further consolidation or centralization of rural schools?

Region	Percentage		
	Favor	Oppose	Undecided
Nation	68	23	9
Southeast Region	79	16	5
Northeast Region	78	17	5
Southwest Region	74	25	1
West Coast Region	64	11	25
Appalachian Region	64	30	6
Northern Plains Region	53	36	11
Midwest Region	52	33	15

SOURCE: *Farmer's Opinions About Post-War Conditions*, Washington, 1944, p. 41.

parts of the Corn Belt and Range-Livestock Areas.¹ As would be

¹ *Farmer's Opinions About Post-War Conditions*, Washington: BAE, Spring-Summer 1944, p. 41.

expected, this opposition has resulted in the retention of a considerable number of one-room schools in these areas. (See Figure 158.)

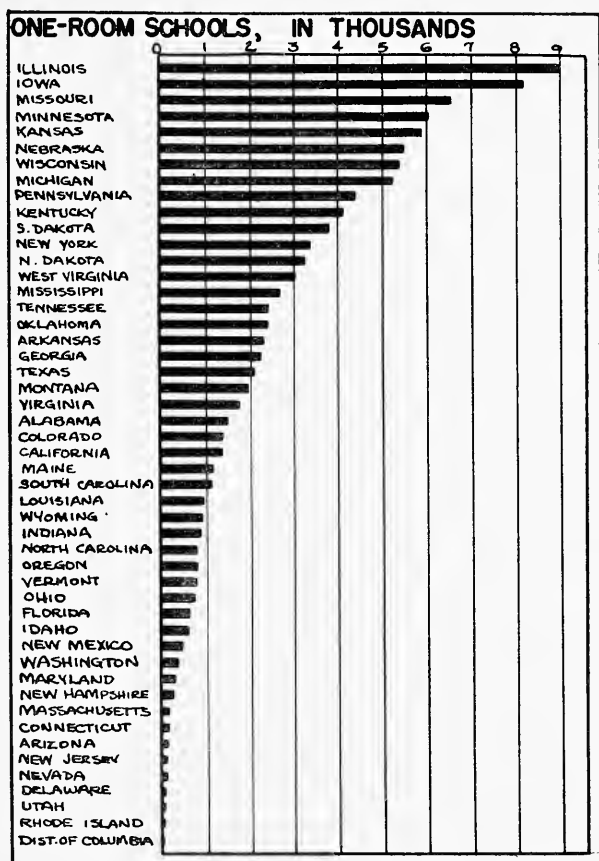


FIG. 158. Ranking of the states in number of one-room schools, 1941-1942. (SOURCE: Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, 1948, p. 382.)

Certain important aspects of this controversy may be illustrated by the following incident. One of the authors spent a day traveling with a group of well-known medical doctors, public health specialists, hospital administrators, and consultants who were inspecting health facilities in several counties in Michigan in which the Kellogg health program has been carried out. Throughout this trip, the hospital ex-

perts emphasized the importance of locating hospitals and health centers according to a plan which would provide sufficient population to support each center and sub-center. Over and over again they emphasized the danger of establishing a hospital in a location that could not provide the necessary facilities because of the limited population base.² After this continued plea for medical units of sufficient size for efficient operation, with various types of specialists and facilities distributed according to a rational plan, imagine the effect of the following statement, made by the head public health nurse in the county health office in Van Buren County: "My greatest problem is school consolidation, resulting in the closing of the rural district schools. Our 'better baby' program for mothers and expectant mothers goes along nicely in the district school where the mothers are acquainted, but it is very difficult to organize this program as the neighborhood school disappears in an area being consolidated. You know rural mothers and expectant mothers are often timid when they are among strangers. In our district school houses, the mothers are all acquainted."

Here we have the medical profession, demanding units of sufficient size to provide a certain standard of service, but a representative of this group failed to appreciate that the same principles might apply in the case of education. On the other hand, the incident illustrates a difficulty that arises when the familistic *Gemeinschaft* elements of the neighborhood are sacrificed to the interests of efficiency. Of course, many additional elements are involved, such as the drive toward larger and more effective units organized on the basis of trained specialists. Furthermore, the trend toward bureaucracy is an irresistible trend of the age, with which it is far better to cooperate than to fight. It is, however, the better part of wisdom to know that any cooperation requires sacrifice, a fact that many educators who are enthusiastic supporters of consolidation fail to appreciate.

Ralph Tyler has correctly described some of the aspects of shift toward the contractual *Gesellschaft* in education. "During the past century," he says, "public education has become professionalized, and with the growth of cities it has become increasingly organized and specialized. This professionalization tends to separate teachers

² In collaboration with Graham Davis of the Kellogg Foundation, Horace Hamilton, rural sociologist, had designed maps showing recommended locations.

and school officers from the lay public. Educators have developed a technical terminology of their own."³

The Trade Center vs. the Neighborhood as a Community Concept. Educators who idealize the village or town-centered school like to think of such schools as community centers. Some have maintained that the desirable size for a six-year secondary school is 210 to 300 pupils with 7 to 10 teachers.⁴ This would be equivalent to 140 to 200 pupils for a four-year high school. Sanderson calculates that under New York state conditions, such a school would require a village of 1,000 to 1,500 plus the surrounding rural area.⁵ Of course, many consolidated schools bring rural students into much larger centers. Some studies have shown that for optimum educational efficiency and satisfactory rural-urban relations, consolidated districts of from 5,000 to 7,000 are necessary.⁶

From the chapters dealing with informal friendship and locality groups, it should be obvious that units of 2,000 to 3,000 people and above cannot be considered communities in the familistic *Gemeinschaft* sense.⁷ For this reason they will be referred to here as trade-center communities. Groups of this size will include literally hundreds of smaller familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like groupings, but taken as a whole, the systems resulting from the combined relationships are

³ Ralph W. Tyler, "Implications of Communications Research for Public Schools," in Douglas Waples, *Print, Radio, and Film in a Democracy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943, p. 156.

⁴ H. A. Dawson, "Satisfactory Local School Units," in *Reorganization of School Units*, United States Office of Education, Bulletin 15, 1935, p. 8. The Report of the National Commission on School District Reorganization states "The unequivocal conclusion that where population and topographical factors permit, the minimum size of any type of high school should be at least 300 pupils, or 75 pupils in each age group, with a minimum of 12 full-time teachers." The report also states that the quality of elementary schools will be better if they are also no smaller than this, and that any schools which accommodate persons who have completed 12 grades should have at least 200 pupils and 10 teachers. *Your School District*, published by the Department of Rural Education, National Education Association, Washington: 1948, pp. 22-23.

⁵ Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942, p. 381.

⁶ A Report on Problem 27 of the Columbia Basin Joint Investigations, p. 7.

⁷ For this reason, in part, the American practice of translating *Gemeinschaft* as community was not followed, but the original German term was retained in the translation of Toennies' *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. Obviously, trade-center communities of 2,000 or more persons are usually built upon *Gesellschaft*, rather than on *Gemeinschaft*-like, relations.

too impersonal, rational, and secular to be described as communities in the *Gemeinschaft* sense.

The Increasing Size of the School Unit. Consolidation of units has increased rapidly. The number of schools listed as being consolidated increased from 13,584 in 1926 to 17,248 in 1934, an increase of 27 percent. During this same period, one-room schools decreased from 161,531 to 138,542, or a 14.2 percent decrease. Two-room schools increased from 20,135 to 24,411, an increase of 21.2 percent.⁸ The trend toward consolidation has continued since 1934.

The passing of the neighborhood school, which is deep in the tradition of the American culture, is of great importance. Originally, it was the most universal neighborhood agency. Figure 158 provides state comparisons of the proportions of one-room schools. It will be noted that areas in which the village pattern was characteristic of the early settlement have relatively few one-room schools.⁹ The leaders of the locality were the trustees or directors. The teacher often boarded with the families of the neighborhood and the teacher's contacts with the individuals of the neighborhood were very personal. But times have changed. Rural families are no longer as large as they once were, farms have grown in size, and population has decreased. Better roads and automobiles made larger units possible, and the process of consolidation began.¹⁰ Distance from the one-room school and the necessity for walking reduces attendance and the effectiveness of rural schools. In 22 representative counties, Gaumitz found that one-fourth of the country children lived more than one and one-half miles from the school.¹¹

The arguments advanced for consolidation are: (1) equalization of cost between the poorer and wealthier districts; (2) better teachers; (3) superior curricula and equipment; (4) specialization of instruc-

⁸ Katherine M. Cook, *Review of Conditions and Developments in Education in Rural and Other Sparsely Settled Areas*, Chapter V of Vol. I of the Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1934-36, United States Office of Education Bulletin, 1937, No. 2, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937, p. 4.

⁹ Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1948.

¹⁰ J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946. School reorganization, of course, does not require that the neighborhood schools be closed. Larger administrative units may provide a means of retaining neighborhood schools as well as the advantages of consolidation.

¹¹ W. H. Gaumitz, *Availability of Public School Education in Rural Communities*, Washington: Office of Education, 1931.

tion and grading of pupils by age groups; (5) social advantages to pupils and to the community; and (6) better administration and supervision.¹² The poorer training of teachers, their higher mobility, and the inferior equipment of the schools depress the efficiency of the instruction in the one-room school. Teachers are further handicapped by the number of recitations, which results in "crumbling the teacher's time." All these factors make it difficult for the substance of education to start with the experience of the pupil and his world.¹³

The Rural High School. In 1938, the Office of Education estimated that the rural high-school enrollment had doubled during the previous ten years. Actually, the proportion of 17-year-olds who had graduated from high school ranged from 68 percent for Washington to 25 percent for Mississippi. The proportions of youth 14 to 17 enrolled in high schools for these two states were 97 percent and 37 percent, respectively. The other 46 states ranged between these extremes. The increased enrollment in high schools, and future increases, are of special significance to the pattern of rural life in the future.

The villages and towns offer almost all the high-school education for rural America. About three-fifths of all rural elementary and secondary school children attend village schools.¹⁴ Here the farmer of the future meets and comes to know the banker of the future. For many farm boys, the high school is the educational agency that contributes most to his adjustment for his first venture beyond the home community, and unless the community junior college movement gains more headway, it will become increasingly important.

The high school is associated with the most important stages of the life cycle of the individual, not only from the point of view of his physical development but also in relation to his making a living and working out his group adjustments. The village or town consolidated school is a powerful force in eliminating rural-urban differences. West stresses this and quotes an informant as saying, "Country people used to be scared when they came to town—the children especially. And the town people used to laugh at 'em, but now you can't hardly tell no difference."¹⁵ Yet by most educational standards, almost half of

¹² Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 377. See also C. D. Lewis, *The Rural Community and Its Schools*, New York: American Book Company, 1937, p. 184.

¹³ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

¹⁴ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

¹⁵ James West, *Plainville, U.S.A.*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, p. 77.

the rural high schools are too small. In 1926, 43 percent had fewer than 50 pupils and 76 percent had fewer than 100 pupils. At that time, only 8 percent of the urban high schools had fewer than 100 pupils. Many means are available to the small rural high school for overcoming some of the disadvantages of size. Specialized courses may be offered in alternate years, supervised correspondence courses are available, and special state services may assist in rounding out the program.¹⁶

The High School and the Trade Center. Since the high school is for the most part a village or trade-center agency, it is of great importance in bringing rural and town people into contact. Some hope that it will reduce rural-urban friction and contribute to the "emergence of the true rural community."¹⁷ In Michigan, the high-school attendance area coincides more closely with the composite of all service areas than with any other single index.¹⁸ This relationship holds for other states.¹⁹ It is the official recommendation of the New York Survey of Education that the unit of attendance, whether an administrative unit or not, should conform to the trade-center community.²⁰ In Michigan, because the law stipulates that the state must pay the tuition of non-resident high-school pupils, a system has grown up in which high-school attendance areas are remarkably similar to the trade-center communities. Figure 159 describes the districts for Michigan. Through legislation related to the central rural school district, New York state has accomplished somewhat the same result. However, even in Michigan only approximately 22 percent of the area of the state is within high-school districts.²¹ The comparable proportion for New York state is one-third. In Wisconsin, 85 percent of the area of the state lies outside districts which have high schools.²²

Throughout the nation, an increasing number of rural pupils, par-

¹⁶ W. H. Gaumitz, "The Smallness of America's Rural High Schools," Bulletin 13, United States Office of Education, 1930, p. 7; and W. H. Gaumitz and Wilbur Devillbiss, *Cooperative Planning, the Key to Improved Organization of Small High Schools*, Washington: Office of Education, Pamphlet No. 102, 1947.

¹⁷ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

¹⁸ J. F. Thaden and Eben Mumford, "High School Communities in Michigan," East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 289, Jan. 1938, p. 4.

¹⁹ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

²⁰ *The Regent's Survey, Education for American Life*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938, Chapter 4.

²¹ Thaden and Mumford, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

²² Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 380; *Your School District*, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

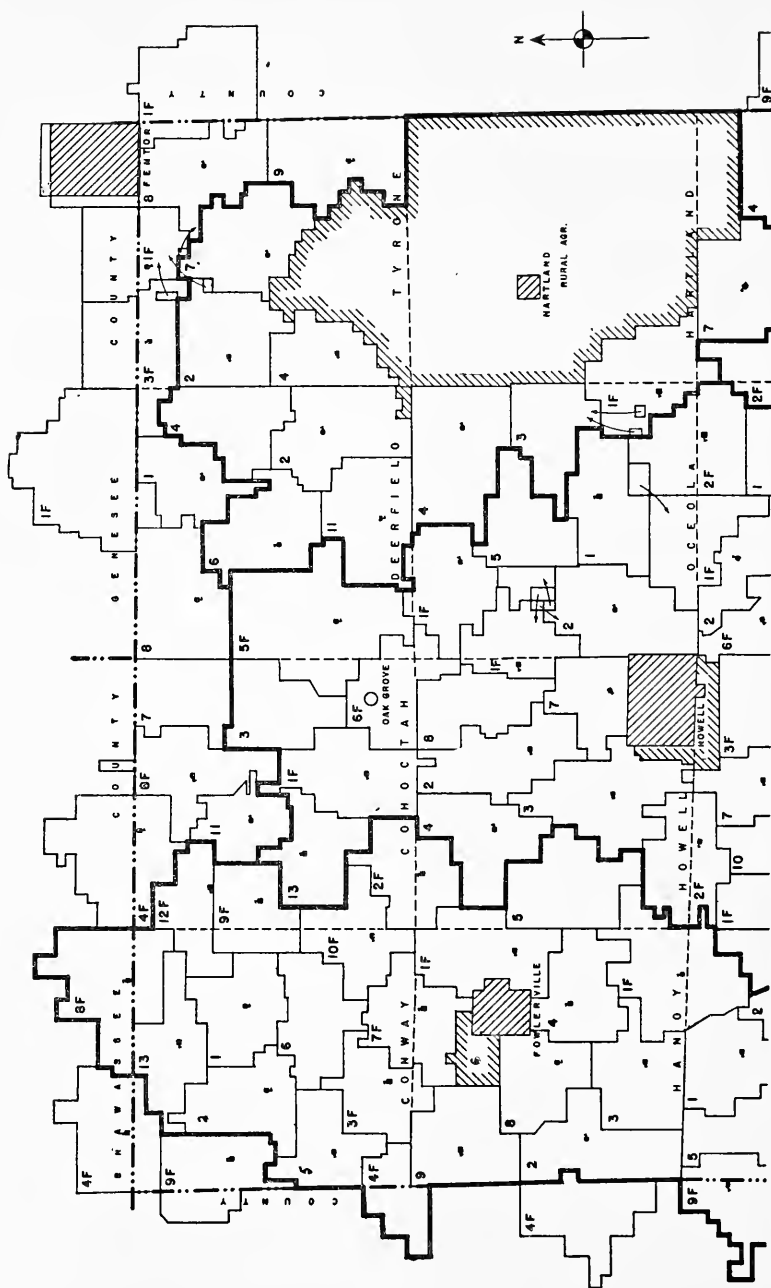
ticularly those in high school, are attending town or city schools. With large portions of the rural countryside outside official high-school districts, an urban-orientated education has developed which is largely out of the hands of rural leaders. This situation leads to the charge that the result is "indifference on the part of high schools to the needs of children in the 'sending' districts."²³ Under such circumstances rural-urban differences may actually increase. Thus in Michigan country life meetings, the authors have frequently conducted discussions among farm groups in which the participants complained bitterly that their children were not accepted. Some parents complained that town children said their children "smelled like the cows." Of course, these sentiments may be partly class-based, but in many cases, non-resident state tuition-paid students are attending schools where their parents have no voice in the determination of policy. These children have a feeling of insecurity and lack confidence, a condition typical of strangers and non-residents everywhere.

"Unnatural" and "Natural" School Service Areas. As Figure 46 in Chapter 6 indicates, the high-school areas in Michigan tend to conform to the trade-center community areas. When this occurs, the convergence of interests in a given area results in a great saving of time and in the possibility for the development of personal ties which may be useful to students throughout life. On a given trip to the center, various family members may attend a high-school athletic event or a movie, buy groceries, attend to business at the bank, and perform many other activities. On ordinary school days, children may do many errands of a business or social nature for the parents. It should be obvious that when school consolidation takes place, as it has in Bath, Byron, Dansville, Hartland, Haslett, Morrice, Okemos, Olivet, and Perry, the boundaries for the newly formed districts should be the trade-center areas. Smith²⁴ recommends the neighborhood area for the elementary school, but Sanderson²⁵ recommends the trade-center community. Sanderson supports Dawson in his recommendation of centers of from 1,000 to 1,500 population. This would include

²³ American Association of School Administrators, *Schools in Small Communities*, 17th Yearbook, Washington, D.C., 1939, pp. 217-219.

²⁴ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 408.

²⁵ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 377 and 381.



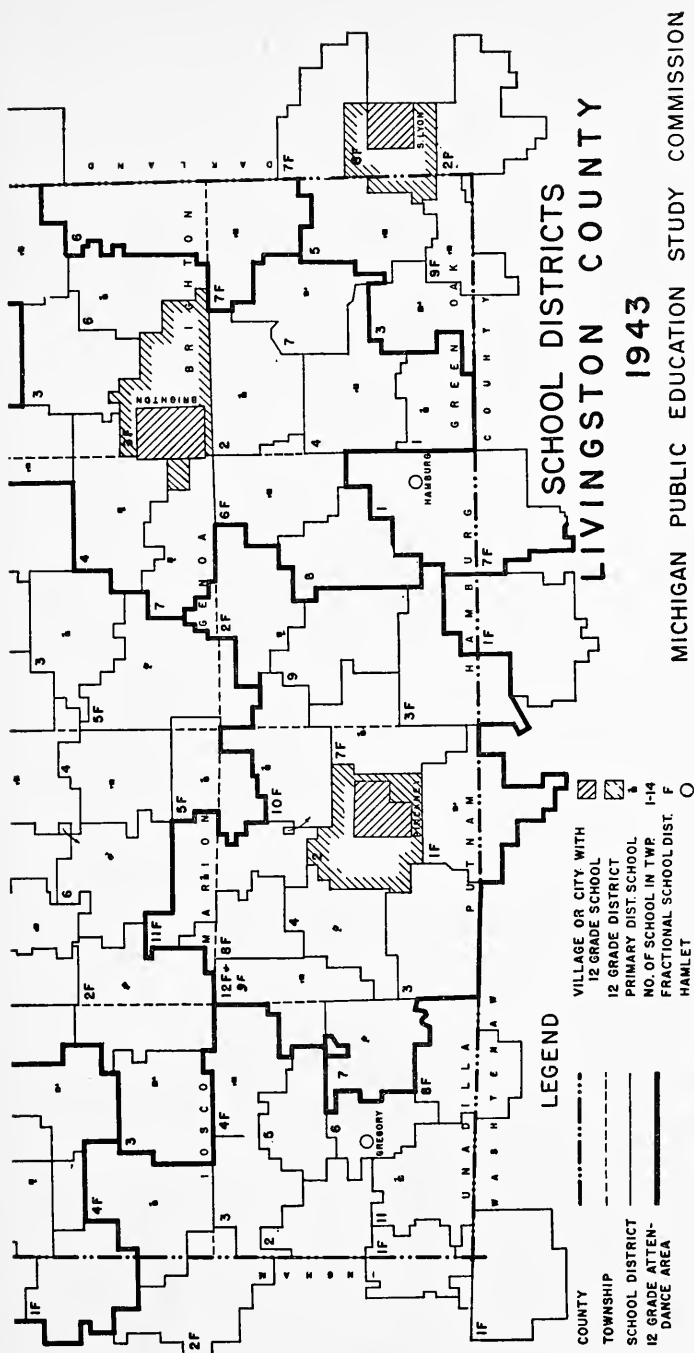


FIG. 159. School districts in Livingston County, Michigan, 1943. (Reproduced from a map prepared by J. F. Thaden for the Michigan Public Education Study Commission.)

the elementary students of the area as well as 140 to 200 pupils for a four-year high school.

Consolidation of schools in all states has often resulted in what may be called "unnatural" areas. With the knowledge available for the delineation of effective trade-center community areas in the field of rural sociology and human ecology, such inefficient areas should never occur.

Figure 160 represents a ridiculous consolidation plan in Covington County, Mississippi. Note particularly the complicated boundaries of the districts of Collins and Williamsburg. School busses of each district go in and out of their own territory a number of times to pick up students belonging to the Collins district. These irregularities, not uncommon in consolidated districts, are often due to dissensions of long standing.

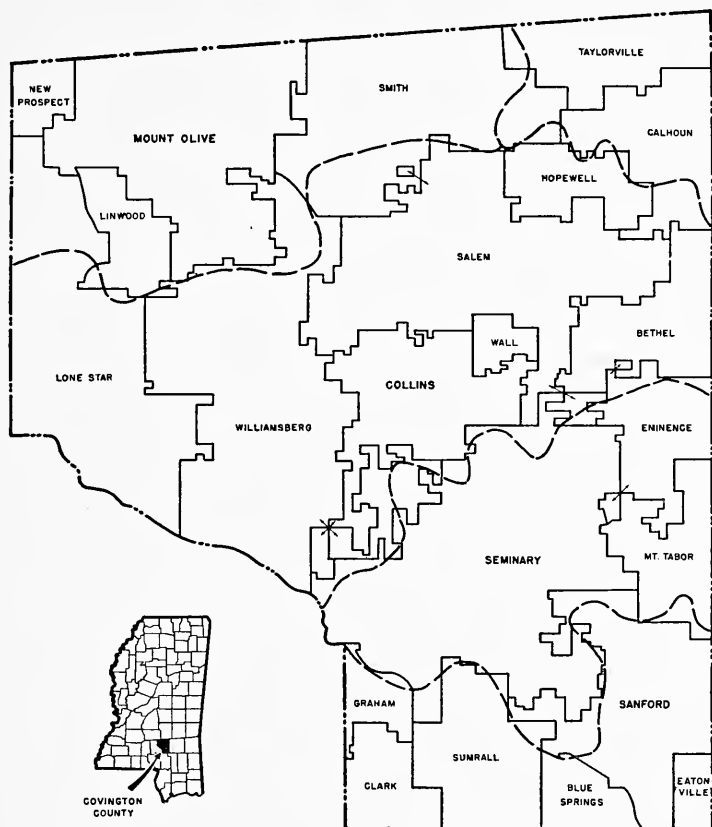
Figures 161 and 162 show a rationally planned consolidation scheme for Boone County, Missouri. In Figure 162, administrative districts, each with a high school, are shown. In only one district (Harrisburg), would all schools be consolidated and form one attendance district. In the others, one or two elementary or junior high schools would be maintained separately from the senior high school and would form independent attendance units.

Disruptive Effects of Consolidation. Most changes require adjustments, and not all adjustments are pleasant. This is particularly true of the shifting emphasis from neighborhood services to trade-center services. This shift is well illustrated by the case of Cohoctah, Michigan, a Dairy Area. The inter-familial relationships are described in Figure 45, Chapter 6. This neighborhood was studied at the suggestion of the county agent and school superintendent because no agency had recently been able to work effectively there. In this neighborhood, as in many in Michigan, the district school is a strong integrating factor. It will be noted from the figure that A is leader of the village clique and C is leader of the open-country families. Although not exclusively so, the choices are made largely on a village versus open-country basis. The person chosen most frequently as a leader, A, is one of the school supervisors and an advocate of consolidation. When G was asked to whom the neighborhood should turn for leadership, he answered, "They [the School Board] ought to be shot. They don't want to pay a teacher nawthin', and they just can't get any. The wrong ones are on the Schoolboard."

This statement was the first of many indications symptomatic of a

SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN RELATION TO COMMUNITY AREAS

COVINGTON COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI



SCALE : MILES



School district boundaries
Community boundaries

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 59376 BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIG. 160. School districts in relation to community areas. School district boundaries are not coterminous with community lines. The penetration of certain districts into other districts causes an overlapping of bus routes. Within the emerging Collins community are seven school districts, four of which have consolidated schools. Each of the four areas jealously protect the rights and privileges pertaining to the administration of school affairs. (SOURCE: Hoffsommer and Pryor, *Neighborhoods and Communities in Covington County, Mississippi*, July 1941, p. 21.)

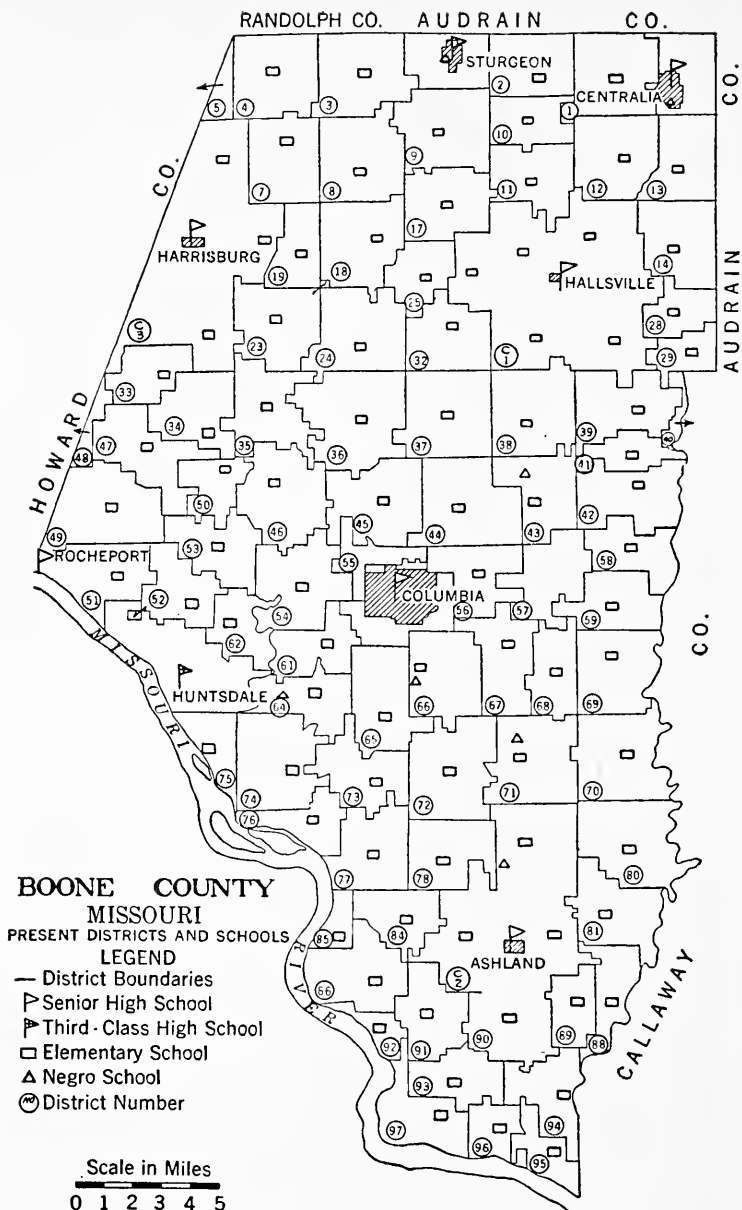


FIG. 161. Present districts and schools of Boone County, Missouri. Note the small, irregular districts which the present communities with modern transportation have outgrown. (Reproduced from Langfitt, Cyr, and Newsom, *The Small High School at Work*, New York: American Book Company, 1936.)

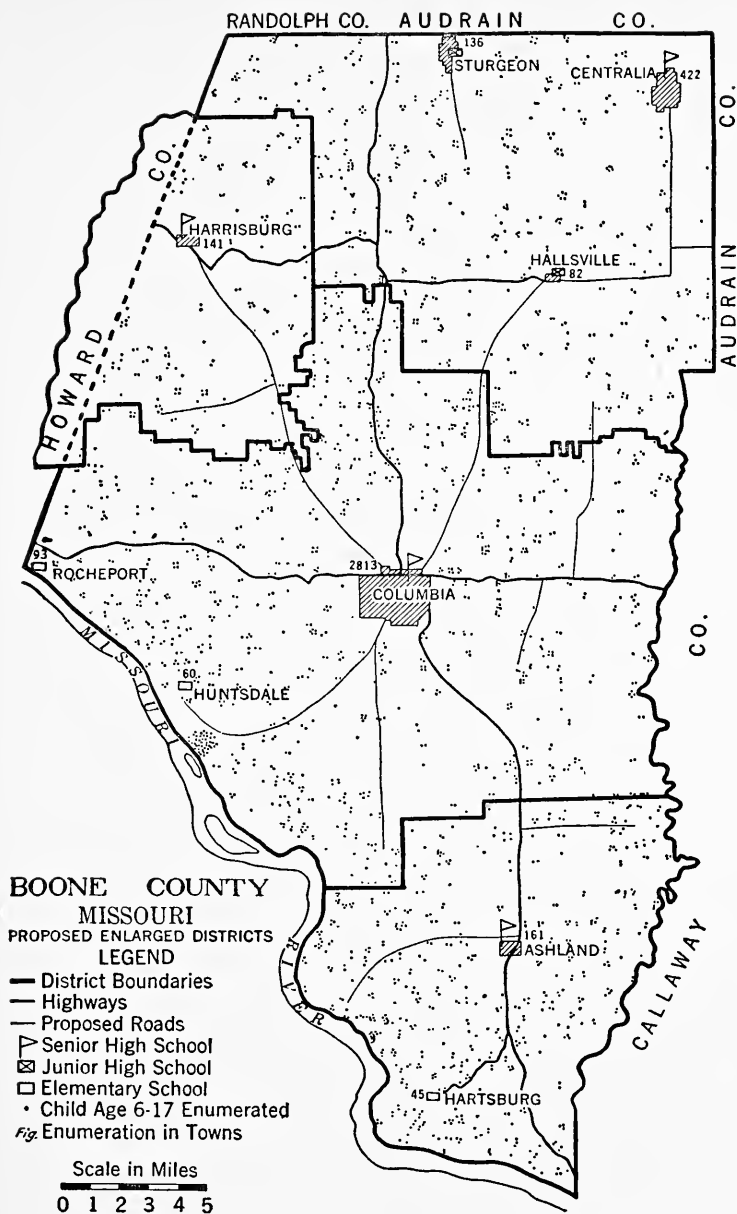


FIG. 162. Proposed redistricting with enlarged districts laid out along community lines of Boone County, Missouri. Based on a cooperative survey by the county and the Missouri State Department of Public Instruction. (Reproduced from Langfitt, Cyr, and Newsom, *The Small High School at Work*, New York: American Book Company, 1936.)

school fight. The families belonging to the Houghtaling district are being incorporated in the Howell school system, and those in the Pink district into the Byron district, located in the adjacent county of Shiawassee. Byron, the new district for the Pink district children, is the focus for an increasing number of paternal and civic memberships on the part of Cohoctah residents. As the children are transferred to other centers, the interests of the parents follow. Nevertheless, the neighborhood sentiments may be very strong.²⁶ Mrs. Smith, the wife of the man mentioned above as rejecting the leader who favored school reorganization, pointed to the one-room school near her house and said to the interviewer, "I've heard that bell ring for the last 40 years. It's the best sound I know and I hope I hear it until I die."

Although some school administrators become intoxicated with the necessity of large, all-inclusive reorganization schemes, the National Commission on School District Reorganization recommends that administrative units and attendance areas be adjusted to the greatest social and educational advantage for all. Administrative units should not be smaller than the area included within the boundaries of the natural, sociological, trade-center community. The high-school attendance area should be coterminous with the natural trade-center community, and attendance areas of schools which provide formal education extending a year or two beyond high school should include at least two trade-center communities. However, difficulties of transporting small children long distances to and from schools frequently justify the establishment or maintenance of smaller units for elementary school children. Reeves rightly advises that the same administrative unit should operate both the elementary and high school, even though the former be smaller.²⁷

SOCIAL STATUS AND EDUCATION

Differences among the classes in pre-school child-rearing practices undoubtedly leave an indelible mark upon children. In comparing Negro and white middle- and lower-class children, Davis and

²⁶ For a more complete discussion of this area, see Paul Miller and J. Allan Beegle, *The Farm People of Livingston County, Michigan*: East Lansing: Michigan State College Extension Pamphlet, June 1947.

²⁷ *Your School District*, *op. cit.*, p. 72; and Floyd W. Reeves, "The High Price of Pride," *Connecticut Teacher*, Vol. XIV, December 1946, p. 59.

Havighurst²⁸ found the differences between the classes in both groups greater than differences between the races. In a study of training in eating, toilet use, regimen of naps, getting in at night, and the like, the middle-class training was stricter. Middle-class families placed much more emphasis on early responsibility for self or individual achievement. Three times as many white middle-class children and almost twice as many middle-class Negro children were "thumb suckers" than was the case for the lower class in each racial group. Other studies have shown somewhat similar results.²⁹ As previously stated, these and similar differences in child training may be accounted for by variations in particular culture groups.³⁰ Unfortunately, not very much is known about these important problems, but first-hand experience leads the authors to believe that the strictness of the small, isolated middle-class farm family is as great as that of the urban middle classes. However, the disturbances which may accompany this strictness are not likely to be as important, because of the greater freedom of the individual on the farm.

The School and Social Status. Sorokin has observed that the school is becoming increasingly important as a channel for vertical mobility, having taken over some of the functions of the church, family, and other agencies in this area of activity.³¹ Formal educational requirements in most cultures and periods of history have also been a means through which the class structure is supported. Those in the lower classes often find it impossible to climb because they are not able or not permitted to attain the necessary educational requirements to be members of the upper class.³² Table 36 shows clearly the rela-

²⁸ Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 6, December 1946, pp. 698-710.

²⁹ Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage*, Washington: American Council on Education, 1940, Chapter 12; also Arnold W. Green, "The Middle Class Male Child and Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 1, February 1946, pp. 31-41.

³⁰ Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1945, p. 148.

³¹ P. A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1927, p. 171.

³² Constantine Panunzio, *Major Social Institutions*, New York: Macmillan Co., pp. 244 and 252. Hepple found rejection from military service in World War II occurred more frequently among those with little formal education than those with more. Lawrence M. Hepple, "Differential Selective Service Rejection Rates for the Rural Social Areas of Missouri," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XI, No. 4, December 1947, pp. 388-394. See also the study of status relations in "Plains City," a com-

tionship between socio-economic status and the chance of receiving education. Although the two groups were of comparable intelligence, 57 percent of those in the upper status group attended college while

TABLE 36

The Relationship Between Intelligence and Educational Opportunity^a

Educational Advance	Socio-Economic Status Above Average		Socio-Economic Status Below Average		Total Group	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Dropped School at Eighth Grade or Below	4	0.7	27	7.9	31	3.4
Completed Ninth, Tenth, or Eleventh Grade but did not graduate from High School	36	6.2	69	20.2	105	11.6
Graduated from High School but did not attend College	206	36.3	202	59.0	408	44.8
Attended College	322	56.8	44	12.9	366	40.2
Total	568	100.0	342	100.0	910	100.0

^a Limited to students with intelligence quotients of 110 or above.

SOURCE: Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated?*, 1944, p. 52.

only 13 percent of those in the low status group were able to do so.

Many professions such as the legal, medical, and teaching professions are closed to those without prescribed training. Just as occupation is related to social class, so is education. Informal educational or cultural attainments, which may be called "life styles" to make it easy to identify class members, also function to support the class structure. Schooling is related to social class not only in influencing the "life style" as some finishing schools do but also in influencing how

munity of 25% Spanish Americans, 17% Negroes, 8% Japanese Americans, and 50% Anglos. Travis H. Taylor, "Intergroup Relations at Cosmopolitan Junior High." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, 1947, pp. 220-225.

much and what people read, social contacts, and many other aspects of life.³³

In his study of human sexual behavior, Kinsey maintains that "The educational level attained by an individual by the time he terminates his schooling has proved to be the simplest and the best-defined means for recognizing social levels. . . . Each level has its own attitudes toward education and, consequently, a high proportion of the persons in any level go to about the same point in school. . . . Persons who depart from the educational trends of their particular level do so against the community opinion and must be ready to defend themselves for their independent action. . . ."³⁴

Regardless of the efficacy of educational status as a determinant of class, the Kinsey study reports great differences in the sexual behavior of persons who finish only grammar school, those who finish high school, and those who go to college. In these remarkable differences Eli Ginzberg³⁵ finds what he believes to be proof of John Stuart Mill's claim that differences in sexual behavior between the lower and upper classes are to be explained in varying capacities to accept delayed gratification. The American college student is trained to accept postponement. If the findings are correct, Kinsey proves that this is more a postponement of marriage and what most people

³³ A study of North Carolina farmers revealed that the amount of time parents spent reading was quite closely related to the number of years schooling they had completed. As would be expected, educational status was also related to the type of literature used. C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 238 ff.; also see Lloyd W. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941, Chapter 19, for a comparison of the reading patterns of the various classes in a New England city.

³⁴ Alfred C. Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948, p. 330. In a small town in the Corn Belt of Illinois, Warner and his associates found that of the following status characteristics—education, occupation, amount of income, source of income, house type, and dwelling area—education correlated least closely with his "evaluated participation score" on which his class system is based. Occupational status correlated most closely. Although occupation and education as elements of status are closely related, this and many other facts throw doubts upon Kinsey's claim for educational status as the best indicator of social status. See W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America*, Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1940, p. 168.

³⁵ Eli Ginzberg, "Sex and Class Behavior," in D. P. Geddes and E. Curie, *About the Kinsey Report*, New York: The New American Library of World Literature, 1948.

would call "normal sex life" than it is a decrease in total amount of sexual outlet. The different attitudes and practices of lower-level persons with respect to petting, masturbation, and sexual intercourse are probably less related to educational status *per se* than to the "life pattern" embodied in the strata of the class system.

Class Structure in an Ohio Suburban School. Through the use of the Warner techniques, Cook³⁶ placed 44 adolescent tenth-grade pupils in three classes, lower, middle, and upper. The interpersonal relations of these pupils were then described in the sociogram, Figure 163. The lines between the circles and squares on this sociogram, representing girls and boys respectively, indicate the "best friend" choices. Three-fourths of these choices fell within the tenth-grade class, and all within the school. A majority were within the pupil's own sex and class status level. The out-choices were most common for boy-girl attractions. Upward choices were most frequently made of "stars" by children in the middle class.

Moreno and Hendry role practice techniques³⁷ were used in an effort to assist in the adjustment of individuals. Counseling and other procedures were applied to key individuals and special problem situations. The interpersonal relationship network and the class structure were used as guides to remedial action. A series of sociograms was drawn to describe the progress of the remedial or management procedures. Networks remained remarkably constant but some "group improvements" were noted.

Although little is known about means of mitigating ethnic cleavages, rejection of individuals, and extreme clannishness, it is the belief of the authors that a knowledge of the clique structure and interpersonal relationships as related to prestige or the class of the group to be dealt with, is imperative. Using sociometric procedures³⁸ and the knowledge of class position as determined by Warner,³⁹ teachers have reported considerable success in working with children.

³⁶ Lloyd Allen Cook, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of a Stratified Tenth-Grade Class," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. X, No. 2, April 1945, pp. 250-261.

³⁷ C. E. Hendry, "Role Practice Brings the Community into the Classroom," *Sociometry*, Vol. VII, No. 2, May 1944, pp. 196-204.

³⁸ M. L. Northway, "Outsiders: A Study of Personality Patterns of Children Least Acceptable to Their Age Mates," *Sociometry*, Vol. VII, No. 1, February 1944, pp. 10-25. See also Joan H. Criswell, "Foundations of Sociometric Measurement," *Sociometry*, Vol. IX, No. 1, February 1946, pp. 7-13.

³⁹ See Louis Rath, "Some Recent Researches in Helping Teachers To Understand Children," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, December 1947, pp. 205-211.

Class Structure in Fringe Areas in Michigan. In a study of the seventh- and eleventh-grade students in the fringe area of Flint, Sower⁴⁰ found that a type of frontier culture existed among students

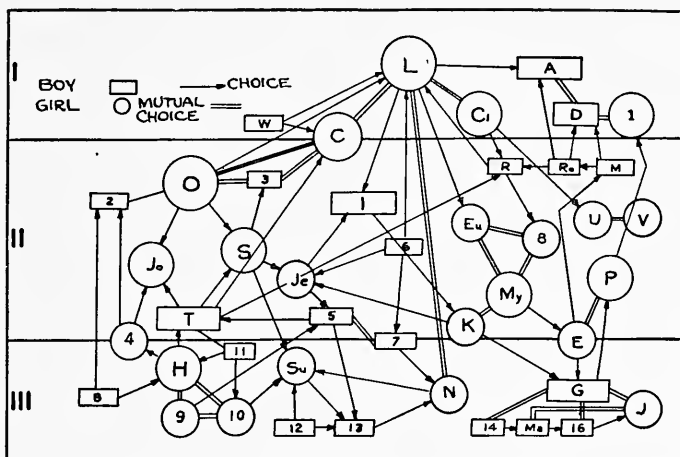


FIG. 163. Group structure in the Crestview high school, October 1942. Careful study of this sociogram shows isolates (W-Will, B-Bob), the pair (U-V, Una and Violet), etc. Most of the choices fall within one's status level, designated by I, II, and III. (Adapted from Lloyd Allen Cook, "An Experimental Sociographic Study of a Stratified Tenth-Grade Class," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. X, No. 2, April 1945, p. 252.)

which seemingly "played down" the importance of the parents' occupation as a determinant of friendship and clique groups. Table 37 indicates "best friend" choices of eleventh-grade students, classified by father's occupation. Figure 164, a sociogram, describes the choices of seventh-grade students graphically. It will be noted that cleavages between the children of the various occupational groups do not seem to exist.

⁴⁰ Christopher Sower, "Social Stratification in Suburban Communities," *Sociometry*, Vol. XI, No. 3, Aug. 1948, pp. 235 ff. Note that in Table 37 the cross tabulation permits a means of calculating the chi squares to ascertain differences between the observed and expected choices. The chi square for the table indicates that the differences between the observed and expected choices recorded in Table 37 would occur by chance in 80 to 90 percent of the cases. Thus the probable errors are so high that the differences could easily be due to chance factors. We cannot prove that cleavage exists.

BUREAUCRATIZATION OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

In the previous sections of this chapter, several references have been made to the enlarging and professionalizing of the rural school. As a result, the rural school is becoming a social system with fewer familistic *Gemeinschaft* and more contractual *Gesellschaft* characteristics. Since the authors believe that this trend is inevitable and

TABLE 37

*Association Choices of Eleventh-Grade Students of Kearsley School,
Suburban Area of Flint, Michigan, April 1947,
by Occupation of Father*

Selectors of Choices, by Occupation of Father	Students Chosen, by Occupation of Father			
	Professional, Proprietary, and White Collar	Skilled and Foremen	Semi-skilled and Unskilled	Total
Professional, Proprietary and White Collar	6	9	13	28
Skilled and Foremen	11	14	21	46
Semi-skilled and Unskilled	12	23	24	59
Total	29	46	58	133

necessary, the problem arises of how to retain in the system some of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like elements necessary to the learning process and the full development of personality. Here, as in all similar social systems, the clique groups constitute an important *Gemeinschaft* nexus. It was indicated in the previous section that personality and administrative problems will be reflected in these interpersonal relationships and cliques. Actually, the more rationally efficient, secular, and impersonal the interpersonal relations become, and the more dependent the system is upon professional competence functioning in restricted and specific situations, the stronger the cliques will be. From a limited number of observations, the authors have concluded that as these cliques become more restrictive, undemocratic, subversive, and secretive, the social system becomes more unstable. Where parent groups of very different status and value orientation promote conflicting cliques among themselves, and where there is no integration of ends among the professional leaders and the

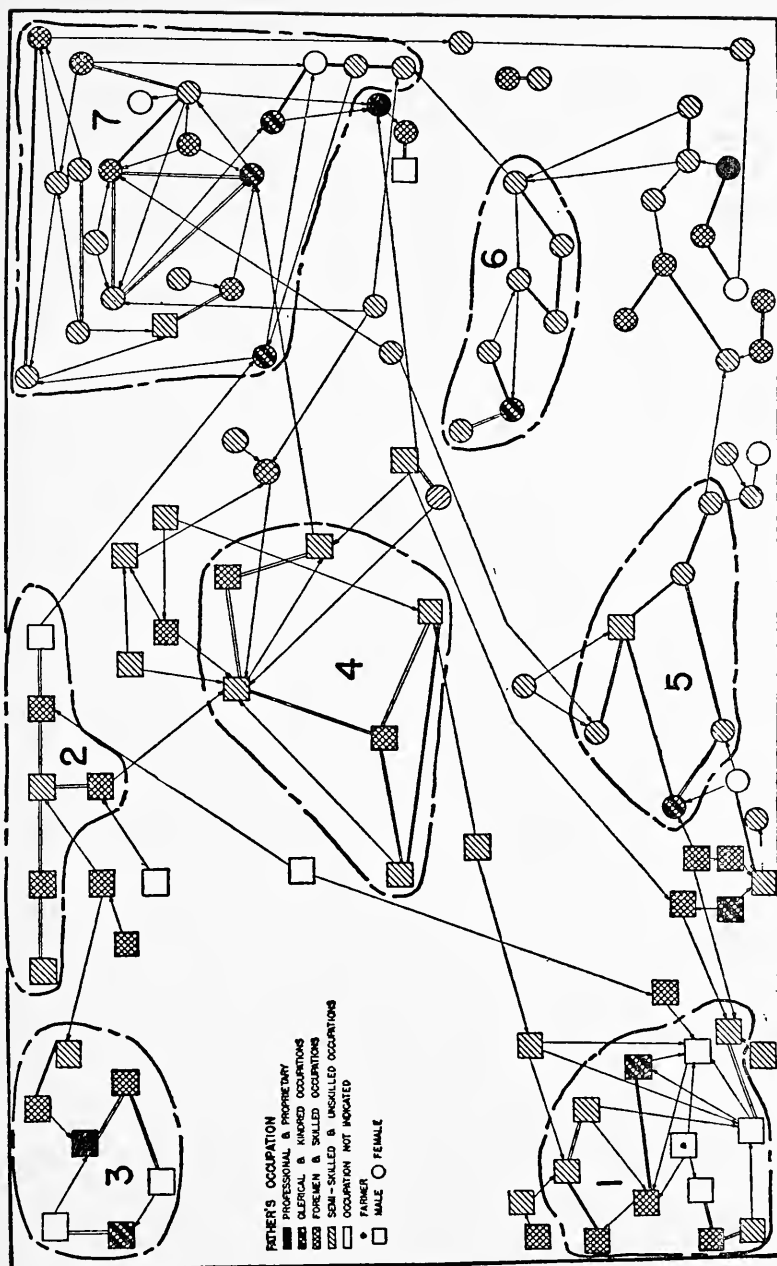


FIG. 164. Cliques in the seventh grade at the Beecher School located in the fringe area of Flint, Michigan, classified by sex and the occupation of father. Note that in no clique are all members of one occupational group. Occupation of father seems relatively unimportant in determining clique membership in the "frontier" environment of the fringe.

parents represented by the parent-teacher associations, these cliques may actually become vicious. Administrators and parents could frequently attain more ideal conditions by improving the effectiveness of their own organizations and the communication within and between them than by trying to break up the cliques, which are natural in all group life.

Cleavages Between Classes and Ethnic Groups. As indicated in Figure 163, there are cleavages supported by cliques among the children in the three social classes. There is more interaction among children within the classes than there is among children in the whole system or among children of any two classes taken together. This is to be expected. However, in some instances the objectives of the organization may require mitigation of various types of cleavage, such as those between ethnic groups, children from the country and children from town, or children from various residence groups. To effectively deal with and measure change in cleavages, sociometric techniques are useful.

One of the authors tried to measure cleavages between Spanish- and English-speaking children in several schools in the Range-Livestock Areas of New Mexico and Texas. The principles used may be employed for any type of cleavage in which the administrator is interested and which he thinks may exist. When the children of the Taos high school, New Mexico, were requested to indicate the children with whom they played, the following pattern was revealed.⁴¹

Observed Frequencies		Language Spoken by Person Chosen		
Language spoken by person choosing	No. Students	Spanish	English	Total
English	30	28	108	136
Spanish	101	320	29	349
Total	131	348	137	485
Expected (non-cleavage) or chance frequencies				
English		106	30	136
Spanish		269	80	349
Total		375	110	485

⁴¹ In the original study, Las Cruces high school, with a relatively large number of Anglos, was compared with the Taos high school with a relatively large number of Latinos. The greater the importance of the minority group, the less the in-group tendencies. C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organizations*, East Lansing: State College Bookstore, 1945, Chapter 17. See also J. H. Criswell, "Sociometric Study of Race Cleavage in the Classroom," *Columbia University, Archives of Psychology*, No. 235, New York, January 1939.

Criswell has effectively demonstrated the advantages of what she calls the "double-ratio" method of measuring cleavages.⁴² Because of its importance, it will be briefly described here. It is calculated by taking the actual ratio between in-group and out-group choices and dividing this by the expected ratio between in-group and out-group choices. Thus from the data above,

$$\frac{108 \div 28}{30 \div 106}$$

or 13.63 is the self-preference index of English-speaking students. The self-preference index of Spanish-speaking students as calculated from the above figures is

$$\frac{320 \div 29}{269 \div 80}$$

or 3.28. If there were no cleavage, the self-preference indexes would have been 1.00. These in-group cleavages are obviously very high. In calculating the expected values, Criswell's formula is used. It follows: a represents the number of individuals in a group; t is the total number of choices made by a group; n is the number of individuals in the test population; E is the expected ratio between in-group and out-group choices. Then

$$\frac{t(a-1)}{n-1}$$

is the number of expected in-group choices for group 1.

$$\frac{t(n-a)}{n-1} \quad (2)$$

is the number of expected out-group choices of group 1. The minus

⁴² The chi square test of the significance of the differences in the observed and expected frequency tables was made directly from the above table of observed frequencies as follows:

$$\text{Chi square} = \frac{[(320 \times 108) - (28 \times 29)]^2 \times 485}{348 \times 137 \times 349 \times 136} = 244.10$$

The chances of a chi square measure of this magnitude occurring due to chance, assuming 5 degrees of freedom, would be less than one in a hundred. See Margaret J. Hagood, *Statistics for Sociologists*, Reynal and Hitchcock, Inc. See Charles P. Loomis, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2 and pp. 115-117. See also Criswell's caution concerning the use of choice or popularity as the basis for measurement of the expected, chance, or no-cleavage entries. (*Ibid.*, p. 406.) See J. H. Criswell, "Sociometric Methods of Measuring Group Preferences," *Sociometry*, Vol. VI, No. 4, Nov. 1943, pp. 398 ff.

1 entries are to allow for the fact that the chooser does not choose himself. Substituting in formula (1) above we get

$$\frac{136(30-1)}{131-1} = 30$$

the expected number of English-speaking children who would be chosen if chance and no elements of cleavage had operated.

The example of the in-school associations at Taos high school may be taken as a basis for the explanation of the method of analysis. The English-speaking students reported 136 associations, of which 108 were with English-speaking students and 28 with Spanish-speaking students. If these associations involved no factor of cleavage, these same English-speaking students would have reported associations with 106 Spanish-speaking students and 30 English-speaking students. Thus, we may say that the ratio of actual to expected associations of English-speaking students to English-speaking students in Taos high school as illustrated by the in-school associations is 13.63 times greater than the ratio of actual to expected associations of English-speaking to Spanish-speaking students as indicated by the same criteria. Thus the ratio of preference of English-speaking students for other English-speaking students (index of self-preference) in their in-school associations is 13.63. The corresponding index of self-preference of Spanish-speaking students at Taos is only 3.28.

However, as in all comparisons of values, these ratios must be submitted to some test of significance before they are judged to be valid for generalization from the sample to a universe. To determine whether or not there were significant differences in the tendencies within the two language groups to associate with persons outside their own groups, actual and expected frequency tables indicating the differences between the language groups in choosing outside their language groups were constructed.⁴³ In the case of the Taos high school in-school associations, the chi square test for the difference between these two tables rendered a value of 14.226. The probability of obtaining such a value of chi square is less than .001 if there were no true differences between the language groups with respect to choosing outside their groups. That is, chance variation alone would produce such differences between the tables of expected and actual values less than once in a thousand times. Since the differences are obviously significant, and since the ratio of "self-preference" of

⁴³ See Criswell, *op. cit.*

English-speaking students is greater than that of the Spanish-speaking students, we may assume that the English-speaking students chose Spanish-speaking associates less frequently than Spanish-speaking students chose English-speaking students for associates. We may say, therefore, that the English have more in-group tendencies than do the Spanish-speaking students at Taos. As the ratios of self-preference, the chi squares, and the probability values indicate, this difference holds for both in-school and out-of-school associations. Only 23 percent of the students at Taos high school were Anglos. The Anglos obviously were a minority group and rejected Spanish-Americans more frequently than the Spanish-Americans rejected the Anglos. Similar studies of cleavages may be made for any characteristic. The device illustrated furnishes a method of measuring change in cleavages as time passes or as administrative or other changes are made.

Cleavages Between Residence Groups. In areas where school consolidation or reorganization has taken place, cleavages usually exist between the children from the farms in the outlying areas and the children living in the district or area chosen for the school. As mentioned previously, consolidation usually results in the bringing together of farm and non-farm children in one school. In Edmore, a potato-growing community in the Dairy Area of Montcalm County, Michigan, a rural agricultural school was created when two small districts were consolidated in 1942. An additional district was added in 1945 and another in 1946. This consolidation resulted in a student body of 436, 191 of whom were in the junior and senior high schools.

Although it was generally agreed that farm and town cleavages existed a decade or so ago, town and country leaders alike maintained that cleavages were eliminated through annual potato shows, festivals, athletic events held in the school, and other programs designed to bring country and town people together. A teacher, who is a local resident of Edmore, and one of the authors attempted to determine whether or not cleavages had been eliminated among the high-school students. The 54 town children included in the study came from Edmore and two other small towns. We shall report some of the analysis because the method is applicable for other schools. The study⁴⁴ relied heavily upon the following question: "If you had

⁴⁴ Myron G. Becker and Charles P. Loomis, "Measuring Rural-Urban and Farm and Non-Farm Cleavages in a Rural Consolidated School," *Sociometry*, Vol. XI, No. 3, Aug. 1948, pp. 246 ff.

permission to leave school for a day to go on a picnic or trip, and could take some friends with you, what friends would you take? You may choose all boys or all girls or you can choose both boys and girls just as you want them. Give one, two, three, or more choices as you like." It should be explained that picnics are the method most used for getting together and entertaining in the spring and summer months by the children in the school and community.

If the total number of friendship choices was found to be divided among the different groups in proportion to the number of students in the groups there would be reason to doubt that cleavages existed. Thus if the choices of the farm students to other groups were distributed in proportion to their total representation, there would be reason to doubt that cleavages among the groups were great. The farm students had 263 choices within the school, and they constituted 51 percent of the students, the rural non-farm 6 percent, and the town students 43 percent. If choices among the groups were determined by random choice, as might be the case if one took students' names written on ballots two at a time from an urn, the probability that choices would indicate cleavages between farm and non-farm students would depend on chance. Assuming that the total volume of choosing by each group was the same, the random situation would conform with the situation in which choices were conducted so that each group studied received choices from the farm in proportion to the number of students in the respective groups, the 263 farm choices would be divided so that 134 would go to farm students, 16 to rural non-farm students, and 113 to town students. The actual observed choices were 151, 17, and 96 respectively as indicated in Table 38. Could these differences be due to chance? Or are they due to social cleavage? The chi square test offers a partial answer to this question. If the expected frequencies as determined in Table 38 are subtracted from the observed frequencies and if the result is squared and divided by the expected frequency we have the chi square test. The probability of a chi square of a given size occurring due to chance once the degrees of freedom are known can be read from a table.

Table 38 offers a means of testing various hypotheses and indicates how the various tests for cleavage were computed. If we are interested in testing the hypothesis that farm students make their choices without reference to whether the choices made are of the same group or not and that their choices are distributed among the non-farm students in proportion to the number of students in the

groups specified, we may add the chi squares for the friendship choices of farm to farm with the chi squares of the choices of farm with non-farm. Thus, as indicated in Table 38, 2.15 is added to 1.98 and the result is the test for the hypothesis outlined. Since a chi square of 4.13 (1 degree of freedom) indicated that less than 5 times out of 100 would the observed results have been obtained from a sample of the size used if the hypothesis were true, we have basis for rejection, especially since the groups made a similar number of choices. (The average numbers of choices for each group were: farm 4.3, rural non-farm 4.5, and town 4.2.) We may thus assume that in so far as our basis for comparison is meaningful (i.e., in so far as friendship choices reflect cleavages), cleavages between farm and non-farm students do exist. The cleavage index here used (i.e., the chi square test) is, however, relatively small. Since the size of the chi squares similarly computed for other groups constitutes a measure of cleavage, one may easily determine which of the groups manifests the greatest in-group cleavages. Thus the rural non-farm students with a chi square of .532 are next and are followed by town students with a chi square of .154 with one degree of freedom. (A chi square of .532 and .154 would indicate that there is little in-group cleavage in these groups.)

From the data presented in Table 38 and its footnotes, we may conclude that the farm children constitute something of an in-group, but that otherwise cleavage in the high school is relatively slight. In many consolidated high schools the cleavage is much greater.

SUMMARY

Rural school reorganization and consolidation on the basis of the trade-center community increases the efficiency of the school as a social system, according to the standards of most educators. It is, however, accompanied by the loss of neighborhood facilities, ties, and values. In view of the inevitability of the emergence of the larger trade center as the fundamental educational "community," educators are challenged to find ways and means of replacing the familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like elements which are lost when schools are enlarged.

The friendship groupings among students and parents may furnish the elements necessary for social stability. Unfortunately, many administrators do not understand the function of these clique groups. Some even attempt to break them up rather than to harness them. They are usually class-structured and may be studied by sociometric procedure with the view of eliminating certain cleavages.

TABLE 38

*Computations for Chi Square Measures of Cleavages^a as Determined by
Questionnaire Answers Reported by Junior High and Senior High
Students of the Edmore High School, 1948*

Direction of Choices	No. of Choices Observed (<i>f</i>)	No. of Choices Expected (<i>f'</i>)	$\frac{(f-f')^2}{f'}$ Chi Squares	<i>P</i>
1. Farm to Farm	151	134	2.15	
2. Farm to Rural-Nonfarm	17	16	.062	
3. Farm to Town	96	113	2.55	
a. Farm to Rural-Nonfarm and Town	113	129	1.98	
A. Total Farm: (Chi Square items: 1+2+3) (2df)	263		4.76	.05 < <i>P</i> < .10
B. <i>E</i> (Chi Square items = 1+a) (1df) (65 Farm Children; 51% of total)			4.13	.02 < <i>P</i> < .05
4. Rural Non-farm to Farm	18	17	.058	
5. Rural Non-farm to Rural Non-farm	1	2	.50	
6. Rural-Nonfarm to Town	14	14	.00	
b. Rural-Nonfarm to Farm and Town	32	31	.032	
C. Total Rural-Nonfarm: (Chi Square items: 4+5+6) (2df)	33		.558	.70 < <i>P</i> < .80
D. <i>E</i> (Chi Square items = 5+b) (1df) (7 Rural-Nonfarm children; 6% of total)			.532	.30 < <i>P</i> < .50
7. Town to Farm	96	94	.042	
8. Town to Rural-Nonfarm	15	13	.30	
9. Town to Town	109	112	.080	
c. Town to Rural-Nonfarm and Farm	111	107	.074	
E. Total Town: (Chi Square items: 7+8+9) (2df)	220		.422	.80 < <i>P</i> < .90
F. <i>E</i> (Chi Square items = 9+c) (1df) (54 Town children; 43% of Total)			.154	.50 < <i>P</i> < .70
G. Sum of Chi Square items = <i>B</i> + <i>D</i> + <i>F</i>) (2df)			4.82	.05 < <i>P</i> < .10
H. Total Chi Square items = <i>A</i> + <i>C</i> + <i>E</i>) (6df) (Grand Total of all: 126)			5.77	.30 < <i>P</i> < .50

^a We are indebted to Margaret Hagood for suggesting the procedure used in making the chi square analyses. (See explanation at bottom of opposite page.)

On the positive side, the increased size of the school unit as it becomes trade-centered rather than neighborhood-centered, in addition to improving the educational efficiency of the system, can also eliminate rural-urban cleavages. The farmers will have played with the bankers, store-keepers, teachers, and other professionals as children in the village schools. On the negative side, consolidation can cause bitter strife as neighborhoods are disrupted. By means of careful studies and the use of knowledge concerning locality, educators and other groups can eliminate many "unnatural" and ineffective reorganization plans and mitigate the disruptive influences. Generally, educators maintain that an effective high-school district requires 150 to 200 students for a four-year high school. Educators believe that villages should have at least 1,000 inhabitants to serve as centers for high schools and as many living outside the village. Some maintain that a center should have 5,000 people in the village and the tributary areas. In this case, about half of the high schools of the nation are in communities that are too small to support them adequately.

The importance of the school as an agency facilitating vertical mobility is tremendous. However, rural and urban areas alike are so structured that the children of the lower classes obtain fewer educational opportunities than middle- and upper-class children. The middle class, with its small family and mobile existence, is the pacesetter.

The chi squares to the right of the lines headed *B*, *D*, and *F* test the hypothesis that students from Farm, Rural-Nonfarm, and Town areas, respectively, direct their friendship choices without reference to whether the choices are of the same group. Thus, the chi square of 4.13 indicates that less than 5 times out of 100 would the observed results have been obtained from a sample of the size used. As indicated by the chi squares values of 4.13, .532, and .154, the farm students manifest greatest in-group cleavage, followed by the rural-nonfarm and town students.

The chi squares to the right of lines headed *A*, *C*, and *E*, test the hypothesis that students from Farm, Rural-Nonfarm, and Town areas, respectively, direct their friendship choices without reference to where the students live. Thus, the chi square of 4.76 indicates that between 5 and 10 times in 100 would the observed results have been obtained from a sample of the size used. The chi squares of .558 and .422 indicate that rural-nonfarm and town students distributed their choices in approximate proportion to the numbers of farm, rural-nonfarm, and town students in the sample.

The chi square value of 4.82 (to the right of line headed *G*) indicates that friendship choices are affected by district of residence. The cleavage is slight, however, and could be due to chance in more than 5 cases out of 100. The chi square value of 5.77 (to the right of line headed *H*) indicates that friendship choices are dependent upon the place of residence. The chi square is not statistically significant, however.

CHAPTER 16

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS OTHER THAN THE SCHOOL

THE RURAL LIBRARY AND READING

THERE WAS A TIME when libraries were thought to be no more than repositories of books containing the knowledge and culture of a people. Although a collection of books has been their most important ware, periodicals, journals, films, pictures, and many other materials are now essential library services. The central function of the library will always be that of providing people with materials for instruction, recreation, and consolation. The library as a mere repository of materials to which people may come, however, results in an unrealistic stereotype of the librarian, namely a person with little desire to participate in the individual and organizational lives of the people of the community.¹

The modern idea of the library as an aggressive service center and "intelligence service"² for the organizations of the community requires that a highly socialized person be in charge. Smaller communities need a librarian who brings professional skills and knowledge to bear upon the improvement of the organizations. Aggressive librarians, ever alert to use their talents and facilities, cannot be removed from the stream of human life. Such librarians do not in any way conform to the antiquated stereotype of the librarian. They are the true custodians of the modern library.³ "The Librarian," according to

¹ William H. Form, "Popular Images of Librarians," *Library Journal*, Vol. LXXI, No. 12, June 15, 1946, pp. 851-855.

² William S. Learned, "A Community Intelligence Service," in John Chancellor, *Helping Adults To Learn*, Chicago: American Library Association, 1939, pp. 206-223.

³ Carleton B. Joeckel and Amy Winslow, *A National Plan for Public Library Service*, Chicago: American Library Association, 1948, p. 121. There is great ignorance concerning the services that modern libraries offer. Only 56 percent of the adult population in Los Angeles knew correctly the location of the nearest branch library, and 25 percent of those who used the library did not know of

Joeckel and Winslow, "should be the community's communication expert. His skills in cataloguing, selection, bibliography, and interpreting are incidental to this, dependent upon it, and animated by it. He must see ever in his mind's eye the process by which the people in his constituency utilize the record of man's knowledge. Improvement in the profession of librarianship in the years ahead will proceed mainly from greater understanding of the communication of ideas."⁴

Communication of ideas must take place within the community through its agencies and in relation to its institutions. "This characteristic places on the librarian the responsibility of achieving group insight, even as he must achieve individual insight," and, as Joeckel and Winslow point out, "one test of the effectiveness of a community library is the extent to which not only the individual but the group life of the area can be grasped by watching the library in action."⁵ The real test of the librarian as an entrepreneur of the library, McMillen says, is revealed in the question: ". . . Can you name the truly influential members of your community, as distinct from those who happen at the moment to be the heads of groups?"⁶ In comparing methods of bringing library programs to community groups, Ulveling states that ". . . greater numbers can be reached more quickly by means of . . . working through groups organized for other purposes."⁷

Those interested in the library's future role as a local community service center are concerned with the modern trends of bureaucracy

any library services aside from lending books. (Field and Peacock Associates, *A Library Survey for the City of Los Angeles*, 1948.) The Social Science Research Council survey of public library usage revealed that over 25 percent of library users in the United States do not know what the card catalogue is. (*The Public Library and the People*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, April 1948, Survey Research Center, University of Michigan.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14. The study of public library usage by the Social Science Research Council revealed that 41 percent of the population would go to movies if the local library would sponsor films not available at the regular theater. Twenty-one percent would rent films which could be shown at home, if such films were available. Eighteen percent would borrow phonograph records; and 17 percent would participate in study groups, if arranged by the library.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁶ Wayne McMillen, "The Community Survey," in Leon Carnovsky and Lowell Martin, *The Library in the Community*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944, p. 213.

⁷ Ralph A. Ulveling, "The Public Library in the Large Community," *ibid.*, p. 25.

and centralization.⁸ Except for the more general nature of its activities, the library does not differ essentially from the school, church, hospital, and economic agencies serving local communities. To be efficient it must have a specialized professional staff and must possess offerings wide enough to supply the needs and desires of the people who are to be brought within its influence. To have these facilities state and federal support are often required. With such aid, the possibility of non-local bureaucratic control and direction appears. On the other hand, the librarian in a rural county is in a particularly strategic position to be the initiator of various integrative and non-bureaucratic activities. The librarian is not usually identified with any of the organizations competing for prestige and support in the community.

Both within the small library, where she may have too many non-professional duties, and outside in her public relations work, the effective modern librarian's activities are functionally diffuse, as compared with those in the field of medicine, for example. The librarian's activities resemble more nearly those of the general practitioner than those of the skilled brain specialist. Thus, the modern library, if it is to serve the rural community effectively, has many facets which may be described in familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft* terms.⁹

The library has been accused of being conservative and traditional,¹⁰ a charge often made against other agencies dealing with society's values. Regardless of the truth of this accusation, the library must be efficient if it is to serve the people. In a scientific era, it cannot permit emphasis upon the past to the exclusion of keeping up with the present. The well-balanced library must represent a "happy medium" on the continua described in Chapter 1 and Appendix A. It stresses tradition but welcomes the new; it has a place for emotion and for planned, rational design; it is neither completely personal nor impersonal, formal nor informal; its members are not completely free to do as they might choose outside the system, neither are they completely bound. Many hope that modern bureaucratiza-

⁸ For an excellent presentation of the importance of retaining the useful aspects of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*, termed "informal" by the writer, see Chancellor, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-205.

⁹ See Chapter 1 and Appendix A for a discussion of various continua related to the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft*.

¹⁰ John Chancellor, "A Sketch of a Library Organized for Informal Education," in Chancellor, *op. cit.*, pp. 227-270.

tion and centralization will not prevent the library from performing its role of service to all people. How to retain a friendly, informal atmosphere and to offer efficient service at the same time is a key problem of all modern organizations.

Although most people would like to bring more simplicity into the agencies with which they work, more effective service is usually attained by changes in organization which permit the fulfillment of local requirements. The German library movement, led by Walter Hofmann,¹¹ accomplished a reorganization of staff as well as of the mechanical procedures of library service. A revolt was staged against formal indexing, and personnel were trained to serve the interests of the people, not so much as individuals but as members of certain social classes and groups. As members of such groupings, individuals possessed special interests, and therefore "personalized" service was developed through the requirement that each borrower call for and return his own books. Each borrower submitted a statement concerning what he wanted to read. Upon returning the book, he made a statement to indicate how well his interests were met. This record enabled the library to build up offerings for the groups served.¹² A new type of cataloguing was also instituted. Books were catalogued by sections and coded so that the librarian could quickly find those books of particular interest. Annotated catalogues for certain fields and groups were thus developed. A system of cards and codes was developed for individual borrowers so that data concerning the individual's group affiliations, socio-economic status, and other details were readily available. The librarian had this information at hand while consulting with a library user.¹³ Such changes serve to bring

¹¹ Walter Hofmann, *Die Lectuere der Frau*, Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1931, p. 210. Cited in Douglas Waples and Ralph W. Tyler, *What People Want to Read About*, Chicago: American Library Association and the University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. 38-39.

¹² See the following works by Walter Hofmann: *Vergangenheit, Gegenwart, Zukunft der deutschen Volkstümlichen Bücherei*, Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1928; *Gestaltende Volksbildung, Sonderdruck aus dem Archiv für Erwachsenenbildung*, Leipzig: Deutsche Zentralstelle, 1925; *Der Weg zum Schrifttum*, in *Volk und Geist*, edited by R. Erdberg and Werner Picht, Berlin: Verlag der Arbeitsgemeinschaft, 1924; *Die Praxis der Volksbücherei*, Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1922; and *Der Raum der Bücherei*, Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1925. Refer also to Erwin Ackerknecht, *Büchereifragen*, Berlin: Weidmann, 1924; and Joseph Antz, *Führung der Jugend zum Schrifttum*, Paderborn: Schöningh, 1927.

¹³ See a similar recommendation for American librarians by Waples and Tyler, *op. cit.*, Chapter 3.

aspects of the familistic Gemeinschaft into the bureaucratic framework.

RURAL AREAS ARE DISADVANTAGED IN LIBRARY SERVICE AND READING MATERIALS

"The rural resident in America," according to Joeckel and Winslow, "has been the forgotten man in library service."¹⁴ Over half of the rural population is without public library service. Of the 3,051 counties in the United States 661 have no public library of any sort; three-fourths of these counties are in the South.¹⁵ Only 804 of the counties have the advantage of county or regional library service.¹⁶

The Negro population of the southern states is even more disadvantaged than the white, since library service is available to only 25.2 percent of the total southern Negro population as compared with 56.4 percent of the total population. Service is available to only 7.7 percent of the Negroes living in rural areas. Even among urban Negroes, only 59.0 percent have library facilities.¹⁷

Figure 165 indicates those states which are most disadvantaged in rural library service. Although there is a high correlation between indices of economic well-being and availability of public library service, there are so many exceptions that even without the highest incomes, relatively good library service may be had. For areas such as those shown in black in Figure 165, we have the following explanation from Wilson: "Town and city libraries in New England, county libraries in California, New Jersey, and Wyoming, and county and township libraries in Indiana, most of which serve total populations, seem largely responsible for this excellent showing."¹⁸ California leads all the states, with a per capita circulation of 9.14 volumes. No state, however, reaches the American Library Association standard of 10 volumes per capita.

The actual public library usage of rural as contrasted with urban populations, irrespective of class, has been analyzed in only a few studies. A study of Charlotte, Howell, Paw Paw, and Greenville com-

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁵ American Library Association, *Equal Chance Supplement*, Chicago: American Library Association, 1947, pp. 26-31.

¹⁶ Joeckel and Winslow, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁷ Joeckel and Winslow, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20, and E. A. Gleason, *The Southern Negro and the Public Library*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

¹⁸ Louis R. Wilson, *The Geography of Reading*, Chicago: American Library Association and the University of Chicago Press, 1938, p. 101.

munities in Michigan revealed that 26 percent of the people living in the towns used the public libraries as compared with only 6 percent of the population in the surrounding rural areas.¹⁹ A sample of

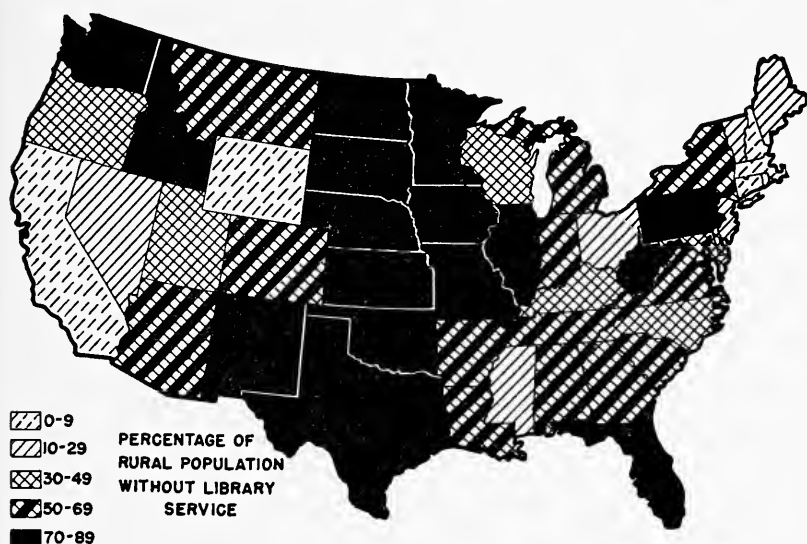


FIG. 165. Percentage of rural population in each state without free public library service, 1941. (SOURCE: Anderson and Gross, *Can Iowa Have Better Public Library Service?*, p. 607.)

families in Lenawee County, Michigan, revealed that 12 percent of the open-country as compared with 17 percent of the village and town population used the public library facilities.²⁰ A study of demonstration libraries in 11 southern counties indicated that only 19 percent of the rural as compared with 43 percent of the urban population owned library registration cards.²¹ A survey of the Social Science Research Council in 1948, based on over 1,000 interviews from a national sample, reported that 21 percent of the urban population used

¹⁹ Eben Mumford, J. F. Thaden, and M. C. Spurway, *The Standard of Living of Farm Families in Selected Michigan Communities*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 287, October 1937, p. 24.

²⁰ Gus Turbeville, *Reading in the Rural Community: A Social Psychological Study of Reading and Library Use in Lenawee County, Michigan, 1946-1947*, Michigan State College, Department of Sociology and Anthropology Ph.D. Thesis, 1948, Chapter 6.

²¹ Louis R. Wilson and Edward A. Wright, *County Library Service in the South*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935.

public libraries as compared with only 15 percent of the rural population.

To a considerable extent, the use of libraries is a socio-economic, class phenomena. Unfortunately, however, there are not enough factual data to compare reading habits of rural and urban areas class by class. One study of a large city indicated that only 6 percent of the persons over 21 years of age were registered library borrowers.²² A study of Lenawee County, Michigan, based upon the Master Sample,²³ indicated that 13.6 percent of the random sample of Corn Belt families had at least one registered borrower, whereas 38.0 percent of the leaders of formal organizations used the library.²⁴ Hodgson²⁵ found that where county-wide library service was available in the areas of Illinois and Indiana studied, 50.0 percent of the leading families, 28.4 percent of the rural-farm families, and 52.6 percent of the rural-nonfarm families used library books. Corresponding percentages for rural-farm and rural-nonfarm families in these two Corn Belt states were 5.0 and 4.3. Unfortunately, he does not indicate how his sample was drawn. Hodgson's study emphasizes the fact that land grant colleges had placed pamphlets in 64.0 percent of the homes, whereas libraries had reached only 28.4 percent of the sample families. He gives as an important reason the greater personal contact of the county agent as compared with the librarian.

If rural dwellers had their own private libraries, their disadvantaged position with reference to library service might be less significant. Indications are, however, that rural people are even less well supplied with useful family-owned books than urban people. The median number of books reported for town and urban centers by 4,000 families through the United States is 164.²⁶ In this study 3 percent reported having no books and 22 percent reported not knowing how many they owned. The medians for upper-, middle-, and

²² C. B. Joeckel and Leon Carnovsky, *A Metropolitan Library in Action: A Survey of the Chicago Public Library*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940, p. 367.

²³ A. J. King and R. J. Jessen, "The Master Sample of Agriculture," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. L, No. 229, 1945, pp. 38-56.

²⁴ Turbeville, *op. cit.*

²⁵ James G. Hodgson, *The Printed Page in Rural Homes*, bound manuscript, original version of a Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate Library School, University of Chicago, 1944, on file at the University of Chicago Library.

²⁶ Henry C. Link and Harry A. Hopf, *People and Books*, New York: Book Manufacturers' Institute, 1946, pp. 103-104.

lower-income groups were 250, 126, and 92, respectively. In his study of families in rural Illinois and Indiana, Hodgson found an average of 79.9 volumes per home, but only 73 percent of the total had books.²⁷ In Livingston County, New York, Kirkpatrick reported an average of 70 books per family as compared with an average of 63 in Iowa.²⁸ Much of the material on rural home book shelves is old and probably seldom used. Many are former school books.

The Committee on Postwar Planning of the American Library Association suggests that libraries must have annual incomes of \$37,500 or more in order to be effective. Some 50 million people, the vast majority of whom live in rural areas, are served by libraries having smaller incomes than this. Most rural people fall into the group served by the 7,000 public libraries with annual incomes of less than \$37,500. Furthermore, most of the 35 million people with no public libraries are rural residents.²⁹ Although this committee recommends that the standard per capita income of libraries should be \$1.50, in 1946 the District of Columbia had \$1.24, Massachusetts had \$1.21, and California had \$1.17; at the other extreme was Mississippi, with only \$0.03. In 28 states the per capita expenditure was less than \$0.50.

The American Library Association has established the following standards of adequacy for libraries:

(1) A book collection of three volumes per capita for 6,000 to 10,000 people; two and one-half volumes per capita for 10,000 to 35,000; two volumes per capita for 35,000 to 100,000; and one and three-fourths to one volume per capita for larger populations. A minimum stock of 6,000 volumes is necessary regardless of population.

(2) Of the population 15 years of age and over, 20 to 40 percent, and of the population 5 through 14 years, 35 to 75 percent should be registered borrowers.

(3) For the population 15 years and over, 10 volumes per capita and for the population 5-14 years, 10 to 30 volumes per capita should be borrowed each year.

(4) Ordinarily a board of trustees should be responsible for policy formation of the library but the administration should be left to the librarian.

²⁷ Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

²⁸ E. L. Kirkpatrick, *The Farmer's Standard of Living*, New York: Century Co., 1929, p. 189.

²⁹ Joeckel and Winslow, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

(5) A librarian with professional training and ability, who together with the staff should be certificated under state law as to minimum qualifications, should administer the library.³⁰

THE ECOLOGY OF LIBRARY SERVICE

In our discussions of other social systems serving rural people, we have noted a drive on the part of the leaders to receive support from and to deliver service to larger service areas. In library service, just as in education, religious, and medical services, one means of attaining larger support per unit (although not necessarily larger per capita) is to enlarge the area a given library serves.

Various plans have been developed for regional libraries. It is assumed that the central library of a rural area having some 25,000 people would have service comparable to that which good city libraries now offer. There would be a system of branches, staffed by skilled librarians supplied with adequate materials for reading and study. These branches would serve as community centers throughout the area. The smaller communities, schools, and the open-country areas would be supplied by smaller branches, deposit stations, and bookmobiles. To any of these smaller outlets the offerings of the central library would be available by mail or delivery service. Small and ineffective libraries would find their resources greatly augmented. According to the ideal, local interest and participation would be enlisted to a maximum.

To attain better library service through extending the system to a larger area, Joeckel and Winslow recommend the following policies and procedures:

The independent city library in places of over 25,000 population is an efficient unit which will continue in substantially all the states. But in many instances, the separate city library, as the natural center for its area, should extend its service to its county or region.

³⁰ American Library Association, "Standards and Planning for Public Libraries," undated. Cited by Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1948, pp. 424-425. The American Library Association is revising its estimates upward. Based upon 1947 costs, it is estimated that \$37,000 would be required for a population of not more than 25,000. Martin's study in 1944 concluded that a population of 50,000 with an income of about \$40,000 would be needed for effective service. If the \$40,000 were equated to 1947, some \$60,000 would be required. See Lowell Martin, "The Optimum Size of the Public Library Unit," in C. B. Joeckel, ed., *Library Extension: Problems and Solutions*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. 32-46.

The county library, serving all or part of a county, is naturally the primary large library unit. It will continue to be used in all regions except New England, where the town, rather than the county, is the important governmental unit. Nearly two-thirds of the American counties, however, are below 25,000 in population, and should be combined with still larger areas.

Regional libraries, comprising two or more counties, should develop greatly in importance in many states in which counties are small in population or low in tax-paying ability. Library regions should usually be organized about the principal trading centers.

Federated groups of cooperating libraries are a possible type of larger service unit which should be successful in regions like New England and the Middle West, in which there are numbers of well-established small public libraries. These cooperating groups will be informal in structure, but their services should be carefully coordinated about a natural center and should approximate those of a regional library.

State library services, in the form of state regional districts or branches of the state library agency, may be used in states with numerous small libraries or in very sparsely populated areas.³¹

Insufficient research has been done on the various types of larger library plans to determine how best to arrange the centers, branches, and sub-branches. However, from the studies available, it appears that the distance a user lives from the library is extremely important in determining whether and to what extent he will use the library.

Table 39, based on a random sample of families in Lenawee County, Michigan, indicates that over two-thirds of the library users live less than five miles from the library branch.³² Table 40 shows that 70.6 percent of the children and 64.1 percent of the 806 users live within a mile of the library from which they take books. This comprehensive study was based upon data from six counties which were classified as rural-urban, six as rural-farm, and thirteen as rural.³³ Since 64 percent of the users lived in villages, the shorter distances traveled to libraries would be expected.

³¹ Joeckel and Winslow, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

³² Edgar A. Schuler and Gus Turbeville, "The Relation of Rural Reading and Library Use to Some Ecological Factors," *The Library Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, July 1948, p. 175.

³³ Margaret Murray Wylie, *A Survey of Michigan County Library Users; A Cooperative Project*, Michigan State College, Department of Sociology and Anthropology Master's Thesis, 1948, pp. 67-68.

TABLE 39
Number and Percentage of Library-Using and Non-Library-Using Families, by Distance From Nearest Library Agency, Lenawee County, Michigan

Distance from Respondent's Dwelling to Nearest Library Agency	Classification of Respondents				Totals	
	Users		Nonusers			
	Number	Per- centage	Number	Per- centage	Number	Per- centage
Less than 3 miles	10	21.3	37	78.7	47	100
3-4.9 miles	7	12.3	50	87.7	57	100
5-6.9 miles	5	8.1	57	91.9	62	100
7 miles and over	3	7.7	36	92.3	39	100
Totals	25	12.2	180	87.8	205	100

SOURCE: Schuler and Turbeville, *The Relation of Rural Reading and Library Use to Some Ecological Factors*, p. 175.

TABLE 40
Percentage of Michigan County Library Users, Classified by Distance from the Library and Age

Distance ^a	Percentage by Age	
	Under 16	Over 16
Less than one-half mile	55.0	51.0
One mile	15.6	13.1
Two miles	8.6	6.4
Three miles	6.2	5.7
Four miles	3.8	5.4
Five miles	2.9	5.7
Six miles	3.4	3.3
Seven miles	1.4	1.0
Eight miles	0.7	1.0
Nine miles	0.2	0.5
Ten miles and over	1.2	6.4
No information	1.0	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	417	389

^a Some library users gave number of blocks and some gave number of miles in response to a question on the distance of their home from the library. These have been combined as follows: five blocks or less were considered one-half mile; six blocks or over were considered one mile.

SOURCE: Wiley, *A Survey of Michigan County Library Users*, p. 68.

In a study of Prince Edward Island, Chandler and Croteau³⁴ found that 60 percent of all registrants lived within one mile of the nearest branch library, 80 percent within four miles, and 89 percent within six miles. These figures do not differ greatly from those reported by Wiley's statewide study in Michigan. Chandler and Croteau found that 65 percent of all the books loaned are borrowed by registrants living within one mile of the library; 85 percent by those living within four miles. The decline was sharpest between the five and seven mile mark. In Des Moines, the population of which is quite evenly distributed throughout the city, 40 percent of the users of a library live within one-half mile of the library and 60 percent live within a mile.³⁵ These findings would seem to show that availability of books or the nearness to the library is extremely important in both country and city. It would appear that no matter how large the regional arrangement for rural areas, books must be readily available through bookmobile, branches, sub-branches, or other means near at hand.

Figure 166 indicates the library-use pattern in the Master Sample segments³⁶ in Lenawee County, Michigan. The Adrian library, located in a city of 14,000, obviously has greater pulling power than the five branch libraries, the four book collections of the county library system, or the two independent local public libraries. As a part of this study, a "pulling power" index was constructed. This was done by dividing the number of library users falling within three distance categories (three, five, and seven miles) by the three trade-center size categories (over 2,500, 1,000-2,500, and under 1,000).³⁷ The indices computed show that size of center is positively related and distance negatively related to the pulling power of a library. These findings suggest the necessity for regional libraries to be located in the larger rural centers, with branches at frequent intervals in the trade centers.

³⁴ H. B. Chandler and J. T. Croteau, *A Regional Library and its Readers*, New York: American Library Association, 1940.

³⁵ C. Arnold Anderson and Neal C. Gross, *Can Iowa Have Better Public Library Service?* Ames: Iowa State College AES Bulletin P50, January 1943, p. 618.

³⁶ For all counties of the nation, segments such as these were drawn by random numbers to provide a basis of investigation, now known as the Master Sample. See King and Jessen, *op. cit.*

³⁷ Schuler and Turbeville, *op. cit.*

All the evidence indicates that library facilities should be brought at least within a few miles of the people for maximum usage. The library use pattern is essentially different from the medical needs pat-

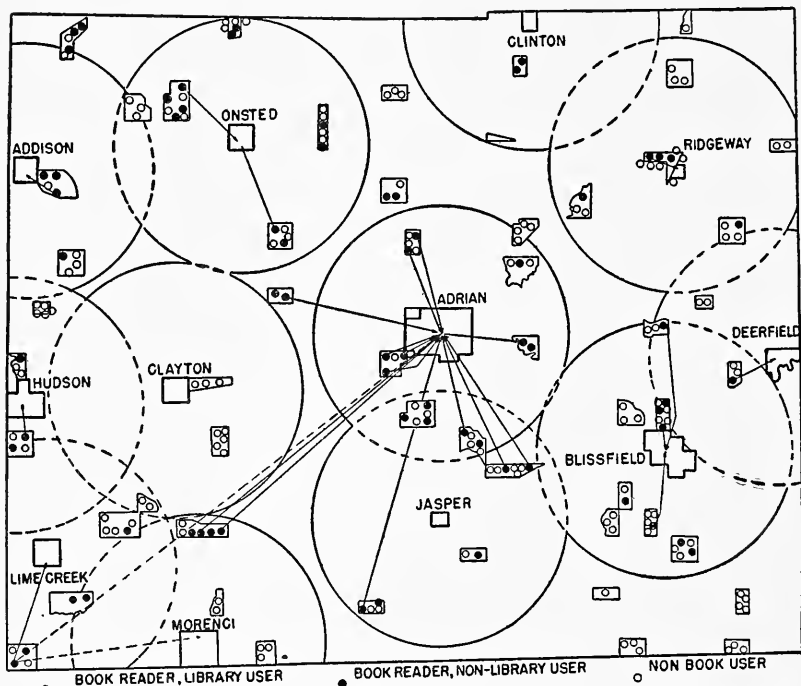


FIG. 166. Location of library agencies in Lenawee County, Michigan, 1946-47. (SOURCE: Schuler and Turbeville, *The Relation of Rural Reading and Library Use to Some Ecological Factors*, p. 177.)

tern, perhaps because the American public is less conscious of a need for the recreation, knowledge, and stimulation afforded by library systems. Until and possibly even after people form habits of using books, library service centers must be closer than the nearest health centers.

Problems of Integrated Service for Rural Regions. The trade-center community is the basic element into which proposed regional plans must be integrated. As Joeckel states: "The use of the trading area as a library unit may be defended on several grounds. Although rather large in size, . . . distances to the central city are not as a rule excessive when measured in time. The principal city of the area is the center of business activity of all kinds; it is also the transportation

center for the region, convenient for those who may wish to use the central library in person and equally convenient for the distribution of library materials to outlying points. The area as a whole possesses a high degree of social and economic unity, and the central city is the natural focus for the people of the region and as such is an ideal location for the central library. In short, the trade area appears to be the most natural and useful human grouping of people in a unit of reasonable size which has as yet been determined.”³⁸

The significance of the region is also recognized. Again, to quote Joeckel: “The possibility of capitalizing this regional patriotism for the library, and of making it the motive for the building-up of a book collection particularly suited to the region and its people, is another argument for the regional library.”³⁹

In view of the general similarity of the approach of library and school reorganization, many believe the library and school systems should be united. However, professional librarians often fear that the educational officials would fail to realize the importance of making the library and its branches available to all the people. A New York study shows that students use school libraries most frequently, whereas teachers patronize personal and public libraries most often. Parents make greatest use of personal libraries, friend’s libraries, and public libraries. These facts indicate the variations shown by clients served by the various libraries.⁴⁰ The data on book availability indicate that if books are to be read by out-of-school readers, they must be made available in more accessible places than most school buildings. Aggressive programs must also be developed to bring about their use. Since librarians and educators are professionals with different trainings and specialties, the wisdom of such a merger seems dubious. Joeckel states the librarian’s point of view as follows: “In general, this union is so foreign to the whole history and tradition of the library movement that its consummation on a large scale seems unlikely.”⁴¹

In developing regional plans for rural libraries, all the problems encountered in governmental or school consolidation arise. The officials of established units do not wish to jeopardize their positions by

³⁸ C. B. Joeckel, *The Government of the American Public Library*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935, pp. 318–319.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

⁴⁰ Douglas Waples and Leon Carnovsky, *Libraries and Readers in the State of New York*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939, p. 104.

⁴¹ Joeckel, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

affiliating with a larger unit. Many other objections are also raised. The general practice followed outside the New England states of dividing the incorporated towns and cities from the countryside has always produced inequalities in the distribution of public services. It also produces a complicated network of overlapping governmental units.

The various units of library service in the Detroit metropolitan area, Figure 167, offer an example of the complications resulting from the functioning of various uncoordinated units. As Joeckel⁴² has indicated, a person living in the village of Ecorse (point no. 1 on the map), received library service from the branch of the Wayne County library. This library is supported by an appropriation from the general funds of Wayne County. In case this family were to move one or two miles north to the city of River Rouge (point no. 2 on the map), it would be served by the school and public library of the River Rouge school districts, supported from the general funds of the school district. Another short move to the north would place the family within the city limits of Detroit, making the resources of the Detroit library system available. There it would be served by the Campbell branch of the Detroit Public Library, which is supported by an appropriation from the general fund of the city. A resident in the south corner of Royal Oak Township, in Oakland County just north of Detroit (point no. 3 on the map), receives no library service whatever. If he lived a short distance south, he could use the Detroit Public Library system. Living a few feet to the west would entitle him to use the Ferndale Public Library, and a move of one and one-half miles to the east would bring him into Macomb County, where he would still be without library service. In the Detroit region the school libraries are largely, although not entirely, separately administered. In Wayne County, the county library cooperates with all the schools, but in general the important schools throughout the area have their own school libraries.

The library region near the city of St. Louis is a good example of the disadvantaged position of the rural areas. The outlying rural areas are practically without service. Of the 21 outlying incorporated places, public library service is given in only three centers. University

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 283–287, and Loleta D. Fyan, “Trends in Government that Affect County and Regional Libraries,” *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, Vol. XXVII, No. 13, December 1933, pp. 693–699.

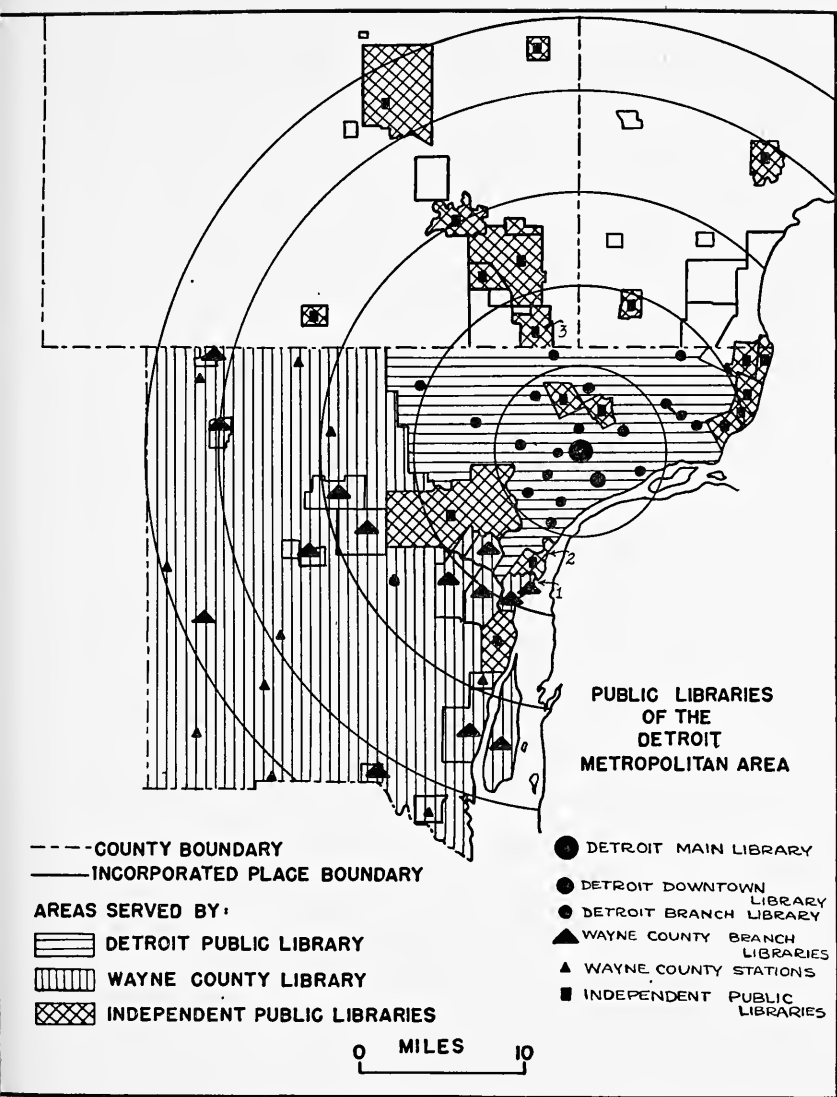


FIG. 167. Public libraries of the Detroit Metropolitan Area. Note how the various library agencies are intermingled. (SOURCE: Joeckel, *The Government of the American Public Library*, p. 285.)

City, a center of 25,000 inhabitants, had no library and relied upon the St. Louis Public Library service until 1932 because no non-resident fees were charged. Non-resident borrowers who lived in units which did not require that they and other residents support any library increased to 15,000. This number fell to 2,000 when a \$2.00 non-resident fee was imposed by the St. Louis Public Library.⁴³ Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and other cities have similar difficulties. The separate taxing and governmental units of rural and incorporated areas creates difficulties in service of all kinds, including library service. This is true whether small or large units are considered. In the smaller units, such as the New England town, in which urban, semi-urban, and rural areas are included, many of the difficulties are avoided.⁴⁴

Indiana, a state that relies on township government, has developed a successful method of combining urban and rural areas through a

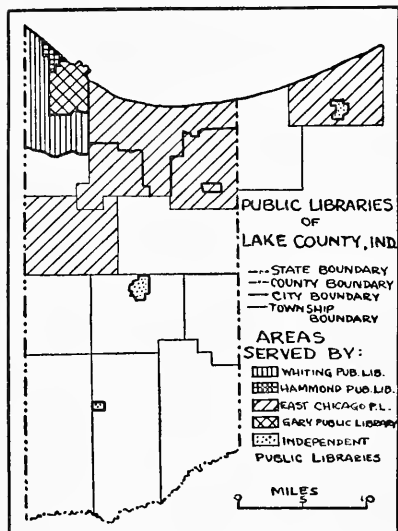


FIG. 168. Public libraries of Lake County, Indiana. Note that the Gary Public Library extends service to townships nearby, some of which are not contiguous. (SOURCE: Joeckel, *The Government of the American Public Library*, p. 290.)

law permitting townships to join with libraries in neighboring cities. The rural township votes a library tax of about half the city rate and is given representation on the managing board. How this is accomplished is indicated by Figure 168. The Gary Public Library, for example, services several neighboring townships as well as one township which is outside the county in which Gary is located.

Small units such as townships, of course, can retard the development of effective service if each attempts to furnish its own service. In fact, in most parts of the country, the county is too weak economically,⁴⁵ and has too few people to furnish satisfactory library service. Two-

⁴³ Joeckel, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-289.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 289-291.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

thirds of the counties of the nation have less than 25,000 people, the number recommended as a minimum for a separate library.⁴⁶ The average area of a Georgia county is 365 square miles, less than a seventh the size of an average California county, where the county plan has been successful. More important is the fact that two-fifths of the Georgia counties have less than 10,000 population and three-fifths have no towns of 2,500 people. In Tennessee the average county is somewhat larger, but 60 percent of the county is rural. Once a county system is fastened on an area of insufficient tax base and population it is difficult to change. Professional librarians feel that the very fact that libraries are relatively undeveloped in the southern region is fortunate.⁴⁷

The sparsely settled areas of the great plains, the Great Lakes Cut-over Area, and other regions are perhaps the most difficult areas for which to plan library service. Since library service must depend upon availability and proximity, and since bookmobiles and well-equipped branches are relatively expensive to maintain in sparsely settled areas, it is doubtful if service can be provided to them without subsidization.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AS RELATED TO LIBRARY USE

A Social Science Research Council investigation indicates that only about one-fourth of the adult population of the nation reads one or more books a month, and of the books read, the public library furnishes only about one-fourth. Only one in ten adults and one in three children use the public library at least as often as once a month. However, library users make more use of other media of information, except for the radio. Furthermore, the adult users, on the average, hold more important positions in the social, economic, and political structure than do non-users.⁴⁸

Another recent study of reading reveals that about 70 percent of all books are read by 21 percent of the population, and about 94 percent of all books are read by 50 percent of the population.⁴⁹ Others report that 10 percent of the population read 63 percent of the

⁴⁶ Joeckel and Winslow, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁴⁷ Joeckel, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

⁴⁸ *The Public Library and the People*, *op. cit.* This survey revealed that during the year preceding the 1948 survey, 48 percent of the population had read no books, 18 percent 1 to 4, 16 percent 5 to 14, 9 percent 15 to 49, 7 percent 50 books and over. For 2 percent there was no answer.

⁴⁹ Link and Hopf, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

books.⁵⁰ In a study of the New York Public Library, Waples found that 10 percent of the registered borrowers were responsible for one-half to three-fourths of the books borrowed. Fifty percent of the registered borrowers drew no more than 1.7 to 5.6 percent of the total number of books circulated.⁵¹

Who are the few who use the library? A random sample of families in Lenawee County, Michigan, indicates that library users in general are of higher educational and occupational status than non-users. This study further proves that those in the higher social class use the library much more than others. Leaders of the various social and economic organizations in the county were compared with those in the random sample. As would be expected, the leaders were much more given to reading and using the library facilities than those in the random sample.

That middle-class people in professional and service positions use the library far in excess of their representation in the population is shown in Table 41. The Michigan findings are supported by the Social Science Research Council survey of library usage. In this study, 30 percent of the professional, managerial, and white-collar workers had family members who used the public library; the percentages for workers (skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled) and farmers were 12 and 13 percent, respectively. The relatively low participation rate of farmers makes them resemble the groups at the lower end of the socio-economic scale.⁵²

As with Kinsey's⁵³ data, the important differences occur between those who have high-school educations and those who do not. Although we would not accept Kinsey's claim that education is the best indication of class status, it is more closely related to reading habits than are other criteria studied.⁵⁴ This is not surprising in view of the

⁵⁰ Grace W. Gilman, "The Community Role of the Public Library in Middle-town and Suburbia," in Carnovsky and Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-97.

⁵¹ Douglas Waples, *Print, Radio, and Film in a Democracy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942, p. 171.

⁵² *The Public Library and the People*, *op. cit.*

⁵³ Alfred C. Kinsey *et al.*, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948, p. 330.

⁵⁴ One study of reader interest reports that "of the conditions affecting group reading interest in different degrees, sex has most effect, amount of schooling next, occupation next, and in order of decreasing importance, geographical or regional environment, age, size of community, and time spent in reading." Waples and Tyler, *op. cit.*, Chapter 6 and pp. 193-194.

fact that a large portion of one's education comes through reading. Link and Hopf report that "education is a much more important factor influencing the readership of books than income level."⁵⁵ Many

TABLE 41

Percentage Distribution of 389 County Library Branch Users Aged Sixteen and Over, 1946, and Comparable State Population, 1940, Classified by Occupation

Occupations	Percentage Distribution ^a			
	Michigan			Library Users
	Total	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm	
Professional and semi-professional	7.2	8.1	2.2	15.4
Clerical and business	24.6	24.1	5.1	9.5
Farm operators	7.9	1.1	48.9	3.1
Farm laborers	3.6	2.2	20.4	1.5
Craftsmen	38.4	43.6	14.3	5.1
Non-farm laborers	6.8	9.3	4.3	1.5
Service workers (except domestic)	7.3	6.7	1.5	13.1
Other	3.3	3.7	2.3	6.7
No information	0.9	1.2	1.0	44.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

^a Proportions in the case of Michigan's population apply to persons 14 years old and over; in the case of library users to persons 16 years old and over.

SOURCE: Wiley, *A Survey of Michigan County Library Users*, p. 66.

studies, including that of Link and Hopf, reveal that education is far more important than age, size of city, sex, or religious background. Although the study included 4,000 interviews in 166 cities and towns of various sizes, it does not compare places under 2,500 with larger places. Apparently, there were few major differences. The similarity in readership on the part of those similarly educated and with similar levels of living is striking for communities of all sizes. Waples and

⁵⁵ Link and Hopf, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

Tyler found only slight difference in the reading interests of college students reared in the country and those reared in the city.⁵⁶

One of the few collections of data concerning the time farm families spend reading is that of owners and tenants in North Carolina. Since the average grade of schooling was under six years, this rural sample could be expected to behave as lower-level families in their reading habits. Nevertheless, educational status was much more closely related to the number of magazines and newspapers subscribed to, the time spent reading, and the amount spent for reading materials than was income.⁵⁷ The correlation coefficients of $.36 \pm .03$ and $.40 \pm .03$ express the relationship between years of schooling and number of magazines subscribed to for owner husbands and owner wives. For tenant husbands and wives the comparable coefficients are $.18 \pm .04$ and $.30 \pm .04$. Hogdson⁵⁸ found that the average formal education of 154 farm family members in Illinois and Indiana and the number of periodicals received, books in the home, pamphlets secured, and land grant publications received, were described by the following correlation coefficients: $+.42$, $+.42$, $+.19$, and $+.38$.

WARNER'S SIX-FOLD CLASS STRUCTURE AND READING BEHAVIOR

The six-fold class structure as developed by Warner and his followers is described in Chapter 10. Although Yankee City cannot be used to represent rural areas, Warner and Lunt's findings in regard to public library usage are significant, especially if the well-to-do farm people are tending to acquire the attributes of the urban middle class. In this study of library usage, books on courtship and family, detective, and adventure stories comprised more than half of the books read. The following quotation describes the type of books read

⁵⁶ Waples and Tyler, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-146. Link and Hopf show a close relationship between book reading and educational level. Nine percent of their grade-school sample reported reading a book yesterday. Comparable percentages for those with high school and college educations were 20 and 34, respectively. *Op. cit.*, p. 114. A similar difference is revealed in the proportions owning book-cases. While 61 percent of the grade school sample reported having no book-case, 35 percent of the high school and 12 percent of the college sample reported this lack. *Op. cit.*, pp. 102-103.

⁵⁷ C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 238-239. Indices are based upon 311 white owner and 256 white tenant families in Wake County, North Carolina.

⁵⁸ Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

by the various classes in the Massachusetts town of approximately 17,000 people:

The members of the upper-upper class evinced more than an average interest in books which were concerned with science and with biography and history; they were also interested more than the average in detective stories, farce and humor, and books in which the predominant interest was patriotism and warfare. The lower-upper class had an above-average reading preference for books in which the dominant interest was man's struggle against fate. They were also interested in books where warfare was the predominant theme, and in books of biography and history. The upper-middle-class readers had an above average interest in books on social techniques, courtship and the family, and warfare. The lower-middle class showed a strong preference for books on courtship and the family. The upper-lower class were interested in children's books and those of farce and humor, while the lower-lower had an interest above the average in children's books, adventure and detective stories, farce and humor, and man's struggle against fate.⁵⁹

In estimating library needs as reflected by such class interests, one must remember that the proportions of the total population in the different classes vary from one community to another. Thus, the upper-upper constitutes only 1.44 percent of the total population of Yankee City. Corresponding percentages for other classes are: lower-upper, 1.56; upper-middle, 10.22; lower-middle, 28.12; upper-lower, 32.60; and lower-lower, 25.22.⁶⁰ The authors explain that the two upper classes are poorly represented in their use of the library because they maintain libraries at home.

Almost twice as large a proportion read magazines as read books. How is this to be explained? Warner and Lunt state that "Class has a decided effect upon magazine reading in Yankee City."⁶¹ Table 42 indicates the ranks of the magazines subscribed to in rural areas of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and the various classes in Yankee City. One would not expect to find rural magazines of great interest to urban residents. In Yankee City, the *Country Gentleman*, however, is subscribed to by upper-upper, lower-upper, upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower in the following proportions: 2, 4, 32, 39, 20, and 3. In comparison, 22 percent of the Corn Belt farmers

⁵⁹ W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941, p. 380.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80. Those of unknown class accounted for .85 percent.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

TABLE 42

Comparison of Frequencies with Which Magazines Are Mentioned in Lenawee County, Cornbelt States, and Yankee City

Magazine ^a	Lenawee County Sample ^b	Cornbelt Sample ^c			Rank Order of Frequency Reported Yankee City ^d					
		Total	Farm	Non-Farm	Upper-Upper	Lower-Upper	Upper-Middle	Lower-Middle	Upper-Lower	Lower-Lower
<i>Reader's Digest</i>	1	4.5	12	1	5	4	12	27	—	25.5
<i>McCall's</i>	2	10.5	14.5	3	32	22	3	2	4	8
<i>Life</i>	3	19	19.5	—	18.5	35.5	53	46	—	—
<i>Better Homes and Gardens</i>	4	12.5	16	6	32	7	2	3	7	7
<i>Woman's Home Companion</i>	5	6	8	4	32	22	7.5	9.5	6	6
<i>Farm Journal</i>	7.5	2	3	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Ladies' Home Journal</i>	7.5	7	11	7	5	5	4	6	15.5	19.5
<i>Saturday Evening Post</i>	7.5	14.5	14.5	12	2	2	5	12	19	25.5
<i>Household</i>	7.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Country Gentleman</i>	10.5	4.5	4	10	18.5	12	11	11	9	15.5
<i>Michigan Farmer</i>	10.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>True Story</i>	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Parent's Magazine</i>	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Successful Farming</i>	14.5	3	2	14	—	22	17	18	13.5	10.5
<i>Colliers</i>	14.5	16	17	9	32	—	5.15	17	15.5	9

^a The 15 magazines most frequently reported in Lenawee County, Michigan. Other lists were involved in the Cornbelt and Yankee City studies, thus giving varying numbers ranging over 15 in the ranking.

^b Turbeville, *Reading in the Rural Community*, Chapter 6. This ranking represents the "favorite magazines of the female head."

^c Hodgson, *The Printed Page in Rural Homes*, p. 79. This ranking is based upon the periodicals taken by the sample families.

^d Warner and Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, pp. 388-397. This ranking is based upon the percentage of purchasers in each class.

subscribed. Only 4 percent of the total population of Yankee City subscribed to the *Country Gentleman* as compared with 8 percent to *Needlecraft*, the most popular magazine. Studies of rural and farm samples reveal much more frequent subscriptions to farm journals of various types. Magazines such as the *Woman's Home Companion* have about the same acceptance in rural and urban groups for which data are available. There are numerous regional magazines of considerable popularity.

Turbeville found that 12.5 percent of the women and 18.3 percent of the men in the Lenawee County sample reported farm magazines as their favorite magazines. Among women only those magazines especially designed for women and those dealing with the home were more popular than farm magazines. Farm magazines were most popular among the men. The men included in the leadership sample listed farm magazines most often as their favorite type while the women in the leadership sample rated women's and home magazines, digest magazines, and religious magazines above those classed as farm magazines.

CLIQUE, A BASIS OF THE CLASS STRUCTURE, ALSO IMPORTANT IN READING SELECTIONS

It is interesting to note that when asked "What made you want to read this book?" (i.e., the last book read), Link and Hopf found that 199 out of 615 persons stated that it was recommended by a friend and 80 that it was recommended by a family member.⁶² Again, we find basis for emphasizing the importance of those relationships which are of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* type. The importance of these channels in book readership is emphasized in Tables 43 and 44. Table 43 demonstrates that by far the most important sources of books read by all income classes are those borrowed and those purchased. Table 44, which indicates the source of borrowed books, demonstrates the importance of family members and friends. The public library in the towns and cities studied by Link and Hopf supplies 37 percent of the borrowed books, which are also circulated among family members and friends. Unfortunately, Link and Hopf do not furnish comparisons for various-sized centers. Knowing that rural people often borrow from friends and relatives, we find no reason for believing that

⁶² Link and Hopf, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

these informal familistic Gemeinschaft-like relationships are less important in the rural part of the country.⁶³

TABLE 43
Sources of Books Read, Classified by Income Status of Respondents

Source of Books	Percentage by Income Status		
	Upper	Middle	Lower
Borrowed	53	59	57
Bought	33	31	29
Gift	13	9	11
Don't know	1	1	3
Total	100	100	100
Total Number of Active Readers	770	782	430

SOURCE: Link and Hopf, *People and Books*, p. 77.

TABLE 44
Where Books Were Borrowed, Classified by Sex of Respondents

Source of Books	Men		Women		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Family member or friend	183	48	397	54	580	51
Public library	165	43	244	33	409	37
Private rental library	30	8	94	13	124	11
Don't know	3	1	3	*	6	1
Total borrowers	381	100	738	100	1,119	100

* Less than .5%.

SOURCE: Link and Hopf, *People and Books*, p. 83.

⁶³ In his study of readership in Illinois and Indiana, Hodgson found 42.9 percent of the farm families and 56.2 percent of the non-farm families had borrowed books. Of the borrowers, 9.1 percent of the farm families and 15.9 percent of the non-farm families borrowed from friends. Of course, those who borrowed from public libraries (37.9 and 52.4 percent, respectively), from school libraries (59.1 and 48.8 percent, respectively), and from the state library by mail or otherwise (9.1 and 2.4 percent, respectively) also frequently loaned their books to one another. Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

The Social Science Research Council survey⁶⁴ reported that 25 percent of the adult book users got their books from public libraries, 20 percent from friends, 35 percent from purchase and home libraries, about 8 percent from rental libraries, and about 10 percent from other sources. The respective percentages for children are 25, 40, 5, 20, 2, and 8. This evidence again points to the importance of friendship patterns, a very important aspect of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*. In all studies, more women than men are reported as having received books from friends.⁶⁵

SUMMARY OF THE RELATION BETWEEN CLASS POSITION AND READING BEHAVIOR

Regardless of the criteria used in indicating stratification of a given community, the bulk of the reading will be limited to a few strata. Only rarely will the masses be involved substantially in the use and support of the library. It is a tribute to the growth of the democratic ideal in America, however, that the original purpose of establishing libraries as a luxury for the upper classes has little place among professional librarians. The boards of trustees of the original social and proprietary libraries read like a combined *Blue Book* and *Who's Who*. We need not belabor the point that the readership, use, support, and direction of the library were class-structured.⁶⁶ Today, as Beals points out, "Every public librarian aspires to reach his entire community."⁶⁷ This aspiration should not stand in the librarian's way in using clique,

⁶⁴ *The Public Library and the People*, op. cit.

⁶⁵ Lamar Johnson, "Adult Reading Interests as Related to Sex and Marital Status," *School Review*, Vol. XL, January 1932, pp. 33-43. From 900 interviews with men and women of Duluth, Minnesota, during 1929, Johnson found that 21 percent of the men and 27 percent of the women had obtained books from friends. From 1,600 interviews in Los Angeles, it was found that 17 percent of the men and 21 percent of the women obtained books from friends. (Field and Peacock Associates, *A Library Survey for the City of Los Angeles*, mimeographed, 1948.) From 2,114 interviews in 17 large cities with persons over 21 years of age, it was learned that 20 percent of the men and 25 percent of the women obtained books from friends. In general, women buy and borrow more books than men. (National Opinion Research Center, *What . . . Where . . . Why . . . Do People Read?* Highlights of a survey made for the American Library Association and 17 Cooperating City Libraries, Report No. 28, Denver: University of Denver, 1946.)

⁶⁶ Joeckel, op. cit., p. 7.

⁶⁷ Ralph A. Beals, "Implications of Communications Research for the Public Library," in Waples, op. cit., p. 171.

congeniality, and prestige groupings through which to sell her program. Since library usage depends upon education, itself class-structured, and since relatively few use the library, the rural librarian must know the power and class structure of the community not only to keep her offerings in line with need but also to gain support for the library itself. A quotation from a professional librarian perhaps will place these remarks in proper context: "I asked a doctor in my community, a man whose opinion I value, what was the role of the library in our town. He looked at me in amazement at so elementary a question and replied, 'The role of the library is to help the middle class to keep intellectually solvent.' . . . Surely, the 'opinion-makers' in our towns, more than anyone else, need to be made aware of the resources of the library on important issues."⁶⁸

Hodgson's discovery that those rural families which make the least use of library facilities were the same families which fail to use the land grant college bulletins,⁶⁹ certainly does not surprise anyone familiar with the class structure of rural areas. As indicated in Chapter 20, the well-to-do classes make greater use of the Extension Service than do other groups. The same can be said for the rural library. Increasing its use in rural areas will mean increasing the emphasis placed on the middle-class values by the lower classes.

AGE AND SEX OF LIBRARY USERS

As indicated by Table 45, 73 percent of the 806 branch library users in 25 counties in Michigan were females as compared with 49 percent in the state. It was indicated previously that 43 percent of the men as compared with 33 percent of the women got their borrowed books from public libraries. This is misleading, since only 49 percent of the men and 61 percent of the women borrow books. Everywhere it appears that women make the greater use of the public libraries.

Figure 169 portrays the ages of the 806 sample branch library borrowers in Michigan as compared with the actual population. A pattern is formed which does not differ greatly from the national age pattern of the public library users. Of rural library users in Michigan,

⁶⁸ Carnovsky and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 93. For an attempt to describe how the techniques of the sociologist and anthropologist may be used to advance the program of the library, see Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle. "Library Promotion and Service as Problems of Group Dynamics," *Wisconsin Library Bulletin*, Vol. XLV, No. 3, March, 1949, pp. 33 ff.

⁶⁹ Hodgson, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

49 percent are between the ages of 10 and 19, whereas only 18 percent of the population falls into this group. A study of the New York metropolitan area shows that 39 percent of the readers as compared with 10 percent of the population were between 15 and 19 years of

PERCENTAGE

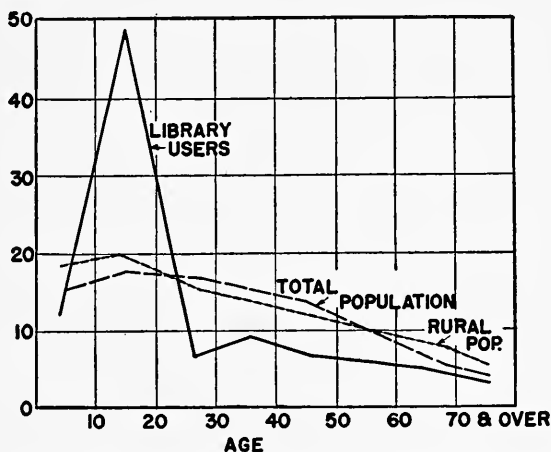


FIG. 169. Percentage age distribution of 806 Michigan county library users as compared with the state population. (SOURCE: Wiley, *A Survey of Michigan County Library Users*, p. 61.)

TABLE 45

Percentage Distribution of 806 County Library Branch Users, 1946, and Comparable State Population, 1940, Classified by Residence and Sex

Sex	State			Library Users		
	Total	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-Farm	Total	Under 16	16 and over
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	52.3	47.7
Males	51.3	51.8	54.6	26.7	15.1	11.5
Females	48.7	48.2	45.4	73.3	37.2	36.2
Number of Cases	5,256,106	941,037	860,202	806	417	389

SOURCE: Wiley, *A Survey of Michigan County Library Users*, p. 63.

age.⁷⁰ Turbeville found few age differences between library users and non-library users in Lenawee County, Michigan. While 18.0 percent of the library users were 30 or under, 20.8 percent of the non-library users were 30 or under. Forty-one percent of the library users as compared with 42.4 percent of the non-library users were 51 years old and over. Some of the youth's library usage undoubtedly is due to school assignments, and for this reason some argue that it should be serviced by school libraries.

CAN LIBRARY SERVICE REACH ALL CLASSES?

The leaders of the Taos project, a governmental rehabilitation project in New Mexico, used the facilities of the local library and a new bookmobile equipped with motion pictures as a "catalytic agent" to interest the people and to provide early results. A description of this library venture follows.

The Project's Catalytic Agent.⁷¹ Governmental projects conducted on a broad community basis seldom live up to the expectations of the people to whom they are sold. Students of such projects almost invariably find that more was promised than was delivered. The people almost universally agree that "too little good was done and—too late." Why this so frequently tends to be the appraisal people make of bureaucratic action will not be discussed, except to indicate that Taos County villagers were often impatient with slow-moving governmental machinery in getting through a new ditch, making available more grazing land or medical facilities. An important contribution of the library and visual education service which was carried to the isolated villages was the counteracting effect it had on this impatience. It represented a continuous concrete contribution made to the people by the project.

Actually, the county library and visual education service became the sparkplug of the whole program. This is proved by the fact that prior to the library service and motion picture shows, project workers

⁷⁰ Ernestine Ross, "The Need to Redirect and Unify Adult Service," in Chancellor, *op. cit.*, p. 177. The Social Science Research Council analyzed the age distribution of the library users of the United States. The percentages of each age group which used the library were as follows: 21-44, 22 percent; 45-49, 14 percent; and 60 and over, 14 percent.

⁷¹ Charles P. Loomis and Jesse Taylor Reed, "The Taos County Project of New Mexico—An Experiment in Local Cooperation among Bureaus, Private Agencies, and Rural People," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. III, No. 3, April-June 1944, p. 28.

could often get no more than 10 percent of the village families to attend meetings. With the picture shows, 80 to 90 percent of the people turned out.⁷² As any rural organization specialist knows, people must be brought together through one device or another if community action on any objective is to be achieved. Perhaps the movies offered the "sugar coating" which lectures on health, conservation, improved breeding, and so forth, required. At any rate, they permitted the expert to "get his foot in the door."

The library and visual aid service was in the charge of two young librarians. A bookmobile, the first and only in the state, carried books and a movie projector, equipped with screen, loud speakers, and microphone, to most of the remote villages. The bookmobile stopped at schoolhouses, dance halls, homes, or other suitable buildings. Branch libraries were established in eleven larger villages. Books were even carried by horseback during the winter months to one community.

In 1941, before the project carried books to the villages, the circulation of the Harwood Foundation library was 10,712 volumes. The circulation trebled after the bookmobile service to the rural areas was initiated; two-thirds of the increase went to the outlying villages. After outside support was withdrawn from the Taos County Project, the service continued with the support of the local people of Taos and the adjoining county, Rio Arriba. When the Carnegie Corporation withdrew support for the project, the local people furnished the funds on a per family basis.

Although the bookmobile project may have been exceptional, it furnished the entering wedge to develop a system of county-wide planning in which the people and agency functionaries participated. The results took the form of a cooperative health association, a soil conservation district, an increase in grazing land, and other projects. The villagers of this county had the highest infant mortality rate of the nation and perhaps the lowest level of living; yet they undertook to finance a bookmobile in this sparsely settled area. It is dubious, of course, that the people can support such service in non-prosperous years. But the fact that they were willing to do so during the prosperous years of the war speaks in behalf of the library not only because it is a logical integrating and generalizing agency but because it makes its services useful.

⁷² Many films with Spanish sound tracts, prepared by the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, were shown.

The Van Buren County Project. The local county librarian in Van Buren County, Michigan, put in motion forces which resulted in the agency leaders of the county joining in a survey of the people's felt needs as well as a knowledge of existing programs and of what the people wanted from these agencies.⁷³ At the first meeting, county problem area maps were discussed by the agency representatives. At that time a local functionary was overheard saying that he had got a "shot in the arm" in learning that other agencies had the same problems that he had. An extension specialist⁷⁴ mobilized technical assistance in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology for questionnaire construction, sampling, and coding.

When the 240 interviewees, chosen through a scientifically drawn sample, were assigned by lot to the different agencies, librarians found themselves learning about fertilizer mixtures, health specialists about green manure, agricultural extension specialists about health problems, and school officials about rural branch libraries. The project would have been valuable if there had been no result other than that of "getting in touch" with the people served. However, officials of the agencies have organized themselves into the Van Buren Service Council, which meets regularly. The results of the Van Buren County survey show that four out of ten families made some use of the county library. Only one out of ten of the men and five out of ten of the women reported some use of library services. The children were the most frequent library users.

The Accomplishment in Ohio and in the TVA. When Ohio extended free public library service to nearly all the population during the late '30's, the use of libraries increased greatly. The per capita circulation of books in rural areas was three times as large in 1940 as in 1934, although there was little increase of circulation in cities during this period.⁷⁵

In the area of the Tennessee Valley Authority, a regional library organization has been developed by using the available agencies to furnish workers with reading materials. Rothrock reports "a total reduction in unserved population figures of about 3,250,000 persons

⁷³ Ann Farrington, now of the staff of the Wisconsin State Library, Jerry Mandigo, Van Buren County Agricultural Agent, and Paul Miller, Rural Sociology Extension Specialist, deserve most of the credit for carrying this project through.

⁷⁴ Paul Miller, Rural Sociology and Anthropology Extension Specialist, Michigan State College.

⁷⁵ Anderson and Gross, *op. cit.*, pp. 606 and 620.

who formerly had no access to library service, but now through the project units receive some measure of library service. This represents approximately a 40 percent decrease in the 1935 figure for unserved population."⁷⁶ What the final results of the complicated contractual arrangements worked out with the Authority will be, only the future will reveal. Certainly the principle of building upon the existing structure is to be commended, and the Authority has demonstrated that real accomplishments can be made if funds are available.

THE PRESS

As previously indicated, relatively few Americans read books. From several studies,⁷⁷ the Public Library Inquiry of the Social Science Research Council concluded that from 25 to 30 percent of the adult population of the nation reads one or more books per month. In contrast, 90 to 95 percent of the adult population listens to the radio fifteen minutes a day or more; 85 to 90 percent of the adult population reads one or more newspapers more or less regularly; 60 to 70 percent of the adult population reads one or more magazines more or less regularly; and 45 to 50 percent of the adult population sees a motion picture once every two weeks or oftener. Obviously the press, radio, and motion picture potentially affect more people than do books.

⁷⁶ Mary U. Rothrock, "Libraries and Regional Development," *The Library Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 3, July 1942, p. 669.

⁷⁷ Report of the Public Library Inquiry of the Social Science Research Council, *The Library's Public, An Analysis of the Literature of the Use of the Public Library*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. The Social Science Research Council survey made by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan in 1948 furnishes valuable data. This survey reported that 48 percent of the population had read as many as one government bulletin, and 21 percent had attended a speech or talk during the past year. This survey reported important differences between adult book readers and adult non-book readers. For the two groups the percentages who read one or more newspapers every day were 91 and 76, respectively; who listen to the radio two or more hours a day, 69 and 68, respectively; who read two or more magazines regularly, 71 and 39; who attend two or more motion pictures a month, 58 and 45; who had heard one or more speeches or talks during the year, 29 and 14, and who had ever read a government bulletin, 58 and 37. For the substantiation of the above data in the text, see also Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Harry Field, *The People Look at Radio, Report on a Survey Conducted by the National Opinion Research Center*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946.

Communication and Social Structure. The smallest circle in which news circulates is the clique or friendship group. These in turn are grouped to constitute the neighborhood, as indicated in Chapter 6. As Cooley, Angell and Carr have said:

This is the area of gossip. Under rural conditions it is easy to distinguish neighborhoods. As we have already pointed out, the disappearance of such personal neighborhoods is one of the disorganizing factors in urban life. Many neighborhoods have no center, i.e., no nucleus where people congregate to gossip and exchange news. In such unorganized neighborhoods news circulates by word of mouth, of course, but less efficiently than in neighborhoods that have a general store, garage, post office, or some other focal point of meeting. Such focalized, or nucleated neighborhoods, constitute the first step up from the unorganized neighborhood toward the village, the city, and the metropolis. The cross-roads store constitutes such a neighborhood focus.⁷⁸

How are the affairs of one neighborhood to become known to those in another? They may pass from family to family by rumor, for example, as they did when invasion troops entered Germany in World War II. At this time all formal communication between villages stopped. During the early invasion period, the author encountered the most fantastic and widespread rumors imaginable. Some rumors had it that American aviators had dropped potato bugs on the German potato fields; others that no marriages among Germans would be permitted and that children must be sent immediately to the United States to prevent contamination with Nazi ideology.

Under normal conditions, the village weekly may tie the village and the neighborhood together and, in turn, one village with another. As would be expected, a medium must be highly personal in order to accomplish this objective. It must either possess or carry many of the values of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*. In the Cotton Belt and the General and Self-Sufficing type of farming areas as well as in other areas with few rural weeklies, Saturday afternoons find the trade centers filled. Gossip, rumor, and news spread in this manner. Normally the local or village trade center will be linked to other trade centers by the local daily, which is very frequently published at the county seat.

⁷⁸ C. H. Cooley, R. C. Angell, and L. J. Carr, *Introductory Sociology*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933, pp. 258-259.

Just as the local weekly may link the neighborhoods, the trade-center daily may link trade-center communities into a region. The papers of these trade centers are the foci or nerve centers which see to it that the affairs of one small town and its local region are known through the city newspapers and through the news services supplied from nearby metropolitan or sub-metropolitan centers. In the news offices of the metropolitan and sub-metropolitan centers, the dispatches from local correspondents are sent to the press services. When the news is of broad interest, it is spread widely beyond the region. "Thus, in the gathering and distribution of news," Cooley and collaborators indicate, "there exists a definite constellational pattern, with the neighborhoods clustering around the village, the villages around the county-seat or local town, and the towns around the metropolitan or sub-metropolitan center."⁷⁹

The remarkably close relationship between newspaper circulation and traffic flow indicates how balanced the various forces involved in these two complex variables are. They both structure and reflect the structure of the trade center itself. Traffic flow means people and goods coming and going. This process gives rise to advertising and increased paper circulation. Population increase means more people to subscribe to the papers. There are many other delicately balanced factors, to be sure, but the two media of communication, traffic and newspaper circulation, are remarkably closely related. Whether air transportation will change the picture remains to be seen.

The Daily. Table 46 presents data concerning the proportions of farm families receiving various types of newsprint in the several regions. By far the largest part of the population subscribes to dailies. The daily newspaper has relatively little local news concerning the rural neighborhoods, the farm cliques, and friendship groups. As the smaller locality groupings are dropped in the process of the developing contractual *Gesellschaft*, the personal, particularistic, functionally diffuse, and local may be expected to give way to the larger and the more efficient.

The Rural Weekly. In 1900 there were about 16,000 weekly newspapers in the United States. The number decreased to 13,000 in 1929, to 10,860 in 1940, and to 9,763 in 1944.⁸⁰ Figure 170 depicts the num-

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁸⁰ Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1942, pp. 432-433; and T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 414.

ber of country weeklies per 10,000 rural population. The southern states have relatively few and the Great Plains, Corn Belt, and far western states relatively more. Rural sociologists⁸¹ have studied the nature of the rural weekly more than any other group of scientists. Hoffer has made studies for Michigan⁸² and Reuss for Washington.⁸³ Hoffer found that neighborhood and personal news comprised the leading subject matter in the Michigan weeklies studied.

TABLE 46

Percentage of Farm Operators Reporting Daily or Weekly Newspaper, and Number of Magazines Received, United States and Regions, 1945

Type of Newspaper and Number of Magazines Received	Percentage by Region			
	United States	North	South	West
<i>Type of Newspaper</i>				
All types	70	90	54	79
Total daily	56	78	38	70
Total weekly	20	21	21	11
Daily only	50	69	33	68
Weekly only	14	12	16	9
Both daily and weekly	6	9	5	2
<i>Number of Magazines Received</i>				
None	29	11	45	24
1	15	12	19	13
2	18	18	16	26
3	15	19	10	18
4	9	15	5	9
5	6	10	2	7
6 or more	8	15	3	3

SOURCE: Schuler and Swiger, *Trends in Farm Family Levels and Standards of Living*, p. 30.

⁸¹ See C. E. Lively and R. B. Almack, *Some Rural Social Agencies in Missouri*, Columbia: Missouri AES Research Bulletin 307, November 1930; C. C. Taylor, "The County Newspaper as a Town-Country Agency," in *Town and Country Relations*, Proceedings of the Fourth National Country Life Conference, New York: Association Press, 1923, pp. 36-46; C. F. Reuss, *Content of Washington Weekly Newspapers*, Pullman: Washington AES Bulletin 387, February 1940; and C. F. Reuss, "Content of the Country Weekly," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. IV, No. 3, September 1939, pp. 328-336.

⁸² C. R. Hoffer, *Interests of Rural People as Portrayed in Weekly Newspapers*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 298, February 1939.

⁸³ Reuss, *op. cit.*

Reuss and Taylor found that about 60 percent of the space in rural weeklies is devoted to advertising and the remainder to news and editorials.⁸⁴ They also demonstrated that the non-business space decreases as the size of center increases up to a maximum of 2,500. The

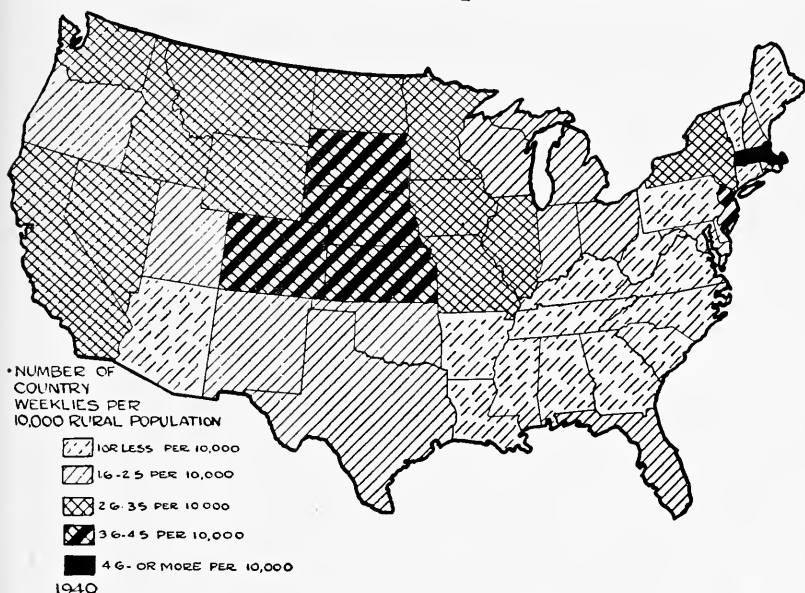


FIG. 170. Number of country weeklies per 10,000 rural population, 1940. (SOURCE: Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, p. 433.)

proportion of non-business space again decreases in larger centers. With increasing size of the town of publication, there is a strong tendency for the proportion of advertising and news to increase, magazine material to decrease, opinion material to remain constant, but for the over-all size of the paper to increase. Reuss found that 76 percent of the news was local, with 42 percent concerning the town and 34 percent the country. Also that social institutions hold a remarkably stable proportion of the news space regardless of size of town; the school ranks first, followed by the church and the government.⁸⁵ Brunner and Lorge found that many weeklies in the villages they studied often devoted over half a page to school news from once a week to once a month.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁸⁶ Edmund deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1937, p. 169.

The Agricultural Press. In the study of the Extension Service in Vermont,⁸⁷ the farmers gave farm papers and magazines first place when asked what had led them to change farm practices. Thereafter, the county agent, friends, and neighbors followed in that order. As the educational level of the rural people rises, the importance of the agricultural press in changing practices and molding opinion will increase. Alert agency officials are making sure that the farm journals get their materials.

The total circulation of 86 general agricultural papers in 1940 amounted to 16,047,053, or 2.63 papers per farm. This does not include special interest papers devoted to dairying, livestock, horticulture, poultry, and the like. Four national agricultural papers average a circulation of 1,700,000, fifteen regional papers average 350,000, and twenty-one state agricultural papers average 84,000.⁸⁸ Lively and Almack⁸⁹ report that nine farm papers in Missouri had a combined circulation of 625,000 copies, or an average of 2.3 per farm family, or 1.4 per rural family.

Wilson found that "farm publications go where library facilities do not, unless library service is developed on a county-wide basis."⁹⁰ He also found a negative correlation between the circulation of farm journals and the circulation of general magazines. Because of their occupation, farmers want to read about farming and local events. Farmers require a more serious and religious tone in their reading matter than is found in many general publications and programs. That agricultural workers could extend the utilization of the newspapers and agricultural press is indicated by the findings of Hodgson. In his sample Corn Belt areas in Indiana and Illinois, he found that although 96 percent of the families took newspapers, 14 percent of the farmers did not take papers which carried the news releases of the local county agents.

THE RADIO AS A SERVICE AGENCY FOR RURAL PEOPLE

An ever-increasing proportion of rural families own radios. Figure 171 shows the distribution of farm families with radios in the United

⁸⁷ *The Extension Service in Vermont, Part One: Farmers and the Extension Service*, Washington: U.S.D.A., Extension Service in Cooperation with Bureau of Agricultural Economics, July 1947.

⁸⁸ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

⁸⁹ Lively and Almack, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁹⁰ Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-239.

States. Table 47 indicates that most of the more well-to-do, better-educated white rural families have radios.

From a carefully drawn sample of 2,535 rural families throughout

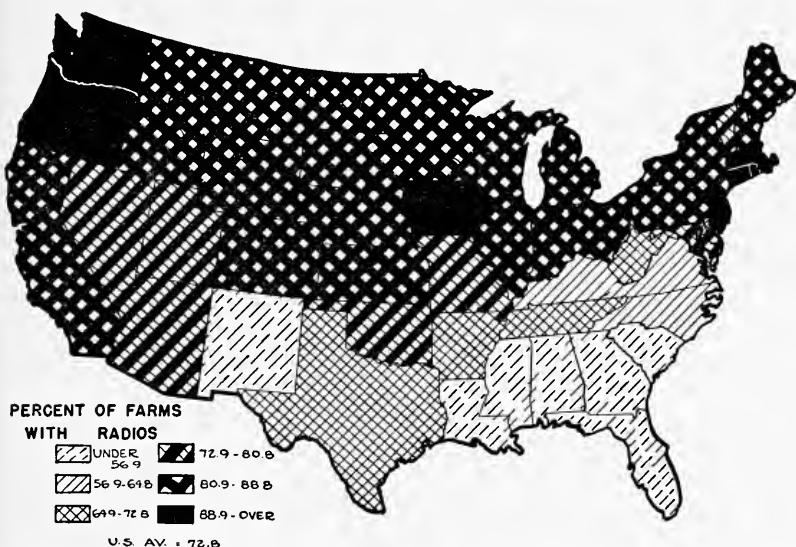


FIG. 171. Percentage of farms having a radio, by state, 1945. (Data from United States Census of Agriculture, 1945.)

the nation, it was found that the median number of hours ordinarily listened per day was 2.3 for men and 3.7 for women.⁹¹ Only about two women and four men in ten listen to their radios less than two hours on an ordinary day. The extent to which rural people have become dependent upon radio for business and entertainment is revealed by the answers to the following question: "How much difference would it make to you if your set gave out and you weren't able to listen at all for a month or more?" Seventy-two percent answered, in effect, a great deal of difference, and only 13 percent said it would make little or no difference.⁹²

Figure 172 indicates the types of programs farm and rural-non-farm people would miss most if their radios gave out. This figure stresses the importance of news and it illustrates that farm people are much more interested in farm talks, market, and weather reports

⁹¹ *Attitudes of Rural People toward Radio Service*, Washington: U.S.D.A., Bureau of Agricultural Economics, January 1946, p. 69.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 106.

than are rural-nonfarm people. The non-farm person's greater interest in radio quizzes, popular singers, and comedians, and his lesser interest in religious programs, stresses the different value orientation of farm and non-farm families. Although these findings will not please liberals who are anxious that the common man acquire the "culture" of liberals and intellectuals, they do support our con-

TABLE 47
*Relation of Income, Age, Education, and Race of Head
of Household to Radio Ownership*

Income, Age, Education and Race	Percentage			Total	
	Radio owners	Former owners	Non- owners	Per- cent	Number of households
<i>Income, Farm Households</i> (Annual cash income from farm)					
Under \$750	40	22	38	100	321
\$750-1749	67	18	15	100	316
\$1750-2999	86	10	4	100	216
\$3000 and over	93	6	1	100	271
<i>Income, Nonfarm Households</i> (Weekly income of head)					
\$25 or less	57	19	24	100	311
\$26-45	81	10	9	100	345
\$46-65	91	8	1	100	262
Over \$65	92	7	1	100	177
<i>Age</i>					
Under 30 years	60	18	22	100	278
30-44 years	74	15	11	100	810
45-59 years	76	13	11	100	838
60 years and over	74	10	16	100	561
<i>Education</i>					
Some grammar school	52	18	30	100	803
Completed grammar school	79	14	7	100	747
Some high school	85	10	5	100	414
Completed high school	92	6	2	100	329
College	91	8	1	100	202
<i>Race</i>					
White	79	13	8	100	2,257
Negro	21	21	58	100	233

SOURCE: *Attitudes of Rural People Toward Radio Service*, p. 57.

tention that farmers approach more nearly the familistic *Gemeinschaft* on the continua "traditional vs. rational" and "sacred vs. secular." More accurately, farmers are closer to Sorokin's⁹³ ideational

WHAT KIND OF PROGRAM WOULD YOU MISS MOST IF YOUR RADIO GAVE OUT?

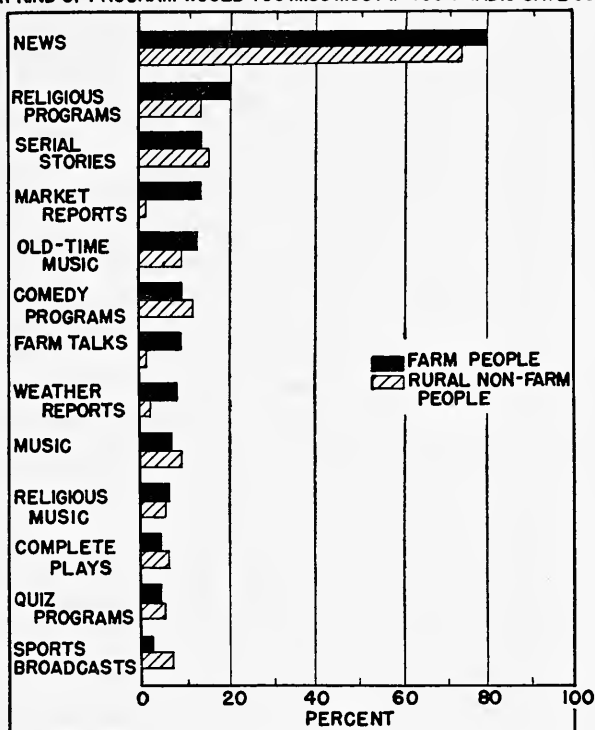


FIG. 172. Replies of farm and rural-nonfarm people to the question: "What kind of program would you miss most if your radio gave out?" (Reproduced from *Attitudes of Rural People toward Radio Service*, p. 12.)

type than are many other segments of the population.

Efficacy of Radio Programs—Should They Be Changed? Only 9 percent of the Vermont farmers previously mentioned reported that the radio was the best source of information about new farming practices. In contrast, 61 percent named the Extension Service and 23 percent listed printed materials. In this study, farmers claimed that

⁹³ Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. I, Chapter 2, New York: American Book Company, 1937.

they had been influenced very little by the radio to change farming practices. Farm papers and magazines, the county agent, friends, and neighbors, in that order were mentioned as being more important. Nevertheless, in a nation-wide study, more than eight out of ten farm people who listen to the farm programs say they find them useful.⁹⁴

Apparently rural listeners take a more or less passive attitude toward the programs to which they listen. The nation-wide survey also revealed that over one-half feel there is no program they would like to hear more of. Three-fourths of the radio owners reported that they had their radios turned off at times because they did not care for the programs being aired at that hour. Almost one-third of the rural people say this happens very often.⁹⁵ The regional differences in programs desired are of interest. Southerners indicated greater interest in religious music, services, and religious programs than in others.

SUMMARY

The Rural Library. The modern ideal of the library is that it be a "university of the people" and a center for the community. Modern services go far beyond offerings of the classics. Visual aids, forums, radio programs, and many other services are provided. The professional rural librarian must be a "communications expert," sensitive to the needs and desires of the people and to the agencies which the library may serve. This requires sensitivity to, knowledge of, and relationships with the power structure of the community as well as with the individuals and groups that may strengthen the work of the library. The democratic ideals of librarians sometimes obscure the fact that the library is often an agency of the upper and middle classes or of those who aspire to attain positions in these classes. Any realistic program calculated to increase the importance of libraries must reckon with this fact.

The rural resident is a forgotten man insofar as library service is concerned. About one-fifth of the counties of the United States have no libraries of any sort. Most of the 50 million people who live in areas in which libraries have less than the \$35,500 minimum recommended for annual support by the American Library Association are in rural areas. Although it is considered that 25,000 inhabitants could furnish

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

the users and support needed for an adequate library service in rural areas, nearly two-thirds of the counties of the nation have fewer than 25,000 inhabitants. This fact requires that plans for regional libraries that cross county lines be developed. Unfortunately for such planning, not enough is known about the ideal ecological basis for library service. Several studies, however, indicate that it is very different from the patterns of agencies meeting medical needs, for example. Some studies have shown that two-thirds of the rural users live within one mile of the library or branch from which books are taken and that people living longer distances use the library less than those living closer to it. These facts indicate the need for considering accessibility in library planning.

One investigator found that land grant colleges of Illinois and Indiana had placed experiment station and extension bulletins in a much larger proportion of farm homes (64 percent) than was reached by rural libraries (28 percent). The explanation is that agricultural extension agents, as compared with rural librarians, have greater personal contact with their clients. Other studies prove that the level of education of the people is among the most important determinants of library usage, book, magazine, and pamphlet reading.

The rural librarian occupies a strategic position in assisting other professionals employed in the rural educational, health, welfare, and other agencies in the county. Any type of organization of leaders which leaves the librarian out of the county-wide organization of professionals is failing to utilize a very important service and contact.

The Press and Radio. The manner in which the nation's leaders learn what is going on in the metropolitan centers, how those in the metropolitan centers learn what is going on in the smaller trade centers, and how those in turn learn what is going on in the neighborhoods, is extremely important. Again it is important to know how international and national news gets to the people at the "grass roots" and on the streets. When the channels of communication do not function or when the reports carried are distrusted, anxiety and low morale are certain. Under these conditions, individual action, group action, and policies are determined in an atmosphere of suspicion and rumor.

Within the cliques or friendship groups of the nation, local and neighborhood news is made and passed on. Many such groupings are combined to form the trade center which, in some areas, may be serviced by the rural weekly newspaper and the local trade-center

daily. The more local the paper, the more space will be devoted to personal and local items. The metropolitan papers bring together the trade-center news for large areas. Farm papers and magazines are very influential in suggesting improved practices to farmers. Professional persons in the field of agriculture have not exhausted the utility of the press in reaching farm people with helpful advice and news.

The radio, as a channel of communication, is becoming more important daily. It can serve the interests of totalitarianism as well as those of democracy. This fact was demonstrated by the Nazis' development of the "folks radio" at a cost which all could meet, and their subsequent control of it so that people heard only what the Nazis wanted them to hear. Rural people in America rely heavily on their radios. Their program needs and desires are quite different from those of urban families. In general, farm people want more farm information, more market and weather reports, and more religious programs than do city people.

PART VI

POLITICAL AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS
AS SOCIAL SYSTEMS

CHAPTER 17

THE FUNCTION AND OPERATION OF RURAL GOVERNMENT

POLITICAL SCIENTISTS agree that the weakest link in government in the United States today is the local rural unit.¹ It is inefficient in practically every phase. It fails to incorporate adequately the sentiments of the electorate into policy, and its responsibility to the electorate is indefinite. When the policy does reflect adequately these sentiments and desires, the county and township governing bodies are ineffective in carrying through the action necessary to realize the objectives involved in both short- and long-range policy. Why this is true and what may be done about it will be discussed in this chapter. The role and efficiency of local government in all nations of the world is of utmost importance at the present time.

IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AT THE PRESENT TIME

Significance of the Drift toward Statism. A great deal has been written about the decreasing importance of the local unit and the concomitant trend toward the centralization of government. This tendency, of course, is obvious in the so-called totalitarian states, but it is also noticeable in most modern states.² Leading specialists in government view with alarm the tendency of state and federal agencies to take over functions of local policy formation and administration. It is generally agreed that the many devices used to circumvent the local rural governing bodies are due in large part to their ineffectiveness.³ This, however, does not console those who see the drift

¹ Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1933, p. 641.

² Constantine Panunzio, *Major Social Institutions*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, p. 357.

³ Edward W. Weidner, "Confused County Picture II," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. XXXV, No. 5, April 1946, pp. 228 ff; Lane W. Lancaster, *Government in Rural America*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Co. Inc., 1937, p. 125; and W. S. Carpenter, *Problems in Service Levels—The Readjustment of Services and Areas in Local Government*, Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1940, p. 124. Lancaster and Carpenter describe a "paradox" and a "contradiction"—required bureaucratic efficiency and localization.

toward statism as a trend toward the elimination of systems and bonds which stand between the individual and the central government. This concern on the part of political scientists was justified in the past; but with modern international conflict and with gigantic economic systems threatening our internal integration, there is cause for genuine alarm.

The primary function of government is the preservation of order. In primitive societies and in most peasant cultures, the folkways, mores, and other norms are self-enforcing. When economic, religious, or other social systems become powerful and the society otherwise becomes complex, legal norms or laws become necessary. With the growth of the contractual *Gesellschaft*, sets of legal institutions or laws develop which are more or less distinct from the traditional institutions, folkways, and mores. In feudal societies, the differentiation was not complete. Absolute monarchies of earlier times relied upon laws and tradition to maintain a closed system of stratification. Although modern totalitarian states assert that they have community features of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* type, in reality they are of the contractual and compulsory *Gesellschaft* type. Modern democracies rely much more upon contractual cooperation. The democratic form of government can exist only if the many conflicting interests of powerful social and economic systems can be reconciled by compromise. Such compromise is possible only when there is considerable agreement in the society on the matter of basic sentiments and values. In the important process of reconciling conflicting systems, the role of the state is all-important. In Great Britain, for example, the political role is played largely by those in the upper strata. Since the appearance of Jacksonian democracy, which overthrew vestiges of nobility in American government, the political role came to be played by persons in the lower and lower-middle classes. The spoils system became the basic means of reward. Political roles were organized into parties which attempt to appeal to the sentiments of the people and to prove that opposing parties violated these sentiments.⁴

Local Government in the Atomic Age. Not only are nations with weak local governmental units potential victims of subversive political action, but also modern warfare, based on "total war," makes the nation no stronger than its local units. The truth of this statement is

⁴ Logan Wilson and William Kolb, *Sociological Analysis*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1949, pp. 517 ff.

dramatized in an article written by a political scientist who, after having studied the conditions resulting from European mass bombing in World War II, tried to depict what would happen when the first atomic bomb fell on the United States.⁵ The atomic bomb, of course, is not the only weapon for mass destruction which science has produced. It is only one instrument, whose destructive powers the people are aware of and fear.⁶ With the first bombardment, Bromage writes, the rural areas of the nation would be flooded with panic-stricken, homeless people in flight; transportation facilities would be snarled into hopeless knots; food, shelter, relief, and fire problems confronting the local units of administration would be overwhelming. The problems of enforcing law and order among frightened, starving, and dispossessed people with our present county and local governmental facilities would be staggering. To adjust to such a calamity, the let-the-army-do-it theory would certainly prevail. But armies cannot effectively win wars and run governments at the same time. Besides, they never have been effective governing agencies.

For modern warfare, a combined decentralization and regional integration of facilities is called for. Each town, community, and governmental unit must be capable of separate and effective operation, because existing forms of communication in modern aerial warfare may be disrupted at any time. On the other hand, such services as fire protection, food distribution, and labor-recruiting services must be able to operate over large areas.⁷ Perhaps the atomic bomb is the strongest and most dramatic argument ever advanced against statism and complete centralization. In modern warfare, each important center of government must have a duplicate in some remote place, with all necessary communication systems and other facilities ready for instant operation. If the centers of national, state, and county governments are wiped out, other centers must flash into operation. In the atomic age, the nation will truly be as strong as its

⁵ A. W. Bromage, "Public Administration in the Atomic Age," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. LI, No. 5, October 1947, pp. 947-955.

⁶ The universal awareness of the bombs and their destructive power is remarkable, and there seems a general tendency on the part of the people to resign themselves to the situation produced by its invention. See *Public Reaction to the Atomic Bomb and World Affairs—A Nation-wide Survey of Attitudes and Information*, Ithaca: Cornell University, April 1947.

⁷ The fire departments of the British Isles were nationalized under bombardment.

weakest link. This holds, of course, for all units, for the educational, religious, economic, and scientific as well as for the governmental unit. As will be shown, however, local rural government is perhaps in the worst situation.

County government, the most important unit of local government, is largely in the hands of the "court house gang,"⁸ a clique which monopolizes the control in its own interest with little regard for the general welfare. It is generally under the control of a headless governing body, which is so constituted as to make specialization and assignment of specific responsibility impossible.

THE GENERAL BASIS OF GOVERNMENT

Authority, as it is related to social status and to the typological concepts of familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft*, was discussed in Chapter 1. Briefly, authority means the right to influence others. For purposes of procedure, we must differentiate between power and authority. Authority, as it is used here, covers cases in which persons are controlled by others under legitimate or institutionalized provisions, while power is used to cover situations in which control is exercised without these provisions. Like many terms in the social sciences, there is actually no clear-cut distinction between the two. They may be thought of as ranging from extreme positions on a continuum and shading into each other at the center. Bandits who force victims to do their bidding at the point of a gun, for example, represent a concrete situation of power relations. The control of the elected chairman in a college faculty meeting conducted according to *Robert's Rules of Order* might be used to exemplify a concrete case of authority.

The Realistic Approach to Government. Parsons has observed that "A certain 'utopianism' which tends to minimize the significance of authority, coercive power, and physical force in human affairs has been a conspicuous feature of a large part of modern social and perhaps particularly economic thought."⁹ It may well be that when and if the time comes that such attitudes do not form an important component of the value orientation of the people who constitute a given governmental structure and its related social systems, the structure will cease to exist. Political scientists have been accused of failing to

⁸ Lancaster, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

⁹ Talcott Parson, *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 56.

understand the various "un-utopian" controls which exist in any established government.¹⁰

Several cultural anthropologists and biologists have stressed the importance of power by comparing animal, bird, and insect societies with human groups.¹¹ One of these studies deals with goats, and purports to reveal clues for understanding human behavior.¹² When goats are first put together, there is continuous fighting until a system of relationships with an equilibrium of dominance results. After the equilibrium is established, fighting is at a minimum, except during the breeding season. It was found, for example, that frustration could be induced by withholding feed. During periods of frustration induced in this manner, the amount of fighting increases; the dominant goats attack the subordinate goats which, in turn, attack goats of still lower status. Although findings of this sort are interesting and are frequently used to illustrate man's behavior, their value in understanding human actions is questionable. Since humans possess culture and animals do not, attempts to learn about humans through animal psychology will produce dubious results. A more realistic approach, of course, is to study submission and dominance of humans objectively. The investigator, however, must always be aware that he is a part of society and, therefore, subject to the "utopianism" and other ideals without which society could not exist.

According to Chapple's frame of reference, described in Chapters 2 and 3,¹³ a leader is one who originates action or gets others to do his bidding in the majority of events. Since mechanical means are available for measuring the origin-response ratio (the times a person attempts to get others to do his bidding divided by the times that they "terminate" or do his bidding), this system may be used to describe control with precise measurement.

In public, leaders originate action in sets or in groups of three or more. Great leaders give their followers the opportunity to originate

¹⁰ William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943, Chapter 6.

¹¹ See a review and summary of these studies by Charles F. Harding, III, "Objective Studies of the Social Behavior of Animals," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. II, No. 4, July-September, 1943, pp. 21-39.

¹² J. P. Scott, "Dominance and the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis." *Physiological Zoology*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, January 1948, pp. 31-40.

¹³ See Eliot D. Chapple and Gordon Donald, "A Method for Evaluating Supervisory Personnel," *Harvard Business Review*, Winter 1946, pp. 197-214.

to them in private.¹⁴ The extremely effective political leaders such as Roosevelt, Hitler, Mussolini, or Huey Long, were effective public and radio speakers, i.e., able to originate in sets. As will be indicated later, many other leaders rely less upon public speaking. Some local rural politicians who are unable to make public speeches control most of the offices in the county. One writer described such a politician as follows: "He moved among the country people with the energy of a Henry Clay, smiling confidently, speaking to everybody, pausing frequently for a more intimate word."¹⁵

An Example of Authority and Power. A case of leadership which demonstrates authority and power as displayed in a local county governing body is provided by Sims¹⁶ in his brilliant description of county government in Tennessee. Chapple's terms are inserted in brackets. The scene was Murfreesboro, the county seat of Rutherford County, Tennessee, located in the General and Self-Sufficing type of farming area. The event was the meeting of the county's governing body, which in Tennessee is called the county court. The locus of the action was "the court room, about thirty feet square, . . . and the chairman from his exalted position called the meeting to order [originated action to the magistrates] at a few minutes after ten. In a row of chairs around the railing were seated the magistrates, forty-five strong, in addition to the chairman and vice-chairman. . . . To the right of the chairman within the enclosure were seated a selected number of the outstanding citizens of Murfreesboro—a picked group for pressure purposes. There was A. L. Todd, millionaire, loan agent for the New York life insurance company for five states, ex-speaker of both houses of the legislature and chronic candidate for governor. . . . The rest of the room was equipped for spectators with benches of the country church type. . . . As the meeting became more interesting most of the crowd stood on the benches for a better view. . . ."¹⁷

In the meeting, two groups were pitted against each other. One group was for "progress" and wanted to vote for the bond issues for federal-aid highways and state-aid roads; the other group was against

¹⁴ Eliot D. Chapple and Carleton S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942, p. 60.

¹⁵ J. B. Harrison, "Anse Little: Successful Politician in Bloody Beaumont County, Kentucky," to be published in symposium edited by J. F. Salter.

¹⁶ Carlton C. Sims, *County Government in Tennessee*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, Department of Political Science, December 1930.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

the issues and pleaded "over taxation." Todd, whose action is described here, won the issue.

Between the speeches of the leading citizens the court would form into groups of self-appointed committees [break the set which the chairman had established] and discuss what had been said. Sometimes the confusion assumed immense proportions, the spectators also contributing their share. The chairman would pound for order [attempt to reestablish the set] but order was not always forthcoming. Finally Mr. Todd reached up and took the gavel from the speaker and restored order [originated action to the court]. From that moment, Mr. Todd was acting chairman of the meeting. Handling [originating action to] this crowd was comparatively easy for one who had so much experience in the state legislature. His movements were very skillful. When a member of the court would get up and ask for the floor [attempt to originate action] he would, of course, recognize him. If he was favorable to the proposition Mr. Todd kept order for him [kept the set for him so he could originate to the group]; if not, talking and interruptions were allowed [the set was permitted to disintegrate]. At the psychological time Mr. Todd would call upon [originate action to and turn the set over to] another leading citizen. Everyone agreed that this was one of the smoothest meetings of the court they had ever seen. . . . The bonds for the state road were then voted by a majority of twenty-seven to eighteen.¹⁸

In analyzing the weaknesses of the meeting, Sims lists the following:

(1) Lack of leadership [lack of a chairman who could establish a set for himself and others to originate to] within the court; (2) the influence of outsiders [or the intrusion of power elements which originated action to the court which should have been a closed system capable of excluding these elements]; (3) incompetency of the chairman [his inability to originate action to the court]; (4) lack of rules of order [lack of regularized, legitimized and institutionalized procedures concerning who might originate to whom and under what conditions]; (5) failure to make use of committees [failure to originate action in such a manner as to make use of the group's resources organized in sub-sets about special areas of interest and competence]; (6) localism and log-rolling [action originated in the interests of sets or groups organized by localities instead of the whole county]; (7) inability of members to grasp the full significance of the questions before them; (8) lack of definite policies covering a period of years.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

This case has been recorded in detail because it will serve as a basis for the description of several aspects of rural government. The parenthetical insertions may give precision to the description, provided the reader has familiarized himself with Chapple's terminology, as used in Chapters 2 and 3.

Other Examples of Sources of Control. The foregoing example should suffice to indicate how much more complicated dominance and submission are among humans than among animals or birds. In Beaumont County, Kentucky, the school teachers support the local political boss. A teacher who refused to "kowtow" to the local machine was reported as saying, "Elias Johnson came around and told me I would have to contribute twenty-five dollars to the Littles' campaign fund. I told him I wouldn't be beholden to anybody, so I quit and went to work in a war plant in Louisville. My aunt, though, said she had a family to raise, so she chipped in and is still teaching."²⁰ When informants were asked why the people voted for the local boss, Anse Little, and why he had control, statements such as the following were given: "It's because he has something to offer them and that's the only reason. . . . There's a Post Office in every hollow in this county and he's got all of these. . . . W.P.A. came along, about every other family was on relief and dependent on Little. You just can't beat a set-up like that."²¹ In urban and rural society, whether among primitive or civilized peoples, interpersonal relations as related to obligations furnish the basis for political strength. To permit oneself to become "beholden" or indebted to another means that one permits another to originate to him.

Oliver²² has described how leadership is established and maintained among the Siwai people of Bougainville. The local leaders of the village were called Mumis, and on occasion they called together the manpower of a village and set them working at a task, or called them together under a hierarchy of leadership to work separately under set relationships. When Oliver began to ask how to identify Mumis, the natives told him that Mumis were people who owned

²⁰ Harrison, *op. cit.*

²¹ For a classic discussion, see M. Mauss, "Essai sur le Don. Forme et Raison de l'Echange dans les Sociétés Archaïques," *L'Année Sociologique*, New Series, Vol. I; also see D. H. Kurtzman, *Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935.

²² D. L. Oliver, "Human Relations and Language in a Non-Melanesian Speaking Tribe of Bougainville, Solomon Islands," Cambridge: *Peabody Museum Papers*, as cited by Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-338.

much land, inherited wealth and position, owned club-houses, and gave feasts. Upon further investigation, he found that the criterion of greatest importance among Mumis was that of giving feasts. There were many who were richer than the Mumis, and actually only the man who gave many feasts, built club-houses, and gave to the people who worked for him, was a Mumi. Some of the Mumis were poor in the sense that they did not have a huge reserve of what might be called capital goods at their command. Nevertheless, to remain a Mumi or to become a Mumi, one had to give "social climbing feasts," to which competing Mumis might be invited. In this way, action was originated to the competitors on such a scale that the others with their available resources could not compete. Mumis, of course, used the resources of friends and relatives for the feasts, and the sentiments of the people were such that if guest Mumi aspirants to leadership did not out-do their host later, they had to submit to his higher prestige and permit him to originate action to them. Through careful planning and the use of the resources of friends and relatives, a feast of such elaborate proportions could be given that the opposing guest Mumi would be hard put to originate action to the host by inviting him to a feast. If the opposing Mumi was unable to return the hospitality of the host, he was disgraced and lost ability to originate action.

Oliver also observed how the Mumis use the "social climbing feast" to extend their leadership over an area including several villages. In one case, a Mumi used a friend who had his own following built up in a similar way to help prepare a feast. Later this host Mumi originated action directly to the followers (did not use a secondary communication center) of the assisting Mumi and, in a way, "stole" his leadership.

This means of attaining leadership is recounted in some detail because of its importance in relation to resources. It was noted that in order to become a Mumi, a person had to use his capital in such a manner as to put himself in the position of originating action to others (or to get them to do his bidding). Wealth *per se* did not constitute leadership but it could be used to place one in the position of leadership.

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEMS AND VALUE ORIENTATION

The various governmental and political systems fall into a wide range of categories insofar as their social structure and value orientation are concerned. We hold no brief for the various classical

theories maintaining that there are definite cycles or stages through which social systems must pass. Polybius, for instance, maintained that when population was sparse, kingly rule came into being. Monarchy was followed in turn by oligarchy, which was always overthrown to initiate democracy, after which mob rule became the order of the day.²³ Not all systems have passed through such cycles. Furthermore, the advancement of the technologies is not necessarily related to the complexity of the governmental structure and vice versa. Some of the tribes with the most primitive technological and material culture have evolved governmental systems of great complexity.²⁴

Bureaucracy as the Core of Modern Government. "Bureaucracy has been aptly called the 'core' of modern government and its acceptance is inevitable, even though opposition to it has been the burden of countless defenses of free government."²⁵ This is the statement of Lancaster's case for bureaucracy as involved in government. He also advocates the French writer Lefas'²⁶ requirements for an adequate civil service.

Three characteristics—sustained tenure, professionalism, and hierarchy—are necessary for the efficiency of any organization, whether private or public. Professionalism, as used here, means trained specialists who serve with equal loyalty successive administrations regardless of political bias. Hierarchy means that "the various ranks should be subordinated one to the other in such a way as to place without possibility of doubt the responsibility for official acts exactly where it belongs in each case."

²³ William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940, p. 625.

²⁴ For examples, see L. T. Hobhouse *et al.*, *Material Culture and the Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1914. Also, see Thomas' description of an extremely elaborately organized but "primitive" society: W. I. Thomas, *Primitive Behavior*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937, pp. 435–36. See Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, p. 354. Differing from the immediately preceding references, these two authors claim that bureaucracy of the modern type arises only in societies with complex techniques.

²⁵ Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 125. As any one with a knowledge of social organization knows, the most important seat of bureaucracy in peacetime in Western society is in business and industry. See C. P. Loomis and J. T. Reed, "The Taos County Project of New Mexico—An Experiment in Local Cooperation Among Bureaus, Private Agencies, and Rural People," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. III, No. 3, April–June 1944, pp. 21–33.

²⁶ A. A. Lefas, *L'Etat et les Fonctionnaires*, Paris, 1931.

Probably the best description of bureaucracy is that of Max Weber. As presented by Parsons, "A bureaucracy is 'a mechanism founded on discipline.' It is the fitting of individual actions into a complicated pattern in such a way that the character of each and its relations to the rest can be accurately controlled in the interest of the end to which the whole is devoted. The importance of discipline lies in being able to count on the individual doing the right thing at the right time and place."²⁷ Many have pointed out that bureaucracy is the most efficient method of organizing large numbers of persons for complicated tasks, and its spread is accounted for by this fact. Weber indicates that "the role of each participant is conceived as an 'office' where he acts by virtue of the authority vested in the office and not of his personal influence."²⁸ Bureaucracy requires the separation of home and office and a division of labor in which the personnel is chosen on the basis of technical competence, with differentiated functions and specialization. Thus, the general value orientation and personal relations, especially between the various levels in the hierarchy as found in efficient business, industrial, and governmental bureaucracy, may be characterized as rational as opposed to traditional, impersonal as opposed to personalized, functionally specific as opposed to functionally diffuse, secular as opposed to ritualistic, and universalistic as opposed to particularistic.

THE COUNTY AS A UNIT OF GOVERNMENT

Figure 173 indicates that county or parish government prevails in most parts of the United States. Smith²⁹ calculated that 98.3 percent of the farm population resides in areas where county or parish government exists. Thus the remainder, or 1.7 percent of the nation's farm population, resides in New England under the government unit called the town, in which the county, insofar as it exists, is insignificant. In states such as New Jersey, New York, Michigan, and Wisconsin, where the hybrid system involving both townships and

²⁷ Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937, p. 507. Those familiar with Chapple and Coon's terminology may find their characterization more specific. According to them, in a bureaucracy, "individuals interact at a high rate of frequency in the staff-line and processing sets as well as in the supervisory set." *Op. cit.*, p. 354.

²⁸ Parsons, *ibid.*, p. 506.

²⁹ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 441.

counties is prevalent, live 8.5 percent of the total farm population. States that follow the Pennsylvania and Ohio pattern, in which the townships and counties are the units, but in which the townships are

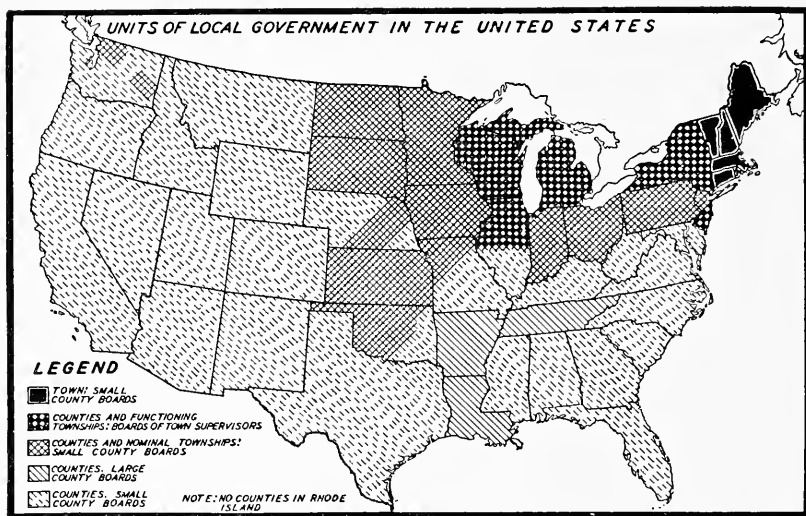


FIG. 173. The units of local government in the United States. (Reproduced from Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, p. 447.)

unimportant from the functional point of view, constitute 27.9 percent of the total farm population. For the remaining 61.9 percent of the farm people, the county unit is the only important unit of local government.

Because of the relative importance of the county, most of the space in this chapter has reference to the county governmental unit as a social system. Emphasis is placed upon the county advisedly because the counties are becoming more important, as social systems despite the attempts of both state and federal units to take over their functions. As Weidner writes: "Far from becoming less important, judged on the basis of the number of functions performed and the amount of money expended, counties today are a more vital part of our governmental system than ever before."⁸⁰ The increased size of the county seat as a result of the depression, and the increased bureauc-

⁸⁰ Edward W. Weidner, "Confused County Picture III," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. XXXV, No. 6, June 1946, p. 288.

racy brought on by the New Deal, are other proofs that the county as a unit is increasing in importance.³¹

For anyone interested in the influence of territoriality upon social systems, a study of the origin of the various forms of local government in the United States is fascinating. The basic roots of American rural government lie, of course, in the Old World, and especially in England. The greatest carry-over of the original forms may be observed in the compact group settlements of New England, with the village economy. However, in the southern colonies where the large plantation, often as large as a New England town, was prevalent, the county became the most important unit. In the middle colonies, a type of compromise system grew up in which the township and township system were used. Pennsylvania, for example, had towns as units, but their functions were not important. New York state furnished a prototype for states in which both townships and counties have important functions. Through New York's influence and pattern, the New England system was transmitted and carried on to New Jersey, Michigan, Wisconsin, and northern Illinois. As this form came in contact with the geographical survey, based upon the rectangular system of land division, it assumed a special form.

THE BUREAUCRACY OF COUNTY MANAGER GOVERNMENT COMPARED WITH TYPICAL COUNTY GOVERNMENT

Among specialists in governmental administration, there is general agreement that the least effective governmental units are generally the rural units. There is, however, no such agreement as to what form rural county government should take. One group of experts is very much impressed by the success of city managers, and recommends it for rural counties.³² Another group considers centralization on the state level an inevitable trend and, therefore, doubts that there will be enough for the county manager to do. Others point out that manager government is a city creation and believe that it cannot be

³¹ Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, *People of Kansas*, Topeka: The Kansas State Planning Board, 1936, p. 83.

³² See Donald G. Bishop and Edith E. Starratt, *The Structure of Local Government*, Washington: The National Council for the Social Studies, Bulletin 19, September 1945, p. 86; and Edward W. Weidner, "The Confused County Picture," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. XXXV, Nos. 4, 5, and 6, April, March, and May 1946.

adapted to rural needs.³³ "Almost all county reorganization proposals," according to Weidner, "involve the idea of a unified county executive."³⁴ Therefore, even though there is disagreement as to whether or not the county manager form of government is the best for rural areas, there is no doubt that it creates a unified executive and is a more efficient form of bureaucracy than the typical county government systems as they exist in the various states.

Figure 174 describes the structure of the county manager form. As

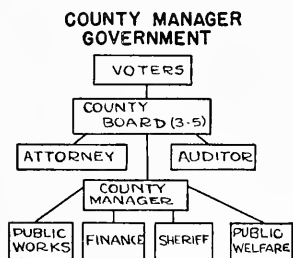


FIG. 174. Flow chart showing the organizational plan of county manager government. (SOURCE: Bishop and Starratt, *The Structure of Local Government*, p. 86.)

stated by Weidner, "The manager plan is founded on the basis of the differentiation of powers—a belief that one body should not perform policy-making, administrative and judicial functions, and that specialization in their performance is desirable."³⁵ Under this form, the voters determine policy through their election of the county board. It is recommended that the governing bodies be composed of from five to nine members, depending upon the number of people living in the county.³⁶ Specialization is required, and the governing board is responsible to the voters only for over-all policy. It is not concerned with administrative detail or judicial matters. To prevent so-called "logrolling" for separate districts, it is recommended that the board members be elected at large rather than from prescribed districts or townships. The board hires a professional manager to carry out the legislation and programs formulated by the board.

Figure 174 indicates that most of the offices are responsible directly to the county manager and their heads are, under ideal conditions, specialized professionals, not politicians. In ideal form, this structure

³³ Lancaster, *op. cit.*, pp. 393–395. Also see Arthur C. Millspaugh, *Local Democracy and Crime Control*, Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1936, p. 170. He says, "The manager or executive plan would be financially impossible, unnecessary, or undesirable in from one-half to three-fourths of the counties in the United States," See also Wylie Kilpatrick, *Problems in Contemporary County Government*, Charlottesville: The Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, 1930, Part VII.

³⁴ Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 292–293.

³⁶ Lancaster, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–66.

meets Max Weber's specifications in which each person in an effective bureaucracy is responsible to one other person, the qualifications for office being determined by technical competence, and the division of labor being based upon competence for which there is a "corresponding division of authority hierarchically organized." Individuals are fitted into a system in such a manner that each, and his relations to the rest, can be "accurately controlled in the interest of the end to which the whole is devoted." This end is determined by the voters through the county board. Also "the role of each participant is conceived as an 'office' where he acts by virtue of the authority vested in the office and not of his personal influence. . . ." ³⁷

The manager form in action can compare favorably with the specifications Barnard prescribes for effective communication and organization. These are: (1) that the channels of communication should be definitely known; (2) that every member of the system report to someone, and every member subordinate to someone in order to give a definite formal structural relationship to the organization; (3) that the line of communication be as direct or short as possible, with as few centers as possible, the higher centers handling policy and general problems, the lower centers handling specific action; (4) that the complete line of communication always be used in order to avoid conflicting communications, provide interpretation, and maintain responsibility; (5) that competent persons must serve as communication centers; (6) that the line of communication should not be interrupted while the organization is functioning; and (7) that every communication be authenticated. ³⁸

Actually, only one truly rural county, Petroleum County, Montana, has a strictly county manager form of government, and only 18 of the 3,050 counties have county manager or executive plans. ³⁹ However, 14 of these 18 have been converted into the manager type since 1930, and there are indications that other counties will try it.

The county manager system, when organized on principles indicated in Figure 174, provides a two-way flow. The voters determine policy. For example, they elect a board that has run on the plank of improved education. The board formulates the policy and directs

³⁷ See Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.

³⁸ Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938, Chapter 1.

³⁹ Bishop and Starratt, *op. cit.*, p. 87. They indicate there are twenty-seven counties where administrative authority is centralized.

the manager to have the respective department heads carry it out. Ideally, the manager has his position because of his "know-how" in administration; he does not make policy, but carries it into action. If the voters are not satisfied with the education rendered their children, they may then appeal to the board or resort to the election and to putting up other candidates who will carry out their will. Under totalitarian principles, the people do not have this recourse. When action is one-way and always down the hierarchy, scape-goatism is the common recourse. Under the manager form in Henrico County, Virginia, county planning was introduced and monthly reports on county activities are now mailed to citizens who request them.⁴⁰ Quite a number of counties have established county planning boards or agencies.⁴¹ This system makes for effective communication from the people to the governing body, provided that citizens are a part of the planning action. Land-use planning, as established by county, state, and federal agencies, also provided a channel of communication for the people to the bureaus and government.⁴²

One of the greatest weaknesses of rural government today is its failure to provide an effective channel of communication from the people to the governing body through joint planning. How do the more than 3,000 counties which do not have centralized executive functions compare with the effective bureaucracy which Lancaster says is the core of modern government?⁴³ What about the requirement of Lefas that "ranks should be subordinated one to another in such a way as to place without the possibility of doubt the responsibility, without question, for official acts exactly where it belongs in each case?"⁴⁴

Bromage and Reed quote the statement of a county official in Michigan which will answer this question for most of the governing boards of local government in rural America. "When something goes askew and an attempt is made to discover where the fault lies, you run into the most refined and elaborate system of passing the buck that exists anywhere, the result being that the blame cannot be

⁴⁰ See G. W. Spicer, *Ten Years of County Manager Government in Virginia*, University of Virginia Extension Bulletin, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, September 1, 1945.

⁴¹ Weidner, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-293.

⁴² See Loomis and Reed, *op. cit.*, for an extended discussion of this problem.

⁴³ Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁴⁴ Lefas, *op. cit.*

pinned on anyone.”⁴⁵ The Intergovernmental Relations Council, after studying Blue Earth County, Minnesota, reports that “its population of 36,203 people (1940 census) supports 155 units of local government charged with many similar and often-times over-lapping functions.”⁴⁶

Specificity versus Diffuse or Blanket Functions, Rights, and Responsibilities. The effective bureaucracy or county manager plan of government requires specificity of functions, rights, and responsibility. Typically, as shown by Figure 174, the county government is “headless.” This means that it is impossible to place the responsibility for originating or the failure to originate action. Table 48 indicates the titles of the governing bodies of the 3,050 counties reported by the Bureau of the Census.

TABLE 48
Titles of County Governing Bodies, United States, 1940

Board of Commissioners	1,271
Board of Supervisors	673
County Court	369
Commissioners' Court	254
Fiscal Court	120
Board of Commissioners of Roads and Revenue	118
Police Jury	63
Other	182
Total	3,050

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census.

In his survey of the functions of county government, Weidner writes that “almost all county governing body members have a dual or a treble political responsibility.” One-third of the county governing bodies in the United States have members who are accountable not only as county administrative and legislative officials, but also as judicial, township, town, or city officers. As Table 49 indicates, there are several types of governing bodies in counties where members perform some judicial function; these bodies are composed, respectively,

⁴⁵ A. W. Bromage and T. H. Reed, “Organization and Cost of County and Township Government,” Michigan Local Government Series, Detroit, 1933, p. 126.

⁴⁶ Council on Intergovernmental Relations, “A Study of Public Health Administration in Blue Earth County, Minnesota,” Mankato, Minnesota, p. 81.

of judges, justices of the peace, single judges, and plural-membered court types. In another 350 counties only one of the governing body members serves also as a judicial officer—usually as the county probate judge. As listed in Table 49, these are labeled as “judge and commissioner” counties.⁴⁷

TABLE 49
Types of County Governing Bodies, United States, 1940

Board of Commissioners or Supervisors	2,012
Judge and Commissioners	350
Board Composed of Town Supervisors	297
Judge and Justices of the Peace	193
Single Judge	86
Plural-membered Court	75
Single Non-judicial Officer	32
Other	5
Total	3,050

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census.

The board officials of the 297 counties having boards composed of town supervisors serve also as township and/or city officials.⁴⁸ A report describing the governing board of Mississippi depicts a prevalent condition: “Partially shielded by a multiplicity of other officers for whom it cannot be held responsible and enmeshed in an elaborate system of checks over which it has little or no direct control, the board of supervisors is in a position where its irresponsibility can take the form of neglect and extravagance or of equally damaging parsimony.”⁴⁹ Such officers as sheriff, county clerk, prosecuting attorney, and others are usually elected by the people and have no responsibility to the county board. Thus there is no final executive authority, as there is in state or federal government.⁵⁰ In addition, modern re-

⁴⁷ With the exception of Vermont and Oregon, all judicial-type governing bodies are found in southern states. Also, the single nonjudicial-type officer is a southern product.

⁴⁸ With few exceptions, all the counties with boards composed of town supervisors are in the three North Central states, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

⁴⁹ Institute for Government Research, “Report on a Survey of the Organization and Administration of State and County Government in Mississippi,” 1932, p. 719. Cited in Bromage and Reed, *op. cit.*, p. 48, as applicable to Michigan.

⁵⁰ Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., p. 48.

quirements are resulting in the establishment of many special-function boards not controlled or elected by the county governing body. These boards most frequently deal with assessment, elections, finance, health, highways, hospitals, libraries, penal personnel, planning, recreation, schools, and welfare.⁵¹ In many cases, as is true of the county sheriff and state constabulary in Michigan, there are duplications in function on the part of different units, with the accompanying inevitable friction.

Efficient bureaucracy requires that the role of the individual, as represented by his "office," be separated from personal and home ties. How little this is accomplished in rural government may be exemplified by the following sign on the trustee's door in a Tennessee county: "If any one wants to pay taxes I will be at home."⁵²

Emotional versus Rational; Personalized versus Impersonalized Attributes of Organization. Efficient bureaucracy is characterized by impersonal authority. In rural government, as in most interaction in rural areas, the personal ties and emotions are of great importance. In order to get the rural vote, the Nazis in Germany launched a campaign against the "unfeeling" Prussian bureaucracy in Berlin. Personal face-to-face political procedures were substituted for the customary bureaucratic German political system. Under crisis conditions, many rural areas in Germany during the last free elections cast extremely heavy votes for the Nazis, thus pointing to the effectiveness of these personal anti-bureaucratic procedures for rural areas.⁵³

The following abbreviated clipping from a Tennessee paper indicates the role of personal ties in rural politics and government in the United States: ". . . Of the 180 persons appointed by the executive committee to hold the primary, 146 of them are friends of Mr. Partridge, and thirty-four are my friends; I deem it useless to proceed further. . . ."⁵⁴

One of the best analytical descriptions of this type of personalism was written by Sorokin and Zimmerman, who conclude that ". . . various governmental positions of an agricultural community, insofar as these positions are 'local' and dependent upon or elected by the

⁵¹ Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

⁵² Sims, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁵³ C. P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, "The Spread of German Nazism in Rural Areas," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 6, December 1946, pp. 724-734.

⁵⁴ Sims, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

rural population, the positions give very moderate rights to their holders."⁵⁵

This personalism of rural areas is illustrated by Blumenthal as follows: "If a candidate wins he finds himself under constant pressure from the exaggerated importance of personal relations in his electorate. In matters of official policy he must ever think in terms of personalities. Even a minor deputy at the courthouse was able to say: 'Every taxpayer treats you as if you were working for him personally, as if he paid your whole salary.'"⁵⁶

It is a universal principle in all types of politics, particularly in rural politics, that personal contact with the voters is necessary.⁵⁷ Sims found that 74 out of 216 rural government officers in Tennessee had "sympathetic" appeal, such as being crippled, in debt, widowed, or an ex-service man.⁵⁸ One of the most important campaign arguments was that the candidate needed the job. As Sims, in speaking for rural Tennessee, points out, "efficiency is not the determining factor in an election, but rather sympathy and popularity."⁵⁹ Only in efficient bureaucracy, which has been described here as having the characteristics of contractual *Gesellschaft*, can the personal and family considerations be replaced to any considerable extent by requirements that demand technical competence. In the manager form of city or county government, there is little reason for choosing a manager like the man who had "no qualifications for manager except that just at the time he was badly in need of a job whereby to support himself and family."⁶⁰

Localism versus Universalism. Many specialists in government administration advocate that the manager come from outside the county in order that he be "more efficient than a local resident who would

⁵⁵ Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929, p. 82.

⁵⁶ A. C. Blumenthal, *Small-Town Stuff*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932, p. 305.

⁵⁷ Harrison, *op. cit.* See also Sims, *op. cit.*, p. 53. Here Sims quotes the following remark picked up in a rural campaign: "I am not going to vote for 'X' even if he is the best qualified man in the race. He never speaks to you when he sees you."

⁵⁸ Sims, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁶⁰ Austin F. MacDonald, *American City Government and Administrations*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1929, p. 255.

find it difficult to say 'no' to his friends."⁶¹ Nevertheless, many managers are hometown men. Requiring that an official be from another county, of course, will not eliminate the possibility that he will engage in logrolling and localism. To attain disinterested efficiency, the social system must develop a set of professional ethics and norms which will not permit nepotism, favoritism, localism, and the like.⁶² This is what Lefas meant by the necessity for professionalism in the civil service.⁶³

Localism, of course, has many aspects. Sanderson⁶⁴ recommends less loyalty to political parties and more loyalty to the community. Almost universally, however, experts in governmental administration recommend that county governing boards be elected from the county at large rather than from prescribed districts or townships.⁶⁵ Actually, fewer than 20 percent of the counties of the United States elect their governing boards at large. There are rotten boroughs in several hundred counties, but very little progress has been made in the elimination of localism or particularism. To be sure, localism plays havoc with state and federal welfare as well. Sims has described how the bitterness of a fight between sheep raisers and fox hunters over a dog law in Tennessee led to the choice of a candidate on the basis of whether he was "pro-dog or anti-dog, with little regard for his knowledge of state problems."⁶⁶

Under centralized bureaucratic government, Zimmerman⁶⁷ describes how the pride in locality deteriorates and how local people who attempt to get service from the bureaucracy are given the "run-around" by the local bureaucrats who have their eyes on promotion

⁶¹ Bishop and Starratt, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁶² See a discussion of the differences in the tendency for agricultural agents to enter into politics in Latin America and the United States, in C. P. Loomis, "Extension Work for Latin America," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. III, No. 4, July-September 1944, pp. 27-40. Also see the article in abbreviated form in Edmund deS. Brunner, I. T. Sanders, and Douglas Ensminger, *Farmers of the World—The Development of Agricultural Extension*, New York: Columbia University Press, Chapter 9.

⁶³ See Lefas, *op. cit.*, p. 95, and Lancaster, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-112, for reasons why rural government is more personal, less professional and universalistic.

⁶⁴ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

⁶⁵ Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 170. "All authorities on local government agree," Weidner flatly asserts, "that election at large is preferable to election by districts."

⁶⁶ Sims, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

⁶⁷ Carle C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938 (see particularly Chapter 25).

and their standings with state or federal superiors, rather than on the interests of the locality. Although many have doubted the necessity for his insistence on what he calls "localism," modern life and warfare require efficient local units as well as elements of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*.

State and federal "special function boards and commissions" are increasing rapidly in rural areas. With county government as weak as it is, and with demand for services ever on the increase, it is small wonder that the states and federal units bypass the local boards in establishing agencies. Generally "each state department—highways, welfare, health, education and agriculture—considers the corresponding county officers or boards as responsible mainly to it."⁶⁸ Under the Social Security Act of 1935, several states have two sets of laws, one providing for a board of health for part-time activities, and another for full-time activities. Also there are inter-county and city-county boards of health authorized by state law and reflecting programs developed by the United States Public Health Service. The Highway Act of 1944 will influence county road development, and, of course, the Agricultural Extension work described in Chapter 20 is the result of national governmental action.

To develop plans for integration of agencies on various levels, the *Council on Intergovernmental Relations* is carrying on studies and experiments in various areas. Investigators in Henry County, Indiana, recommended that a county planning commission be established as "a teamwork organized for federal, state and local governmental agencies," and stated that "the farther removed the administration from the point of service, the fewer and simpler should be the controls exerted."⁶⁹ In the study sponsored by the same agency in Blue Earth County, Minnesota, 298 governmental organization units were found. Of these, 155 were units of local government; 105 were state agencies; the remainder were federal. The report concluded that "many government agencies not only operate independently of one another but in some cases work at cross purposes. This has led to bewilderment for the average citizen and lack of interest in local issues and elections."⁷⁰ Loomis and Reed made a comparison of the relative

⁶⁸ Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

⁶⁹ Council on Intergovernmental Relations, *Adventure in Governmental Gear-ing*, 1946, p. 10.

⁷⁰ Report on Blue County, Minnesota, "Minnesota County Plans Community Budget," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. V, No. 4, April 1946, p. 206.

success of an outside agency and the land-use planning committees as established by the United States Department of Agriculture for a brief period after 1938.⁷¹ On the whole, it must be admitted that the present jumble of organizations and duplication of functions in rural counties continue to be among the weakest features of modern society. In reality, few examples of the extreme diffuseness of responsibility and function can be found to match rural government in America.⁷²

Localism and Functional Diffuseness of Local Governing Boards as Related to Their Size. "The fact that in the past," Weidner states, "counties have traditionally been considered largely administrative and judicial, and not legislative units, which perform chiefly functions of general state, not local, interest, is unmistakably reflected in the small size and statewide uniformity of county governing bodies."⁷³ Although the National Municipal League recommends that county governing bodies consist of from five to nine members, one-half of the counties in the United States have bodies of three members or less, and 30 percent have bodies of four or five.⁷⁴ The functionally diffuse nature of the action and value orientation of many county governing bodies is thus related to their small size. On the other hand, many governing bodies are too large for effective policy determination. Those counties which have boards composed of town supervisors, judges, justices of the peace, and so forth, have excessively large memberships. States where large boards make effective operation particularly difficult are New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois, where the township is the basis of election. Wayne County, Michigan, which includes Detroit, has the largest board. It is composed of 141 members and is larger than the state legislature. Large boards are also common in some states such as Arkansas and Tennessee, where there are no townships.⁷⁵ Figure 175 describes the relative size of governing boards of counties in various parts of the United States.

Sociological Factors Related to the Fee and Graft System of Pay-

⁷¹ Loomis and Reed, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

⁷² Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 166. It is pointed out that if county government is to become effective, states must delegate policy formation to the counties, not diffuse it among a multiplicity of boards and commissions as at present.

⁷³ Weidner, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁷⁵ Bishop and Starratt, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

ment for Officials in County Government. In Western culture, no occupations that depend upon tipping for compensation are accorded high prestige. In general, those officials who depend upon a

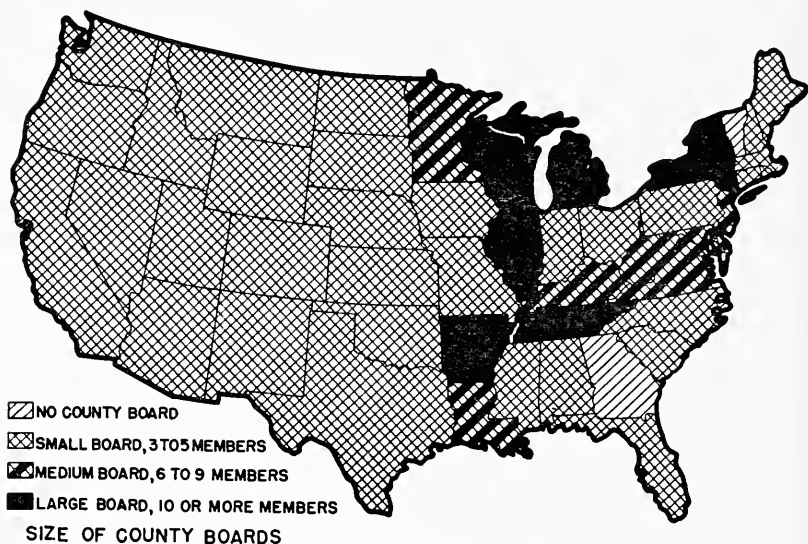


FIG. 175. Sizes of county boards in the various states. (Source: M. S. Kendrick, *A Comparison of the Cost of Maintenance of Large and of Small County Boards in the United States*, Ithaca: Cornell AES Bulletin 484, June 1929, p. 5.)

fee system will not be accorded the same respect as those with a set and dependable salary. Law-enforcement officers, assessors, and other officials in Mexico, for example, expect, and are expected, to receive bribes.⁷⁶ Tipping and bribing, practices that are superfluous in an effective bureaucracy, are more characteristic of servile status or of social systems in which administration is weak and/or the personal aspects of service are important. Tipping is generally more appropriate to relationships between persons of different prestige in the familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like society or in feudal situations. The definite salary is more appropriate in the contractual *Gesellschaft* society or in bureaucratic employment. The fee system fits in between the types, and although common to some professions and businesses,

⁷⁶ See Nathan L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, pp. 545 ff.; and Norman S. Hayner, "Notes on the Changing Mexican Family," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII, No. 4, August 1942, pp. 489-497.

in order to carry with it much dignity and prestige, it must be hedged about by various institutional elements agreed upon by the profession to take from it the degrading personal aspects.

In county government, the fee system is generally pernicious. One New York supervisor received \$50,000 a year, mostly in fees. In one state, fees for arrests were less than those for holding court, with the consequence that law-enforcement officers often opened court when they should have been pursuing criminals. Sometimes the fees to be collected by delivering legal documents such as court summons are relatively more profitable to county sheriffs than is crime detection, with the consequence that the latter suffers.⁷⁷

Summary of the Weaknesses of County Government.⁷⁸ We may briefly summarize the weaknesses of county government as follows: (1) Since there are no effective system of communication and no executive agency, the county is left headless in the sense that authority is not centralized at any single point. (2) Patronage, involving personalism and nepotism instead of professionalism based upon a civil service merit system with functionally specific standards, constitutes the general foundation of employment of officials and services. (3) Fee payments instead of salaries tempt officials to favor their own interests at the expense of the county good. (4) Voters are required to vote for too long a list of candidates. Although often justified on the basis of the relatively wide acquaintance range of rural people and their particularism, this practice makes for lack of responsibility to any one person or agency. In one New York county 179 town and county officials were popularly elected. Also, elections are in some cases so frequent as to overburden the voters. Thus, villagers in New York state have four elections each year and five in presidential election years.⁷⁹ The manager-type of government would at least partially remedy this difficulty. (5) There is lack of organized control over finance. Most counties have no budget system, and few have an effective system of accounting. (6) Many officials now elected are unnecessary. (7) Terms of office are too short to attract capable officials or to enable those who are elected to function effectively. Many rural people think political jobs should be passed around.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Bishop and Starratt, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 77 ff.

⁷⁹ Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

As Herring observes, whereas originally government was primarily concerned with preventing antisocial acts and resolving the less important social conflicts, it is now being required to deal with problems of human management and is being called to take positive action not only in resolving conflicts among the other systems but actually in many instances to become an economic system of production and operation. "Democratic government was not designed for conduct of economic enterprise but rather for the protection of individual rights against encroachment by the state." How to keep the advantage of diffusion of power, checks and balances, and personal and local control as well as efficiency is one of the key problems of the age.⁸¹

SUMMARY

Many of the weaknesses of local government that have been listed are inherent in the personal and local nature of the systems under consideration. It is better to recognize the distinctive nature of such systems as family and army units than to criticize one for not having the characteristics of the other. Local government is a mixture of elements of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft*. Introduction of a streamlined county manager system would not completely eliminate the inefficiencies discussed. However, the governmental systems are not families. If the stage is set correctly, local governmental units that require that incumbents perform duties according to technical standards which work to the good of the general welfare can be established. Division of function must be initiated. Policy-making boards should be elected and should retain effective contact with the people. Professionals must carry on the technical direction of complicated bureau functions, and they must be at least partially freed from pressures through elected boards and institutionalized statuses.

⁸¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 95 ff.

CHAPTER 18

THE RELATION OF RURAL GOVERNMENT TO OTHER SYSTEMS

MOST OF THE WEAKNESSES of government outlined in the previous chapter are characteristic of social systems in which the central value orientation and social structure have familistic *Gemeinschaft* characteristics. Lancaster brings the dilemma to the fore with the question: "Can a population long habituated to weak and diffuse government conducted by untrained citizens in their spare time accustom itself to a new organization of political power one of the most important ingredients of which is certain to be administrative discretion?"¹ He does not give a strong positive answer to the question but stresses in nontechnical sociological language the personalism, particularism, functional diffuseness, traditionalism, and inefficient and familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like nature of government in rural areas. The authors have given considerable space to the difficulties involved in attaining the advantages of bureaucracy, which we have described as characterized by the contractual *Gesellschaft* in the typically rural setting where the familistic *Gemeinschaft* features prevail, because they comprise a key problem in organization.²

THE INFORMAL GROUP AND SOCIAL STATUS IN GOVERNMENT

Informal clique groups in political and governmental structure are

¹ Lane W. Lancaster, *Government in Rural America*, New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1937, p. 124.

² Toennies, who elaborated the concepts of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, did not believe it impossible to construct an organization in such a manner as to derive the advantages of an efficient bureaucracy and retain the desirable features of the *Gemeinschaft*. Ferdinand Toennies, *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology, Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*, New York: American Book Company, 1940, pp. 227-228. See also particularly the student of Toennies, R. Weber, "Das Konsumgenossenschaftswesen als Synthese von Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft," *Vierteljahrshefte für Sociologie*, München: Duncker und Humblot, 1925, Vol. V, No. 1-2.

very important in both rural and urban society. When Loomis³ studied the visiting relationships of people in a German village, he found that families which identified themselves with the various political parties associated much more within their own party groups than they did across party lines. These parties, including Nazis, Social Democrats, and Communists, were found to be structured by occupation. (See Figure 42 in Chapter 5.)

While living in the small village of El Cerrito, New Mexico, in the Range-Livestock Area, the author was surprised to learn that a politician running for office in the local trade center 18 miles away came over almost impassable roads to put on a dance and furnish wine to the villagers as a part of his campaign. Villagers explained that their relatives who had migrated to the trade center of Las Vegas were the objective of this visit. The politician was using informal familistic channels to conduct his campaign, and the fact that these channels led outside his precinct was of little importance. This is an example of social action related to voting which transcends the bounds of a specific locality grouping established for voting purposes.

In a study of leadership made by the officials of the various agencies in Livingston County, Michigan, an attempt was made to determine to what extent the informal groupings supported the official governmental structure. As indicated in Chapter 6, the neighborhood or other "natural grouping" seldom coincides with the township units. However, in the case of the Fowlerville area, the townships happen to fit the area, offering an opportunity for studying local neighborhood and community leadership as related to township officialdom. Eighty-six informants were interviewed in the area and it is believed that most of the actual and potential leaders in several fields were revealed with questions carefully designed to ascertain who the informal or clique leaders were. They were also interviewed to ascertain who gave the best advice on "public matters" and "dairying," who had the best "organizing ability," and who were good "leaders of young people."

In the area studied, there were 12 elected township officials, four of whom, as township supervisors, were members of the county board of supervisors. Twenty-nine informal clique groupings were revealed. In three of the groups it was found that a township official

³ Charles P. Loomis, "Political and Occupational Cleavages in a Hanoverian Village, Germany," *Sociometry*, Vol. IX, No. 4, November 1946, pp. 316-333.

occupied a position of some leadership, since the names of the township officials came up most frequently in the queries involving "good organizing ability" in the community. Six of the 12 township officials were at least mentioned by the 86 informants when all the questions are considered, but only two were revealed as key persons in informal groups. These were township supervisors, not clerks or treasurers. From these findings, we may conclude that the people in the Fowlerville trade-center community have selected one-sixth of their township officials on the basis of their position in the informal structure in the neighborhoods and communities; the remainder must have been elected for other reasons. Sympathy and pity are sometimes important sentiments used by local rural candidates running for office.

Much has been written about the importance of informal groups in urban politics and government,⁴ but little attention has been given this phenomenon in rural areas. Nevertheless, government by cliques in rural areas is practically universal. West⁵ describes how politics work in Missouri, an area located between the Corn Belt and the Ozarks in the General and Self-Sufficing farming areas. "The heads of cliques are the 'politicians,' who for money, past favors, 'love of party,' and the gratification of controlling people and manipulating events attempt to accomplish the election of 'their candidates.'" The great problem is "keepin' 'em lined up even between elections," which involves "direct and indirect bribes, contributions to churches, compliments to women, admiration of babies, head pattings and ice-cream cones for children, the lending of tools and dispensing of 'trade information' to men, pressure on debtors, subtle threats of disclosing moral and financial 'secrets,' and the circulation of gossip, rumors, and outright lies along 'the grapevine.'" ⁶ The circulation of rumor, appeal to the deepest sentiments of the people in order to build up one candidate or disparage another, and similar techniques are illustrated by West. He remarks that "the fact that any politician can learn from a poll watcher how people vote makes a farce of the

⁴ D. H. Kurtzman, *Methods of Controlling Votes in Philadelphia*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935; and Harold F. Gosnell, *Machine Politics: Chicago Model*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937. Primary groups have been called the "true moral units of Civilization." See J. E. Booden, "The Unit of Civilization," *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. XXX, 1920, pp. 142-150.

⁵ James West, *Plainville USA*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1946, pp. 85-91.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

'secret' ballot but it prevents ballot-stuffing and certain other widespread voting abuses."⁷

West's findings in Missouri are not exceptional. Lancaster writes, "It is safe to say that in nine-tenths of the counties in the United States public affairs are in the hands of . . . the 'court-house gang.'"⁸ This group he describes as composed of contractors, lawyers, printers of supplies, bankers, and others who stand to profit from county governmental business. Then there are other "small fry" who live from jury duty and other "crumbs" which fall from the political table. Although he does not use sociometrics to describe these inter-relationships, his wording leaves no doubt as to his meaning. From the court house "run the tangled threads of influence and power, favoritism and discipline, by which the somewhat furtive gentlemen in power keep the 'organization' intact."

Kimball provides one of the most realistic descriptions of how the network of personal relationships of the local rural official may be used to obtain his own objectives.⁹ Woodlawn Drive, a progressive suburb composed of urban middle-class professionals in a rural Michigan dairy township, attempted to get a township zoning ordinance established to prevent the degradation of the community. Industrial development had already started with the establishment of a foundry. Through the community improvement association, a petition was presented to the township board, which in Michigan is composed of the township supervisor, clerk, and two justices of the peace. The board denied the petition and the supervisor defeated the proposal in a special election. Since the residents of Woodlawn Drive were typical middle-class urban professionals, they were almost completely ignorant of the leadership structure among the farmers who constituted the voting majority in the township. The Woodlawn people had previously criticized the supervisor's handling of relief and had supported an attorney in their neighborhood in an effort to defeat the supervisor. Naturally, the supervisor considered this group a threat to his political position.

However, before launching the opposition to the zoning measure, he "advised" with the farmer leaders. He then personalized his attack, using the sentiments that would appeal in each case. In the

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

⁸ Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

⁹ Solon T. Kimball, "A Case Study in Township Zoning," *Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Quarterly Bulletin*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4, May 1946.

words of a Woodlawn resident: "To each one he told a different story. To the penurious he said it would raise taxes \$10,000, and he knew this wasn't true. To those who had boys in the service he said we should wait until the boys came home so we could learn what they wanted. To a man of education he said it was unconstitutional and that he had consulted some of the best lawyers in the state, but he never named them. To a farmer he said, 'You won't be able to put up a sign without asking the Woodlawn Drive people for permission.' At the meeting to discuss the proposition he advised those who were against to stay away. At the voting those in favor went early while those against came late. He had a man there whom he told to get more people to come and vote when it seemed they needed more votes to defeat it. What we can't understand is why he has done this to us. . . ." ¹⁰

Kimball concluded that the Woodlawn residents should have first "advised" with the farmer leaders. It would not have been difficult to have shown them that the zoning ordinance could be worked out in their interests. Then the supervisor should have been consulted informally and a petition should have been used only as a final resort after the informal procedures failed. Important in the defeat of the ordinance in the general election also was the failure of the Woodlawn people to explain to the farmers in person-to-person and meaningful terms how the ordinance would help them. The supervisor did appeal to them personally in an attempt to show how the zoning ordinance would be harmful. ¹¹

Davis and Gardner present an excellent description of how the ring contorts politics and government in a typical Cotton Belt community in Old City, Mississippi. There "the principal ring members are well known to the community and they have a high degree of solidarity among themselves, which involves extensive social participation—week-end parties with eating, drinking, and gambling, for instance—as well as political affairs." ¹² Through the sponsorship of the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹¹ This study had an interesting sequence for those interested in applied social science. Although the case was written with fictitious names in an attempt to hide the identity of the persons and localities involved, a local leader procured a copy of it. After studying it, he set out to use the principles involved and the township supervisor was defeated in the next election.

¹² Allison Davis, B. B. Gardner, and M. R. Gardner, *Deep South*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, p. 491.

annual Christmas tree for the poor children, this ring originates action to the community in the same way that Mumis get and maintain their power in Bougainville, as described in the preceding chapter. Funds are collected and the poor white children are given a bag of toys by Santa Claus. Before the distribution, Santa Claus is escorted about the city by about a dozen members of the ring, blowing horns, ringing bells, and stopping at homes for refreshments. Sometimes the interaction, drinking together, and "kidding" about politics during this part of the festivities assume considerable proportions.

The ring may disintegrate when opponents uncover and publicize evidences of graft or fixing of juries. Control of the grand jury is necessary, and "with the sheriff, chancery clerk, circuit clerk, and board of supervisors working closely together, a very close control over the selection of the twenty grand jurors is made possible, and any 'suspicious' persons who might insist on probing ring activities can easily be excluded."¹³

The ring in Old City uses somewhat the same techniques as those described in Plainville. Police activities assume the form of "protection" in the case of arrests, rake-offs, graft, and other activities. The exclusion of Negroes from political action is a device which is used to keep the voters lined up and to maintain the ring.

The study of Old City makes a step forward in identifying the class composition of the ring. It is controlled by the upper-middle class, but "the determining factor in the functioning of the political system is not the general class structure but the specific pattern of relations between voter and politician and between politicians themselves."¹⁴ Control is in the hands of the upper-middle class, but the "dirty work" is delegated to law-enforcement officers from the lower-middle and upper-lower classes. It is these classes who "keep the Negro in his place, and take care of the day-by-day administration of the law."¹⁵

Although only a few studies show in concrete terms how the individuals of various social classes use the governmental structure and political means of enhancing their own welfare at the expense of others, many studies prove the great inequalities. There are many ways of accomplishing this end; one of the most common manifesta-

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 494.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 497.

¹⁵ Whereas only 11 percent of the smallest producers were registered, 79 percent of the three highest groups were voters.

tions is the variation in the tax assessment rate in almost any rural community, which is, in part at least, related to this type of social action. Thus, in Tennessee, where county assessors are often elected on the basis of sympathy and popularity rather than efficiency, a state report indicates that assessed values run ". . . all the way from 10 to 80 percent," and that "property . . . of widows and orphans . . . were more highly assessed in proportion to value than other classes of property." Furthermore, ". . . the assessor has more pressure brought to bear on him by the larger property owners than by small property owners. . . ." ¹⁶

When fascist or communist groups seek control of a society with their class doctrines, these facts are important. The organization of "cells" or "sections" among the lower classes involves the difficult problem of organizing groups not customarily organized in formal groupings of this type. Labor unions and similar organizations, therefore, become of tremendous strategic importance. Since rural groups have no similar organization in the United States and had no similar structure in pre-Soviet Russia, special procedures had to be adopted. How informal groups become structured into formal pressure groups will be discussed in the chapter on farmers' organizations and movements.

In discussing political clubs such as the Tammany Society of New York City, Panunzio observes that they are mainly urban phenomena but that "in rural areas organizations such as the Grange often perform the same function." ¹⁷ This is, of course, falsification by oversimplification, but it brings the significance of formal as versus informal organization to the light.

TERRITORIALITY OF GOVERNMENTAL AND POLITICAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Anderson defines a unit of government as a "resident population occupying a defined area that has a legally authorized organization and governing body, a separate legal identity, the power to provide certain public or governmental services, and a substantial degree of autonomy including legal and actual power to raise at least a part

¹⁶ Carlton C. Sims, *County Government in Tennessee*, a Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, Department of Political Science, December 1930, p. 36.

¹⁷ Constantine Panunzio, *Major Social Institutions*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939, p. 361.

of its own revenue.”¹⁸ It was indicated in Chapter 1 that social systems universally have such structural and value components as authority, right, roles, status, and value orientation related to these elements and/or norms and objectives. In addition, all systems have a locus or territoriality. Authority in armies of occupation, prisons, and units of government is confined to and communicated within geographical limits. The power struggle among nations involves the control of resources, social systems, and strategic terrain of spatially bounded systems.

The unit of government and its systems may be thought of as functioning in tiers. In the United States the following units are general, with the tiers or layers that cover the widest areas listed first:¹⁹

- A. Units of central government
 - 1. The nation
 - 2. The states
- B. Units of local government
 - 3. The counties (and parishes)
 - 4. Cities, villages, boroughs, incorporated towns, towns, and townships
 - 5. School districts
 - 6. Other special districts

To be sure, some situations are not described by this outline. There are the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Detroit Metropolitan Authority, for example, both of which are larger than counties and are not bounded by county lines. These are complicated social systems. But in the cities that are independent of the surrounding counties, a phenomenon generally true in the South, in certain western states, and in New England, the number of levels of local government affecting the average person is relatively small. Actually, in the states between New York and North Dakota and those south of Kansas, Missouri, and the Ohio River, the average person is in contact with three levels of local government, namely, the county, the city or village (urban) or the township (rural), and the school district. Figure 176 describes the various levels of non-educational governmental units. In addition to these districts, there are many others involving limited and specific functions such as drainage, irrigation, fire service,

¹⁸ William Anderson, *The Units of Government in the United States*, Chicago: Public Administration Service, Publication No. 83, 1942, p. 10.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

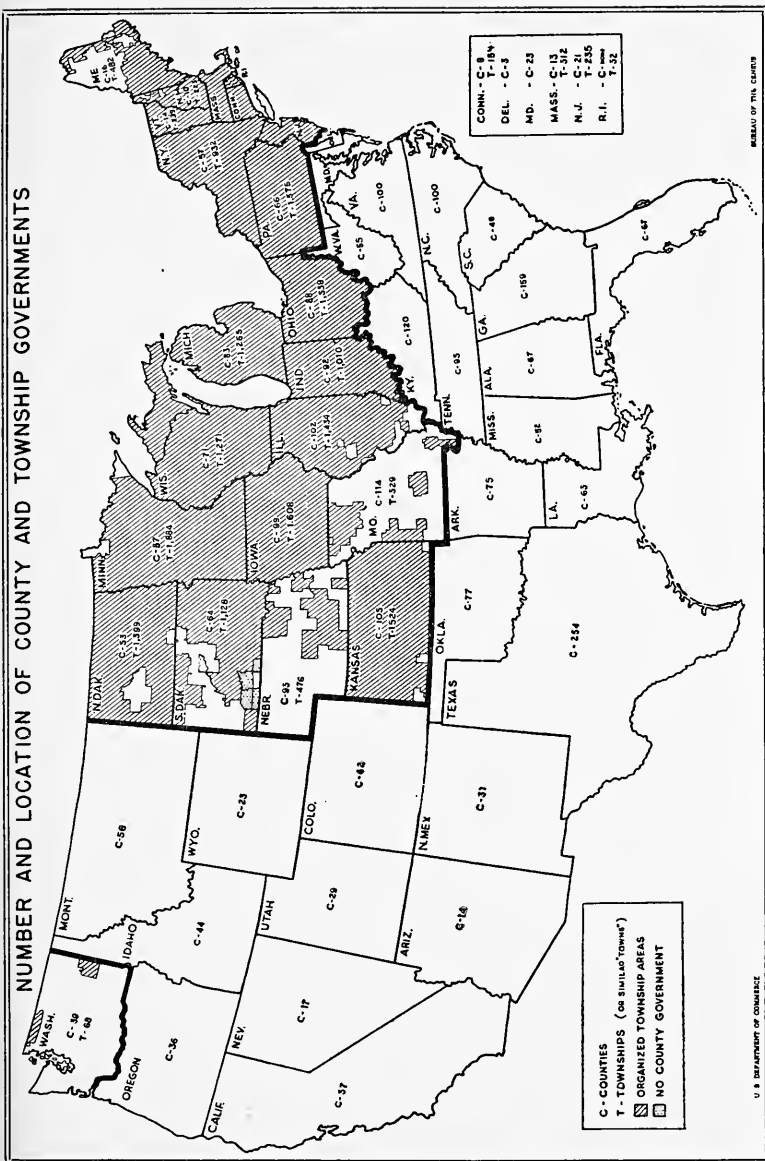


FIG. 176. Number and location of county and township governments, 1942. (Reproduced from Bureau of the Census.)

highway development, soil conservation, and the like. The number and types of special districts are shown in Table 50.

TABLE 50
*Number of Selected Types of Districts Affecting Rural People
in the United States, 1942*

Rural roads and bridges	1,049
Drainage	1,955
Irrigation	523
Pest control	43
Library	207
Flood and levee	200
Soil conservation	92
Protection of crops and livestock	61

SOURCE: Bureau of the Census.

The distribution of these units is described in Figure 177. These

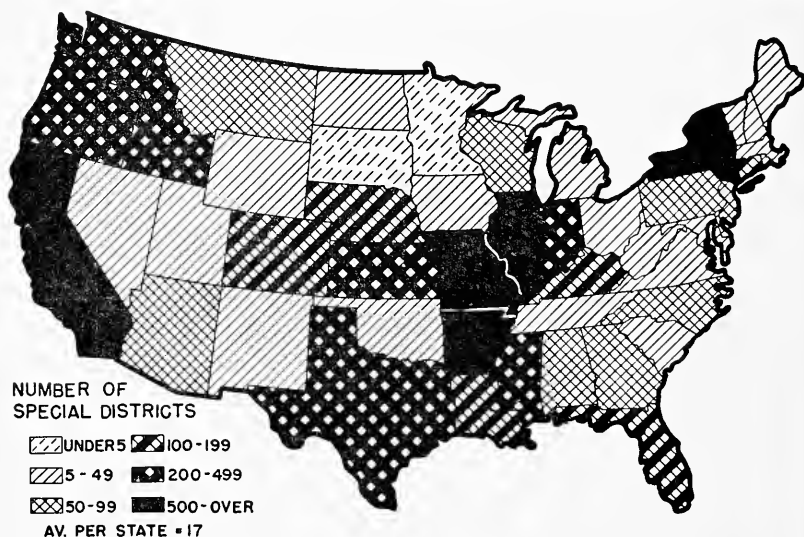


FIG. 177. Number of special districts in each state, 1942. Special districts include such units as irrigation, fire protection, drainage, and soil conservation districts. There are a total of 8,299 such districts in the United States, 598 of which are inter-county units. (SOURCE: "Governmental Units in the United States, 1942," Bureau of the Census, p. 9.)

special districts are able to levy taxes, or special assessments for purposes for which they are created. In irrigated areas, districts

are created within which bonds may be issued and sold, and the property included in the district may be used as collateral, and taxed to pay interest and establish a sinking fund to retire the bonds.²⁰ As will be explained, the soil conservation district is a new type of social system of great importance in all states.

Governmental units, such as school districts and the original neighborhoods, were established during the horse and buggy days. Although there is great range in the size of the most important local governmental units in the United States, there is general agreement that most counties, townships, and towns are too small for efficient and economical operation.²¹ More important than geographical size, however, are the number of people embraced by an area and the taxable wealth.

In cities, governmental expenditures per capita for units from 30,000 to 300,000 population are about the same, with slight increases with size. However, expenditures increase quite rapidly after 300,000 population is reached.²² For counties with rural population, the relationship between population numbers and per capita expenditures is different. Under Minnesota conditions, Anderson found that there is a very rapid decrease in per capita expenditures as smaller units increase in size until 30,000 to 35,000 population is reached. Afterwards the decrease is less pronounced but there appears from available studies to be no point at which an enlarging population results in increased per capita costs, as in the case of cities.²³ That most of the counties of the United States are under 30,000 in size is demonstrated by Table 51.

Data collected by Manning indicate that in almost all states, per capita costs of county government decrease as population increases. Table 52 describes some of these results. Except for one irregularity, data in Georgia support the generalization that the larger the unit in terms of population, the lower the per capita cost of government. Given a specific density of population in rural areas, only one way re-

²⁰ "Governmental Units in the United States, 1942," United States Bureau of the Census, Table 8.

²¹ This problem is, as Lancaster has indicated, not particularly American. For England, see W. A. Robson, *The Development of Local Government*, London: 1931; for Germany, see Roger H. Wells, "County Consolidation in Germany," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 10, October 1932, pp. 598-600.

²² Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

mains in which to derive the economies of more populous units, that is, increase their size. Table 53 demonstrates the variations in density of various types of units and number of units in the various regions of the country for the "average" state. Not only do many states fall far short of the optimum population base, but many have much less than the \$20,000,000 taxable wealth which is considered to be a minimum.²⁴ Lancaster speaks of pushing consolidation to the point where

TABLE 51
Frequency Distribution of Counties, by Size of Population

Under 5,000	236
5,000-10,000	466
10,000-25,000	1,255
25,000-50,000	669
50,000-100,000	253
100,000-250,000	114
Over 250,000	57
Total	3,050

SOURCE: Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, p. 440.

TABLE 52
Average per Capita Cost of County Government, by Population Size Groups in Selected States, 1935

Selected States	Per Capita Cost by Population Size Groups			
	Below 5,000	5,000 to 25,000	25,000 to 50,000	50,000 to 100,000
California	\$63.56	\$41.59	\$36.65	\$36.55
Georgia	6.09	4.63	4.03	7.22
Kentucky	5.96	4.28	3.54	5.14
Michigan	25.32	16.25	16.45	18.41
Minnesota	43.59	14.55	13.02	9.72
New York	74.31	29.34	19.75	16.63
Wisconsin	21.76	26.49	22.91	17.44

SOURCE: Bishop and Starratt, *The Structure of Local Government*, p. 83.

²⁴ Roland R. Renne, *Montana County Organization, Services, and Costs*, Bozeman: Montana State College AES Bulletin 298, April 1935, p. 97; and Carl F. Reuss, *County Government in Washington*, Pullman: State College of Washington AES Bulletin 400, 1941, p. 49.

county units would, under ordinary conditions, have at least 20,000 inhabitants and no less than 6,400 square miles. Since 57 percent of the counties have less than 20,000 and one-fourth have less than 10,000, such a project of consolidation would be considerable.²⁵

Trade-Center Communities and Governmental Units. Figure 178

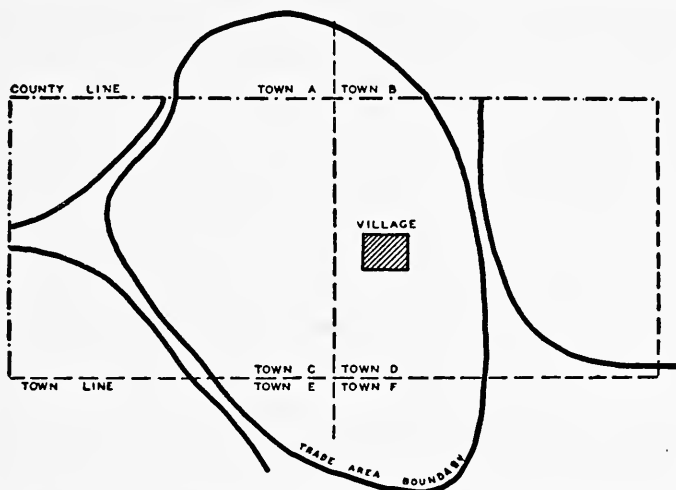


FIG. 178. Diagram of the relation of a village trade area to town (township) and county boundaries. (Reproduced from Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, p. 458.)

demonstrates how county and township boundaries may have little relationship to the trade-center areas. Practically all rural sociologists and many specialists in rural government believe that the more the rural governmental unit boundaries cut across trade-center community areas, and the more frequently the trade centers are located at the edge of the governmental unit, the less efficient will be the service.²⁶ The recommendation made by Manny that rural municipalities be so constituted that they include rural and urban areas and that

²⁵ Lancaster, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 and 386.

²⁶ Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40. He seems to doubt the utility of the "natural community" concept of the rural sociologist. He maintains that rural-urban, church, or language conflicts may give politicians who use the divide-and-conquer technique too much opportunity. Other experts in rural government favor the "natural trade center community as a unit of county government." See Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 62; and Millspaugh, *op. cit.*, Ch. 3; also see T. B. Manny, *Rural Municipalities*, New York: The Century Co., 1930, pp. 55-68.

services be paid for by zones has been very seldom adopted, except in some New England towns. Sanderson²⁷ believed that if these units were to have a central consolidated school as their center, the idea

TABLE 53
*Number of Units in Certain Classes of Local Governments per
100,000 Population, by Regions, 1941*

Region	Counties	Incorporated Places	Towns and Townships	School Districts	Other Special Districts	Total
New England	0.7	2.5	17.0	6.3	4.1	30.8
Middle Atlantic	0.5	7.0	9.0	31.9	1.6	50.2
South Atlantic	3.4	11.7	—	26.9	4.0	46.2
South Central	3.4	11.7	—	83.2	6.8	105.2
East North Central	1.6	13.2	23.8	108.3	5.6	152.0
West North Central	4.5	31.3	62.1	316.4	12.9	427.4
Mountain	6.6	21.7	—	151.9	13.2	193.4
Pacific	1.3	7.1	0.7	64.4	15.1	88.9

SOURCE: Anderson, *The Units of Government in the United States*, p. 19.

might take hold. Anderson maintains that "whether desirable or not, the effort so to reorganize government is politically futile for the time being."²⁸ The facts are that as most hamlets and villages grow in size, they become increasingly divorced from the farm people. As has been previously mentioned, this is in sharp contrast to the Brazilian situation, where the surrounding countryside is included in the corporate area.²⁹

THE TOWNSHIP AND TOWN

The town meetings and other features of the towns of New England have often been idealized as the foundation of American democracy.³⁰ Others have shown how the functions of the rural town and township have gradually disappeared so that in many places the township officers constitute a pernicious pressure group. Thus Lan-

²⁷ Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., p. 460.

²⁸ Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

²⁹ T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil: People and Institutions*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1946, p. 147.

³⁰ For example, see Clarence M. Webster, *Town Meeting Country*, New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1945.

caster³¹ remarks that if all the officers provided for by the constitution in Michigan were chosen in every township, there would be an "army of more than 16,000," who with "friends and families and hangers-on" might be a powerful political factor. In many communities the township officers vote themselves into a township office. One study shows that such officials levied taxes upon non-residents' property, loafed, and lived from politics.³² Others have shown that whereas only one-fifth to one-eighth of the qualified voters take part in township meetings, cliques frequently determine fundamental matters in a caucus with which the majority has little to do.³³ In general, township government is weak in those areas where the "unnatural" square-mile sections prevail.

In some states, such as Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Minnesota, the principal township authority is the board of supervisors or a committee. Elsewhere, as in New York, Michigan, and Illinois, a supervisor or town chairman is a definite head. Functions and officers vary, but usually poor relief, road maintenance, fire protection, and tax assessing are accomplished by overseers of highways, and by clerks, treasurers, justices of the peace, and constables.

All the previous discussion of the economic inefficiency of small counties applies with even greater force to townships. In one county in New York state, each of 19 towns insists on owning its own snow plow. The net result is that the county has 21 snow plows, including those of city and county highways.³⁴ If there were no townships several plows would suffice. The township's relation to the trade center and whether or not it is a functional part of a trade-center community are important in the services its facilities can render. One study proves that fire and library service for small townships of New York state for which the trade center was located in an adjoining township, was poorer than for those that had the trade center located within the township.³⁵ Actually, outside New England where the

³¹ Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

³² Carle C. Zimmerman, John H. Useem, and L. H. Ziegler, "Littleville: A Parasitic Community During the Depression," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. I. No. 1, 1936, pp. 54-72.

³³ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

³⁴ Donald G. Bishop and Edith E. Starratt, *The Structure of Local Government*, Washington, D.C., The National Council for the Social Studies, Bulletin 19, September 1945, p. 96.

³⁵ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

county has few functions, the township seems to have little reason for existing as a governmental unit.³⁶ Sanderson, Kolb, and Brunner maintain that for the following services the county administration is superior to smaller units: (1) education, including schools and libraries; (2) agricultural extension work and zoning for land use; (3) public health work; (4) public welfare work; (5) public works—roads, bridges, parks; and (6) political work—elections, tax levy and collections, protection, and justice.³⁷

INCORPORATED VILLAGES

The only unit of rural government that is based on what may be called "natural groupings" in the sense that its boundaries cut across relatively few of the significant interaction patterns of the people, is the incorporated village. Of 16,220 incorporated places listed in the 1940 Census, 12,888 were rural—that is, under 2,500 in population. However, as mentioned previously, these incorporated villages do not include many farm people who support the incorporated village. Nevertheless, the incorporated place becomes a social system, able under state law, to levy and collect taxes, pass ordinances, and raise money through bonds for improvements. Property can be acquired by this unit and it has policy powers. It is also a school and library district as well as the unit of other social services. Nelson remarks that "it is about the most significant type of local government in rural America, from the standpoint of the services which it can perform for its citizens and the degree of local autonomy which it enjoys."³⁸

RURAL-URBAN CONFLICT AND GOVERNMENT

In states which have urbanized rapidly, rural interests frequently attempt to maintain control by various means. In California, a "fed-

³⁶ However, in some areas in Minnesota, it is reported to have significance as a locality group. (Vernon Davies, "Neighborhoods, Townships, and Communities in Wright County, Minnesota," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, March 1943, pp. 51-61.) In Michigan, township units seem to have identification value chiefly in areas in which neighborhood solidarity has vanished. This is particularly true around trade centers. See Paul A. Miller and J. Allan Beegle, *The Farm People of Livingston County, Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan State College Extension Service, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, June 1947.

³⁷ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 463 as adapted from J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, p. 653.

³⁸ Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1948, p. 445.

eral plan" to prevent representation by population count permits each county to have only one senator. Furthermore, no more than three small counties may be grouped together to make a senatorial district. This development is said to be the result of a grouping of the San Francisco and rural interests against the rapidly growing southern cities.³⁹ On a population basis, cities are under-represented in the legislatures of Minnesota,⁴⁰ Michigan, and other states. Because the county boards of supervisors are elected by townships in Michigan, in most counties where there are large cities (except in Wayne, Kent, and Bay counties) there are rural majorities even though urban population frequently outnumbers the rural. The urban groups, especially in industrial centers often want more government facilities and attempt to vote more taxes in the name of "progress"; just as frequently, rural groups cry out against "over taxation."⁴¹ Teachers and other public servants are underpaid and the most competent leave for the better salaries offered elsewhere.⁴²

EXPENDITURES FOR RURAL GOVERNMENT

The per capita expenditure for local rural government is highest in the Dairy, Corn, and Specialty-Crop areas, and is lowest in the Cotton and Livestock areas. In areas where most of the social systems are characterized by the familistic *Gemeinschaft* relationships, expenditures are low; where the agencies are characterized by the contractual *Gesellschaft*, the costs are high. The preceding analysis of the characteristics of rural government will indicate, in contrast to the proposed bureaucratic county manager plan, some of the reasons why these relationships prevail. Actually, local areas bear more than 90 percent of the cost of schools. The local taxes cover about 70 percent of the highway costs and 60 percent of the cost of public welfare. Each American living under county government paid an average of \$14.36 for county government taxes in 1943. Nearly half of the county

³⁹ Dean E. McHenry, "Urban vs. Rural in California," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. XXXV, No. 7, July 1946, p. 353.

⁴⁰ A. W. Bromage and T. H. Reed, "Organization and Cost of County and Township Government," Michigan: Local Government Series, Detroit, 1933, p. 42; and Louis C. Dorweiler, Jr., "Minnesota Farmers Rule Cities," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. XXXV, No. 3, March 1946, pp. 115-120.

⁴¹ Sims, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁴² Lancaster, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

expenditures were devoted to highway and public welfare purposes.⁴³

As Table 54 indicates, non-school expenditures in the counties, the costs of administration, and the salaries of the governing bodies account for about one-third of the expenditures. In the less populous counties, expenditures for administration and for highways are relatively more than in more populous counties. On the other hand, in the more populous counties the proportion of the budget devoted to payrolls for the judiciary, health and sanitation, hospitals, public welfare, and corrections is larger than in the less populous counties. In general, the services in the less populous counties are either lacking or of inferior quality.⁴⁴

TABLE 54
*Functional Distribution of County Nonschool Employment,
January 1944*

Governmental Functions	Employees		Monthly Pay Rolls	
	Counties over 50,000	Counties under 50,000	Counties over 50,000	Counties under 50,000
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Governing body and administration	31.8	27.9	35.3	29.5
Judiciary	5.5	6.7	5.9	9.2
Public safety	6.9	7.0	8.2	8.3
Highways	34.0	17.1	32.0	17.1
Natural resources	2.0	1.0	1.7	1.0
Health and sanitation	4.2	4.0	4.1	3.6
Hospitals	6.7	18.6	5.3	14.2
Public welfare	5.4	8.6	4.8	7.6
Correction	.9	4.2	.8	4.6
Libraries	.9	1.4	.5	.9
Other	1.4	3.2	1.2	3.2
County government enterprises	.3	.4	.3	.3

SOURCE: "County Employment in 1944," *Government Employment*, Vol. V, No. 2, July 1944, Bureau of the Census publication, p. 7. From Bishop and Starratt, *The Structure of Local Government*, p. 69.

⁴³ Edward W. Weidner, "The Confused County Picture," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4, April 1946, p. 288.

⁴⁴ "Minnesota County Plans Community Budget," *op. cit.*, p. 206.

THE FUTURE OF COUNTY GOVERNMENT

The complications involved in the lack of coordination of the agencies of a given federal department may reach considerable proportions. Here is how United States Department of Agriculture officials described the situation involving their employees:

Under the early Agricultural Adjustment Administration program, a farmer would have to take some of his land out of wheat in order to qualify for a benefit payment. But under the early Resettlement Administration program, he might have to put land into wheat to qualify for a rehabilitation loan. But whether he took the land out of wheat or left it in wheat it might blow away; therefore, the Soil Conservation Service might advise him to restore the land to grass. The Bureau of Plant Industry and the State experiment station might be telling him not to plant wheat that year, because recent research showed that the crop would be a failure unless there was a certain amount of moisture in the soil at seeding time. Yet he could borrow money for seed and, by attempting to grow some wheat, would qualify for a benefit payment on reduced acreage.⁴⁵

The following quotation was used to explain why county land-use planning was necessary:

New and powerful Federal agencies were barging into almost every local community administering action programs that strongly affected local affairs and dealt with things which were far from being noncontroversial.⁴⁶

County Land-Use Planning. One of the most important experiments in governmental administration was that of land-use planning. It was centered in the Division of State and Local Planning in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the U.S.D.A.⁴⁷ Since land-use planning, as a federal department activity, was prohibited by Congress, it will not be described in detail. Although there were great variations in the manner in which county land-use planning was carried on, ideally it was an attempt on the part of the federal, state, and local administrative units to establish a two-way communication

⁴⁵ Milton S. Eisenhower and Roy I. Kimmel, "Old and New in Agricultural Organization," *1940 Yearbook of Agriculture*, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 1130.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1131.

⁴⁷ Ellery A. Foster and Harold A. Vogel, "Cooperative Land Use Planning—A New Development in Democracy," *ibid.*, pp. 1138–1156.

to what was then called the "grass roots," or to the farmer in his local neighborhood. As some view the program, neighborhood farm leaders would meet with technicians without pay to formulate plans and to send a representative to county committees which would also meet with the county officials of the various government agencies for the purpose of developing a county land-use plan. These plans included much more than land-use considerations. Schools, highways, community facilities, and many other things were discussed and planned for. State committees were composed of farmer representatives and the state and federal administrators at the state level.

In theory and in actual practice in some areas, a channel of communication from the local neighborhood to the county, state, and federal levels was established which helped to gear programs to local needs. The land-use planning as a federal activity stopped with the abolition of the federal planning unit because it was considered by some farmers' organizations to be usurping the organizations' prerogative. Land-use planning, however, is still an important function on a state, county, and local level in several states. It is probably given most attention in the state of Michigan.

The Taos County Project.⁴⁸ One of the most interesting experiments in community and county integration was carried on in Taos County as a part of an adult education program financed in part by the Carnegie Corporation. Through the adult education program, the leaders of all the governmental and other agencies, led by the Director of Extension at the University of New Mexico, were organized into a planning unit that met regularly. The director and a Spanish-speaking assistant director then attempted to bring the people of the county, 95 percent of whom were Spanish-speaking, into the program. Of special importance in the organizational structure of the county was the fact that most of the people lived in fourteen small villages. By a system of involvement, the program was described to one or two leaders in their homes. Then these leaders described the program to friends and later a community mass meeting was held at which all the villages joined, elected officials, and chose representatives to become a part of the planning group to work with the agency leaders. The local school teacher was made *ex officio* secretary and was paid

⁴⁸ C. P. Loomis and J. T. Reed, "The Taos County Project of New Mexico—An Experiment in Local Cooperation Among Bureaus, Private Agencies, and Rural People," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. III, No. 3, April-June 1944, pp. 21-33. The junior author was the director of the project.

a small fee for his work. All other officers who were elected served without salaries. Each neighborhood presented its needs to the county planning group.

As a means of maintaining interest and retaining contact with the center in this large county, where communication and roads are poor, a bookmobile with reading material and movies made regular stops at all villages. To one village which was isolated during the winter, books were brought in on horseback.

When World War II came on, the Carnegie Corporation withdrew its support. The most important continuation activities are the bookmobile and the county-wide group health program, the only program among Spanish-speaking villagers in the country. The agencies carried through many projects that were requested by the people. The project constitutes one of the important experiments in rural coordination in that it involved not another governmental agency, as in the case of county land-use planning, but an outside agency and non-governmental support. That the planning mechanism did not continue to function after the funds were withdrawn proves that there were some weaknesses in the approach.

Cooperative Survey Approach. Another approach to the coordination of county and local governmental functions is through joint study of local conditions, and analysis of actual and "felt" needs carried on by the local county agencies, with the technical guidance of specialists in schedule construction, interviewing, and sampling. Such an experiment is progressing in Michigan under the Agricultural Extension Service and the Social Research Service at Michigan State College. Although several counties are involved in this type of activity, the work of Van Buren County will be described. The county units of the Soil Conservation Service, the Agricultural Extension Service, State Departments of Health and Public Instruction, the County Library, and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration joined hands in a county-wide survey to determine the extent to which their programs were understood by the people, to ascertain felt needs, and to determine the people's appraisal of the effectiveness of the programs underway at the time of the study. Each agency participating in the study contributed a certain amount of time from its own personnel. The schedules for the interview were perfected, the sample was designed, and analysis was made by the Social Research Service staff under the leadership of the rural sociology and anthropology extension specialist.

Regular meetings of the agencies were held to discuss the results of the survey as they were made available by the Social Research Service. During this process the group organized itself into the Van Buren County Service Council, with a coordinated plan of work to study pertinent county problems, and dedicated to cooperative lines of action on local county problems. By this time the need for lay representatives, as well as other professional workers, was recognized; consequently, such changes were instituted by the local group. Finally, a constitution and by-laws were developed in order that cooperatively defined objectives might be clarified. In the whole Van Buren cooperative process, coordination was accomplished by concerted action on the part of the agencies, relative to a common problem.

Structural Reorganization. Of course, the various attempts to get coordination through planning and cooperative study will not remedy the basic faults of the local governmental structure. When one federal department is unable to coordinate its own activities in a given county, it seems unreasonable to expect that there will arise automatically an integrated program on the county level. It seems time for federal, state, and local agencies to join in some jointly financed experiments in various types of county administration. Meanwhile, political scientists, rural sociologists, and anthropologists may study the various experiments being conducted on a local basis.⁴⁹

SUMMARY

In most rural areas, the government and the political systems that control it rest upon informal group alignments. Whether one calls the controlling group the "court house gang" or the "peoples' party," the politicians in control rely upon personal appeal and the "plums" which the "ins" can make available to their supporters in order to retain control. Jobs, protection in case of arrest, rake-offs, graft, lower

⁴⁹ For instance, see L. H. Adolfson, "The County Clerk as 'Manager'," *National Municipal Review*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, March 1942, pp. 125-128. Here the author recommends as an intermediate step that the county clerk be considered as a possible manager. He rightly considers the step from "headless" government to the county manager type too large for most counties to take at this time. For a study of county manager government see G. W. Spicer, "Ten Years of County Manager Government in Virginia," *University of Virginia Extension Bulletin*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, September 1, 1945. The reports deal with Albemarle, Henrico, and Arlington counties. Large savings and more effective service through centralized county management are reported.

tax assessments, and many other devices are used to obtain and retain political office. When movements attempt to take over the existing governmental structure, the various informal groupings must be re-grouped into some formal structure which will push the ends and objectives of the group fostering the movement. All political factions will seek to control the formal organizations such as those of the laborer and the farmer, because such organizations structure the informal groups in disciplined units that may be used politically.

The typical layers of government in a rural area are (1) the county, (2) the village or township, and (3) the school district. In the Cotton Belt, New England, and certain areas of the West, the township layer is not present. There are many other districts, of course, such as those for roads, bridges, drainage, irrigation, conservation, libraries, fire protection, and the like. Such units can levy taxes, make special assessments, and determine policy within the rubrics set by state legislation.

For cities of 30,000 to 300,000, the per capita costs of government are about the same, with a slight increase as size increases. However, per capita costs increase rather rapidly for cities over 300,000. In rural areas the picture is different. For rural counties, the per capita costs of government decrease rapidly up to units of 30,000 to 35,000 inhabitants, beyond which there seems to be no point at which costs increase as the population of the counties increases.

Unfortunately, 57 percent of the counties have less than 20,000 inhabitants and a quarter of them have less than 10,000. Some governmental experts maintain that consolidation of rural counties should be pushed until there are no counties with less than \$20,000,000 taxable wealth, 20,000 people, and 6,400 square miles of territory. This would be a tremendous undertaking. The greatest impediment is the vested interest the job-holders and their friends and relatives have in the existing inefficient and uneconomical system. Studies of governmental costs in rural areas indicate that the more populous counties put relatively less money into administration and more into health, welfare, and other similar programs. Rural sociologists recommend that rural governmental units should be based upon the trade-center community so that the economic, political, educational, and religious social systems may center in one place—the county seat. Such an ecological arrangement fosters integration of organizations and interests, and avoids the disintegrative forces of separation of systems.

In general, the county and not the township is the ideal unit for such governmental services as: (1) education, including schools and libraries, (2) agricultural extension and land-use zoning, (3) public health service, (4) public welfare work, (5) public works such as roads, bridges, parks, and the like, and (6) political elections, tax levies and collections, protection, and justice. In many cases counties should be enlarged to handle some of these functions effectively, but where both townships and counties exist, the county and not the township should handle these services. In general, in the states where both townships and county units exist, the township is a hindrance to effective governmental operation in more cases than it is an asset. Townships frequently buy equipment and retain officials that would not be necessary.

In New England, where the township functions without the county, there are some advantages, such as that of overcoming rural-urban cleavages. However, the ideal of the township run by the democratic townmeeting discussion, upon investigation, is frequently found to be nonexistent. The same type of informal clique control exists in New England, the so-called cradle of democracy, as elsewhere.

Most of the incorporated places in the United States are rural—that is, under 2,500 in size. Unfortunately, these towns often have, through incorporation, separated themselves from their hinterland and the farmers. Although farmers furnish at least half of the population which such towns serve, they are under-represented in positions of influence. Nevertheless, the resulting units are “natural groupings,” where taxing, policy formation, and program operation are incorporated in relatively effective operating units. Everywhere, rural-urban cleavages and conflicts exist. These are often acute where the political structure is so shaped that rural control is retained even though urban population outnumbers the rural. Everywhere urban groups, especially laboring groups, in the name of “progress,” attempt to increase taxes on real estate and rural groups attempt to fight over-taxation.

In the field of rural government nothing is more important than research aimed at determining the best means of attaining an integration of various federal, state, and local agencies in such a manner as to attain the maximum of local autonomy and maximum efficiency of operation. County manager and various other plans are being experimented with, and such attempts at integration as land-use planning programs should receive special attention.

CHAPTER 19

THE FARMERS' MOVEMENTS

IT IS WELL to ask the question, "Do those who farm and ranch constitute a political system?" In the sense that the social system concept has been used in previous chapters, this question must be answered negatively. However, the answer must carry the qualification that a considerable portion of the agriculturists of the United States may be thought of as members of a political social system. It is true that there is no system of communication through which each farmer and his family report to someone else, thereby yielding a hierarchy of authority. Not every farmer is aware of the farm lobby. Not every farmer knows how to use his lobby or realizes the extent to which his interests are represented by the so-called "farm bloc" in Washington.

IMPORTANCE OF RURAL PRESSURE GROUPS

In the United States as well as in many other countries, the agricultural interests have established channels of communication for political and economic action. On numerous occasions a large portion of the farmers and ranchers have acted in a concerted manner. In describing the California lobby, or the "Third House," Anderson observes that it outnumbers the legislature more than two to one, is more highly trained and educated, and has more resources at its disposal.¹ He agrees with Zeller that "the pressure of interests represented at state capitols is indeed enormous."² In California, the strongest agricultural lobby is the Agricultural Council, representing twenty-nine grower, marketing, and banking member organizations which control or operate a considerable portion of California's agri-

¹ Dewey Anderson, *California State Government*, Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1942, Chapter 4.

² Belle Zeller, "Lobbies and Pressure Groups: A Political Scientist's Point of View," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CXCV, January 1938, p. 79. For a more general picture of lobbying, see Kenneth G. Crawford, *The Pressure Boys*, New York: Julian Messner, 1939.

culture. The Grange and the Farm Bureau Federation also offer lobbying programs for their members. The California Farm Bureau Federation, for example, is built around 400 local farm bureau centers, and its most important nucleus is the county agent or county farm adviser of the Extension Service. The Grange, Farm Bureau, and Agricultural Council do not always stand together. Nevertheless, in California as elsewhere, the various interests in agriculture compete with or align themselves with other interests which have millions of dollars to be used in attaining desired legislation.

It will be one of the most important objectives of this chapter to describe the farmers' movements and their organizational facilities, which bid fair to bring all American farmers and ranchers into a social system. Part of this objective is to describe how lobbying and other procedures are used to support agriculture's position.

Rural and urban housewives who use margarine are aware of the influence of the dairy interests. All states except Arizona have enacted some law regulating margarine; 20 states ban margarine from use in state institutions, and 23 states have excise taxes which range from 5 cents on uncolored to 15 cents on colored margarine. Other inhibiting influences also restrict the use of margarine, but the strength of the dairy interests is brought most to the attention of the consumer by the requirement in two-thirds of the states that margarine be sold in bleached form whereas butter is usually colored yellow. Many are the complaints against the farm organizations as the American housewife mixes her dye into the white margarine. This example is cited to indicate that farm interests have influence. Some will say that restrictions on margarine are a misuse of influence. But let us look more carefully into the matter of pressure groups.

Much has been written about pressure groups, their lobbies, and the basic difficulties of conducting democratic government in a situation where various interests fight relentlessly for their own group interests, with little or no regard for the general welfare. The battle among the pressure groups, particularly that between labor and management, for control of such instruments of government and privileges as will enhance the group's position is, of course, related to what Max Weber³ had in mind when he attempted to demonstrate the instability of the capitalistic society in the Western world. One group, or a combination of groups, may hedge the freedom of ra-

³ Talcott Parsons, *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 30-56.

tional action for other groups in such a way as to push the whole structure toward a traditionalism which, if resulting from movement in one direction, might lead to feudalism; if in the other direction, to socialism, depending on which of the interests was stronger. Most rural sociologists⁴ maintain that the farm interests, sometimes siding with labor and sometimes with management, may make it possible to maintain the balance necessary to retain the Western capitalistic structure, with its great emphasis on individual initiative, freedom of contract, and "rationality," especially on the part of owners.⁵

Need for Organization. The farmers and ranchers have learned that if they are to have status and influence, they must be able to speak in terms of votes and economic pressures. It will be recalled from Chapter 17 that the Mumis or local leaders in the Mumi society attain their positions by giving those whom they control a feast of such lavish proportions that it is impossible to reciprocate. There are parallels between the manner in which Mumis obtain control and the way in which farm leaders attain influence. Before the Nonpartisan League was born in North Dakota, the farmers attempted to establish influence over a state legislature which refused to operate state-owned grain elevators, even after two constitutional amendments had been voted to permit such action. The North Dakota Union of the American Society of Equity, on hearing that the legislature was controlled by non-farmer interests, demanded hearings before the committees dealing with the measure. One angry legislator was reported to have demanded by what right a "bunch of farmers come down here to browbeat the legislature," and ended by advising them to "go home and slop the hogs."⁶ Having only a weak organization, the farmers accomplished nothing with this lobby.

Later, A. C. Townley began the Nonpartisan League movement,

⁴ See for example, P. A. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929, Chapter 3, pp. 465 and 518. These authors attribute the 1,000 years of relative peace in the Eastern half of the Roman Empire after the fall of the West to the policy of sponsoring the small family farmer. Also see C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 12-13.

⁵ Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51. See this citation for a more complete description of the essentials of the capitalistic order.

⁶ Fred E. Haynes, *Social Politics in the United States*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924, p. 305.

built up on the basis of neighbors calling on neighbors.⁷ The movement swept into office a legislature composed almost completely of farmers. It spread to the surrounding states, took over banks, elevators, and warehouses through the instrument of the state government, and passed a long list of legislative measures favoring the farmers. Thus, as in the case of the Mumis, when the League grew powerful in money and political strength, farmers began originating action to the other occupational groups. No one could now say, "Go home and slop the hogs." But the farmers, not having had the organizational experience and political structure of successful Mumis, were soon displaced.⁸

Against what was the revolt? In the words of Russell, "The railroads, the great financial interests, the mills, the elevators, and the tremendous power of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce worked together in happy accord. . . . The railroads . . . had a political organization better than that of any party. In every county they had their machine erected, articulated, faultlessly working. . . . Farmers that made bold to displease this autocrat found they could not get cars for their livestock or grain. . . . The railroads' political boss, always a clever and usually an unscrupulous attorney, stood guard in every county seat and considerable town. His business was to see that the right man was nominated. To that end he was supplied with practically illimitable resources. . . ."⁹

The markets were frequently influenced more by speculators and professional traders than by supply and demand; grading and weighing were unfair. Conditions varied in other parts of the country, but wherever the actual farm workers were unorganized or had no means of helping themselves through economic and political means, the earnings of the middlemen were far greater than the earnings of the farmers. As long as the soil was worked by subsistence farmers or peasants who produced most of what they consumed, the situation

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

⁸ See Charles Edward Russell, *The Story of the Nonpartisan League*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920, pp. 280 ff. The opponents used various devices to ridicule the League. A humorous discussion in the farmers' controlled legislature in which it was proposed that veterans who married receive a bonus and those who did not be fined, was twisted to a claim that the League planned to socialize women. Sound banks were declared to be unsound. Forms which were supposed to be forerunners of the movement to socialize land were circulated among the illiterate farmers.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

was not desperate; but once the farmers were caught up in the price and market regime, survival depended upon organization. Whether in the United States,¹⁰ Germany,¹¹ or elsewhere, the farmer had to weld himself into a social system or be dispossessed. If he overacted in an attempt to adjust his general status upward, such action was seldom more harmful to the general welfare than was the comparable action of other previously unorganized groups.

Agrarian Parties. Before World War II, strong agrarian parties had developed in eastern European countries, and at the present time, most of the European countries have parties that represent the rural classes. In the United States, on the other hand, no truly agrarian party organization has ever represented the farming interests over a period of time. Even though the farmers have not had a political party to represent them, the agricultural interests have stood together in political action on many occasions. During the latter part of the last century the Grange, Agricultural Wheel, and Farmers' Alliance made themselves felt on state and national levels. Since 1900 the Farmers' Union, the American Society of Equity, the Non-partisan League, and the Farm-Labor party have raised the voice of the farmer until, on several occasions, it was heard on the national level.¹²

One of the most detailed statistical studies ever made of American political action concludes that farmers tend to vote according to sentiments peculiar to their occupational group.¹³ These sentiments prevent the union of farmer and labor groups except in times of crisis, or when such groups are united by agreement on issues through rational calculation of interests. However, peculiarities in the class structure and political party system of the United States have prevented the development and maintenance of an agrarian party. In Chapter 11, we indicate that the prosperous farmers in most rural areas become part and parcel of a middle class which controls the stores, banks, and markets of the towns. It is only in the crisis situa-

¹⁰ Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociology*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1933, Chapters 27 and 28.

¹¹ Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, "The Spread of German Nazism in Rural Areas," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XI, No. 6, December 1946, pp. 725-726.

¹² Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 626.

¹³ Stuart A. Rice, "Farmers and Workers in American Politics," *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, Vol. CXVIII, No. 2, New York: Columbia University Press, 1924, pp. 218-219.

tions, when channels of upward mobility are impossible, when out-migration is blocked, and when back-to-the-land movements set in that "insurgent" agrarian parties rise. These parties may go the way of third parties or join one of the two prevailing parties. Although they almost always become political, such "green risings"¹⁴ in the United States have left little or no political party structure. And once the wave of enthusiasm is over or once prosperity has returned, political control drops back into the old, permanently organized party systems. Probably no major farmers' organization ever swept the country without strong self-warnings appearing in its literature and shibboleths to "stay out of politics."

The Nonpartisan League, which was organized as a political weapon, maintained that it was non-partisan, but like the farmers' organizations before it, of course it entered politics. "The outraged American had turned to his natural first weapon."¹⁵ It has been the great contribution of Carl Taylor to demonstrate how these uprisings, even though they may have left few tangible traces in the form of organizational structure, represent the gradual accumulation of formal organization structure on the part of the farm people which might be used for social, economic, and political ends in the modern economy.¹⁶ We shall return to a discussion of this accumulation of experience and knowledge concerning social systems, but first we shall discuss social, political, and economic action before the birth of the price and market regime.

THE PEASANT REVOLTS¹⁷

Sorokin and Zimmerman¹⁸ found the peasant revolts of previous centuries comparable to the "green risings" of the Grangers, Popu-

¹⁴ See W. B. Bizzell, *The Green Rising*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

¹⁵ Russell, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹⁶ Taylor, *op. cit.*, Chapters 27 and 28. Taylor's description of the American farmers' movement in these chapters is unequalled.

¹⁷ Sorokin defines revolution as "a change in the behavior of the people on the one hand and their psychology, ideology, beliefs and valuations on the other." He adds that revolution is "a change in the biologic composition of population, and of the reproductive and selective processes in its midst . . . deformation of the social structure of society . . . (and) the change of fundamental social processes." See Pitirim A. Sorokin, *The Sociology of Revolution*, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1925, p. 11. We consider any armed resistance to authority participated in mainly by groups most of whom are peasants or farmers as agrarian revolts.

¹⁸ Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

lists, and other farmers' movements in the United States. The most important revolts in France, England, and Germany were studied in detail. A listing of some of the important revolts studied follows:¹⁹

Low Countries: General uprisings in 1095, uprisings in West Frisia between 1254-1288, and in West Flanders from 1323-1328.

France: Local uprising during the many famine years from the 11th to the 14th centuries and especially in 1008 and in 1095 in Brittany, and the Jacquerie in the year 1358; the Tuchins revolt in South France, 1380-1383; the Croquants revolt and the religious wars of the 16th century; the Nu-Pieds of Normandy in 1639; the Bonnete Rouges of 1675; and the Grande Peur in 1703. The peasant revolts during the French Revolution, 1789-1793, were the last.

England: Watt Tyler's revolt, 1381, and many uprisings up until 1650, the most noted of which were Jack Straw's revolt in 1431 and Cade's rebellion of 1450. "Pilgrimage of Grace" in 1536; the Norfolk uprisings in 1549.

Germany: Revolts in Saxony, Silesia, Brandenburg, and Rineland, 1342; Upper Alsace, 1493; Revolt of the "Bundschuh," 1502; Breisgau, 1503; League of the "Poor Conrad" in Carinthia and Styria, 1515; a general revolt from Schwarzwald to Wasgenwald, 1517; and the Great Peasants' War of 1525.

Spain: Three revolts in Upper Catalonia from 1355 to 1479; and revolts in Majorca from 1391 to 1477.

Latin America: The Mexican revolts of 1810, 1857, and a series after 1910.

Disputed Nature of Peasant Revolts. Marxian socialist writers have maintained that the peasant revolts are a part of a continuous warfare which will eventually lead to the rule of the propertyless.²⁰

¹⁹ See P. A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. III, *Fluctuation of Social Relationships, War, and Revolution*, New York: American Book Co., 1937, Chapter 13 and Appendix. The reader may be interested in noting how the timing of these disturbances is related to a complete listing and to the graphs showing the amount of internal disturbance by century and country as determined by Sorokin. Some 1,622 internal disturbances are studied and time series for the whole of Europe are determined.

²⁰ Friedrich Engels, *The Peasant War in Germany*, New York: International Publishers, 1926. Here Engels criticizes Lassalle for maintaining that the peasant revolt was reactionary. He admits the peasants ". . . cling to their property, though in reality it does not belong to them . . ." (p. 19). He goes on to claim that these uprisings, as in England and France, are class struggles and that the only solution is state ownership. He agrees with Marx who wrote him: "Everything in Germany will depend upon whether it will be possible to support the

A careful study of the various revolts indicates in most cases that there was no desire to eliminate private property, and that what communistic motivation existed was centered in the towns. Studies of the German,²¹ English,²² and French uprisings substantiate the generalization that the trend toward land nationalization among peasants in Europe was always rare.

The Mexican revolts, just as most of the other revolts in Latin America, were attempts of the peasants to return to their previous tenure status, which gave the villagers more rights to the land.²³ There a small number of land-holders had been able to dispossess the many villages so that only a small proportion had land rights.

proletarian revolution by something like a second edition of the Peasant War. Only then will everything proceed well" (p. 7). See also Karl Marx, *Capital*, translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1901, pp. 786-790.

²¹ Pollard, after indicating that nobility and townsmen were important in the revolts, says of the German uprisings in 1525 and 1526 that "peasants supplied the physical force and . . . the intellectual inspiration came from the radical element in the towns." A. F. Pollard, "Social Revolution and Catholic Reaction in Germany," *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, p. 180. The communism of Thomas Münzer and others was confined to one town and it is doubtful if it was really accepted there. E. B. Bax, *The Peasants War In Germany, 1525-1526*, London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1899, pp. 33-34.

²² Wycliff and John Ball are credited with communistic leanings as related to the English uprising of 1381. The famous rhyme (which is older than Ball) "Whaune Adam dalf and Eve Span, Who was thane a gentilman?," and Ball's speeches, for which he was hailed, were of communistic nature, but the peasants failed to comprehend this. No revolts seemed to be against private ownership of land. See G. Kriehn, *The English Rising in 1450*, Strassburg: Printed by J. H. Ed. Heitz, 1892, pp. 116 ff. But R. H. Tawney and others have demonstrated the conservative nature of the English revolts. See R. H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century*, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1912, p. 318. Also see N. S. B. Gras, *A History of Agriculture*, New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1925, pp. 103-123. The levelers wanted most to level down the hedges created by the hated enclosures.

²³ N. L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, Chapter 7; G. M. McBride, *The Land Systems of Mexico*, New York: American Geographical Society, 1923, pp. 157-171; and McBride's article dealing with "Agrarian Movements in Latin America" in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. See also Frank Tannenbaum, *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929; Eyster N. Simpson, *The Ejido: Mexico's Way Out*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937. For an understanding of the Mexican revolution it is also necessary to read the rich non-scientific literature of the period.

The disinherited rural masses flocked to support the revolutionaries who promised to return the land to their control. Many have confused the establishment of the *ejido* and similar institutions elsewhere in Mexico with communism. As Sorokin and Zimmerman have explained in connection with Europe, "When the land is taken from the landlords, the rural classes aspire to hold it either in individual or quasi-collective (Mir) tenure, having nothing in common with socialism and communism."²⁴ Such tenure had more of the character of family or tribal holdings. Kropotkin²⁵ attempts to prove that the peasant revolts were anarchist movements. For the great German revolt, he maintained that the "Twelve Articles" which embodied the demands of the revolt "included the demand of communal lands being restored to the village communities, feudal servitudes being abolished, and they always alluded to the 'true' faith as faith of brotherhood." Actually it can be proved that the revolts for the most part came during periods when governmental restraints were at a minimum.²⁶

When the Roman peasants and insolvent debtors revolted in 501, 498, 497, and 414 B.C., the desires for status and land were important factors in the great struggle over the *ager publicus* which began with a series of agrarian laws as early as the sixth century, and extended through the bloody revolts that followed the reforms of the Gracchi.²⁷ During the later period of the Empire, most of civilized Africa was involved in a terrible revolt against the great proprietors and the church. The peasants hated the church because it had become a great landed proprietor as a result of the Emperor's gifts out

²⁴ Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 459.

²⁵ P. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1916, pp. 173 ff.

²⁶ Substantiation for this generalization may be found in Sorokin, *The Sociology of Revolution*, *op. cit.*, pp. 397 ff. For Rome, see *ibid.*, p. 399. For ancient Greece, see Paul Louis, "Agrarian Movements," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. For England, see Gras, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Charles Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1906, pp. 4-5; George Kriehn, "English Popular Uprisings in the Middle Ages," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1894, pp. 151-161; and Edgar Powell, "An Account of the Proceedings in Suffolk During the Peasants Rising in 1381," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, 1894, p. 205. For Germany, see E. B. Bax, *op. cit.*, Chapter 1.

²⁷ M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1926, pp. 23 ff.

of the fisc.²⁸ This revolt finally led to the destruction of the country at the hands of the peasants and Vandals.

In all the peasant revolts in Russia, land hunger was a major factor. The revolts in Latvia and Esthonia, and in most of the other eastern European countries of more recent times have involved land.²⁹ In the revolt in Switzerland in 1653, the fall of the price of land was an important factor. In fact, in scarcely any of the revolts was land not important, except in the slave wars in Rome and some few revolts during the Middle Ages when restraints were the chief causes of friction.

The Social Structure and Value Orientation of Society as Related to the Peasant Revolts. The peasant revolts have been of two types: first, those against the imposition of compulsory Gesellschaft-like restraints, and second, those occurring when the feudal familistic Gemeinschaft-like structure was changing to the contractual Gesellschaft type with resulting crises. In the period when the Roman Empire was declining, the weakening of the governmental structure and the resulting insecurity of the individual led to the establishment of the colonate and the manor, with their many restrictions. Many bloody revolts occurred while the rural classes were being fastened into this compulsory structure. Some have maintained that once these structures were established, a mutual dependence of the various estates or prestige groups upon one another in a small community led to the development of a familistic Gemeinschaft-like social structure and value orientation. At any rate, a large number of revolts occurred before the establishment of the feudal economy and during its passing. Figure 179 describes the relative frequency and the important periods of peasant revolts.

Cruelty, Planlessness, and Destructiveness Characterize Peasant Revolts and the Aftermath. Few historical phenomena can equal the uprisings as a demonstration of man's inhumanity to man. The cruelty involved in the revolts goes beyond human comprehension, even for those who have seen the Nazi concentration camps. These

²⁸ James Westfall Thompson, *Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages*, New York: The Century Co., 1928, pp. 114-115.

²⁹ See the articles contributed to a discussion of "Agrarian Movements" in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Of special value are those by Ifor L. Evans on "East Central Europe and the Balkan Countries," A. Meyendorff on "European Russia," and Esther R. Mangel on "Poland and Lithuania" and "Latvia and Esthonia."

examples are included to indicate the price that was paid when society shifted either from familistic *Gemeinschaft* orientation to that of the contractual *Gesellschaft* or compulsory *Gesellschaft*, or when similar changes of a crisis type occurred.

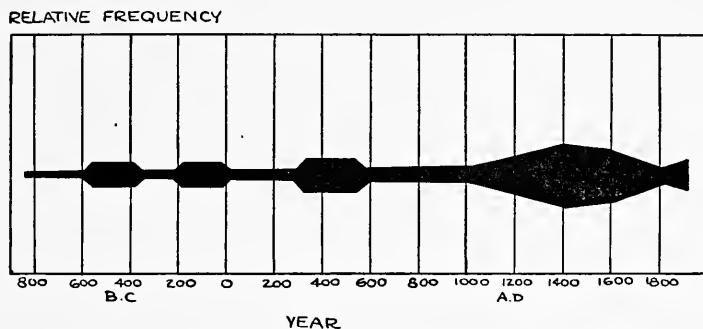


FIG. 179. Schematic diagram showing the general periodical occurrence of Western agrarian revolts.

The German Peasants' War was perhaps the most savage and devastating. Between 100,000 and 130,000 peasants and their allies were killed. On occasion, men were executed because they happened to be standing in the wrong place during a ceremony. In Elsass, children were ruthlessly killed, and women and girls were dragged through the fields, ravished, and butchered. In this area, when the peasants surrendered on condition that they would be given mercy, a mistaken order caused from 16,000 to 20,000 to be butchered. The records describe mercenaries amusing themselves by impaling, flaying, and quartering women and children.³⁰ In the peasant revolt of 1514 in Hungary, about 60,000 either fell in battle or were massacred later. The leader Dozza was captured, roasted, and eaten by his own people, whose lives were spared only on this condition.³¹

In the case of the Jacquerie in France during 1358, the peasants killed a knight and roasted him over a fire before his wife and children. Peasants then ravished the wife, forced her to eat her husband's flesh, and finally killed her and her children. Afterward the nobility retaliated by hunting the peasants down like wild beasts. As many as 20,000 were killed in one province. In Poland, the various revolts

³⁰ Bax, *op. cit.*, pp. 313 ff.

³¹ See "Peasantry" in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, and "Peasants' War" in *The Encyclopedia Americana* for general background and instances of atrocities.

of the peasants were especially cruel and destructive. In some instances, it is reported that the whole population was exterminated; men, women and children tortured, hanged, impaled, roasted over slow fires, or buried up to their necks; their heads were then cut off with scythes like stalks of grain.³²

In speaking of the revolts preceding the Jacquerie of France, Boissonade says: "In reality these peasant revolts, accompanied by burning and massacre, let loose at hazard, without programme or bond of union, always ended the same way—with a savage pitiless repression by the upper classes, as soon as these had recovered from their surprise."³³ This observation supports that of Sorokin and Zimmerman concerning the peasant revolts in general. They state that "the majority of revolts and uprisings of the agricultural classes have been marked by a purely elemental, programless, objectiveless character."³⁴ Bax states that in the case of the German Peasants' War "there was no general preconceived plan of campaign, and this . . . was the main cause of the comparatively speedy and signally disastrous collapse of the movement."³⁵ The cruel, disastrous, orderless, undisciplined nature of the revolts seems to have been general.³⁶

COMPARISON OF PEASANT REVOLTS AND FARMERS' MOVEMENTS

The modern "green risings" of industrial nations have lacked much of the violence of their predecessors, the peasant revolts. The latter were largely disturbances related to the changing nature of society. In some instances, social bonds were tightened; in others, previously enjoyed rights and independence were withdrawn. Other changes included the subjection to the authority of the colonate, the manor, or similar institutions, the loosening of the bonds and the accompanying disregard for responsibility on the part of former masters

³² *Op. cit.*, pp. 105–109.

³³ P. Boissonade, *Life and Work in Medieval Europe*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1937, pp. 148–149.

³⁴ Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

³⁵ Bax, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

³⁶ For those interested in nationality differences, a comparison of the behavior of the peasants of various countries in these revolts would prove interesting. The English revolts do not seem to have been as cruel as those of France or Germany. Ket's campaign in Norfolk was so orderly that Tawney says ". . . it was carried on with an orderliness from which the Government which suppressed it might profitably have taken a lesson." Tawney, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

who were using periods of rapid change from a condition of familistic *Gemeinschaft* to a condition of contractual *Gesellschaft*, or what Taylor³⁷ calls the price and market regime, to retain or extend their authority.

Institutionalized Pressure Versus Force. The modern farmers' movements, particularly in the United States and Europe, have attempted to rely upon the two important institutionalized means of establishing authority and communicating this authority into action, namely the ballot and money.³⁸ Usually the sentiments incorporated in the idealism of the farmers' organizations pressed the use of the ballot as the exclusive means of determining leadership and policy. Thus, during the Populist uprising, the Republican Populist majority in both houses of the North Carolina legislature passed a drastic election law to prevent corruption at the polls. Heavy punishments were prescribed for both vote-buying and vote-selling. Hicks reports that the "law worked reasonably well, and for perhaps the first time since the emergence of the 'solid South' non-Democratic voters in a strictly southern state had a chance to show approximately their full strength."³⁹

Even with the numerous techniques used by the "interests," politicians, and political bosses to circumvent the expression of the majority through the ballot, the modern bourgeois society with its contractual *Gesellschaft*-like social systems seems to be characterized

³⁷ Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 654-657.

³⁸ See Chapter 17 for a description of the social-climbing feats of the Mumis. That the farmers of the United States have learned to use the techniques of other "interests" in winning position in the economic and social structure is revealed by material turned over to Senator Robert LaFollette when he was investigating governmental agencies. It was learned that Farm Bureau representatives cashed checks paid by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration while farmers were talked into paying dues then and there. The county agent of Perry County, Alabama, wrote to farmers in his area as follows: "We will begin delivering 1938 agricultural-conservation checks Friday of this week. Since 1933 farmers in Perry County have received \$1,532,780 in Agricultural Adjustment Administration benefit payments. . . . There is only one way to continue to receive these payments: it is through the membership in an organization which is strong enough to tell Congress what you want. The American Farm Bureau Federation is the largest farm organization in the world, and only through this organization have you been able to receive these payments. . . ." Quoted from Wesley McCune, *The Farm Bloc*, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1943, p. 191.

³⁹ John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931, p. 378.

by fewer and less serious internal disturbances of the nature of the peasant revolts than ever before in history.

After carefully studying approximately 1622 internal disturbances in Europe, Sorokin concluded that "At its height . . . the 'capitalistic regime,' which it is now the fashion to curse, was the most orderly of social systems and gave the greatest assurance of internal and external peace and of Sensate liberty and freedom for individuals."⁴⁰ It was this age that brought the social structure and value orientation characteristic of the contractual *Gesellschaft*. The general belief developed that differences could be settled and agreements reached through institutional means if communication was good. That these institutionalized procedures break down is proven by the fascist and communist revolutions. Nevertheless, the farmers' movements were born in the age when instruments other than force were more in use; hence, the difference in the amount of cruelty and violence displayed in these movements and the peasants' revolts.

Planned Programs Versus Sporadic, Programless, Unorganized Uprisings. In many respects, the farmers' movements, particularly at their early stages, were also relatively programless and without organizational structure. In this way they resemble the peasant revolts. As Taylor has indicated, movements usually start on an informal level when interaction concerning the discontent is at high pitch. Leaders then take to the field and the available organizations lend support. Thereafter the movement becomes more planned, begins propagandizing, and extends itself beyond the spontaneous and devastating upheavals of the mob-like peasant revolts. In the latter, the

⁴⁰ Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, *op. cit.*, p. 486. Sorokin finds the twentieth century to be particularly bloody, indicating an impending transition. These high indices of disturbance in the twentieth century are due not entirely, but mostly, to the fascist revolutions in Italy, Germany, and Spain, and to communist or pre-communist revolutions in Russia. He found the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in European culture particularly filled with internal disturbances. He explains this by indicating that these were ". . . of the greatest transition of European culture and society from the Ideational to the Sensate form and from the feudal to the modern system of social relationships (from predominantly familistic to coercive-contractual; from theocracy to the secular regime, from Ideational freedom to Sensate; from the feudal regime to the national monarchies, and so on)" (pp. 496-497). The great amount of internal disturbance in the first part of the nineteenth century Sorokin accounts for as a "liquidation of the postmedieval relationships . . . especially the period of transition from the predominantly compulsory to the predominantly contractual relationships" (p. 497).

peasants were usually subjugated and their leaders were killed before the movements took on any permanent organizational structure. Actually, some of the organizations, such as the Nonpartisan League, were developed from plans of the leaders. However, the fact that so many of the organizations, such as the Farmers' Alliance and the Nonpartisan League, swelled into large movements and then disappeared almost completely, indicates that at least in some respects, these movements, which swept people with little experience in formal organizations of a contractual *Gesellschaft* nature, had elements not unlike those of the peasant revolts.

Class Characteristics of Rural Society and Farmers' Movements. Toennies⁴¹ observed that the common people were less *Gesellschaft*-like and less guided by rational will than were the middle or upper classes. He also noted that peasants were more governed by the attitudes prevalent in the *Gemeinschaft* than were townspeople, capitalists, or nobility. In the early farmers' movements, most of the top leaders were not "dirt" farmers but ministers, doctors, teachers, lawyers, journalists, and others with farm backgrounds who sympathized with the farmers.⁴²

⁴¹ Ferdinand Toennies, *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology (Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft)*, translated by C. P. Loomis, New York: American Book Company, 1940, p. xvi. See also Ferdinand Toennies, "Der Begriff der Gemeinschaft," *Soziologische Studien und Kritiken*, Band II, Jena, 1926, pp. 274-275.

⁴² A few examples will serve to support this statement. Newt Gresham, organizer of the National Farmers' Union, had been editor of a newspaper; A. C. Townley, organizer of the Nonpartisan League had been both a farmer and plasterer, and according to Bruce, he developed connections with the Socialist Party. According to Bruce, Fred B. Wood was "perhaps the only real farmer among the Nonpartisan League leaders"; O. H. Kelly, organizer of the Grange, had been a government employee. His experience as a Mason brought certain middle-class features of this organization to the farmers. When the earlier Granger movement was at its height, the Honorable Charles S. May spoke to the farmers at the St. Clair county fair in Michigan, warning them that they should not elect farmers to the legislature merely because they were farmers. He claimed "unjust class prejudice" was a danger of the movement. Class sentiments came out over and over again in the speech, which various city papers of the day hailed as "great statesmanship." The "farming class" should learn to "work less and manage more." He said that he himself as a lawyer was "a member of a class not held . . . in these days in especial favor by the farming community." He argues for the storekeeper and other "middlemen" as well as for stable money. The Farmers' Alliance excluded lawyers, merchants, merchants' clerks, and owners of private industry and mercantile establishments. Throughout the movement aspersions have been cast at these groups as representatives of big business or Wall Street.

As Figure 180 indicates, a small proportion of the farmers of the United States, particularly in the Cotton Belt and Range-Livestock areas of the South and Southwest, do business through cooperatives. In these areas, the small farmer especially has a minimum of knowledge concerning the operation of organizations. Very frequently he has experience only with church organizations and these are usually so conducted as to make impossible the development of democratic programs based upon discussion and consequent concerted action. In fact, it was the social structure of most farming areas that made it difficult for early farmers' organizations to keep up a continuous, concerted program through the years, even though leadership may have rested with professionals who lived in rural areas.

As indicated in Chapter 11, the lack of formal organization affiliation is characteristic of lower-class behavior. The gradually accumulating organizational experience and the ever-increasing proportion of the farm population involved in various farmers' organizations are proof that a smaller and smaller proportion of the farmers in the United States can be classified as members of the lower-lower class. American rural life is gradually acquiring more middle-class characteristics. As this tendency proceeds and as the proportion of immigrants becomes smaller in rural areas, control by political bosses may be less general.⁴³ For those who wish a stronger farmer pres-

Dislike for lawyers is no doubt due to the fact that they frequently constitute a relatively large proportion of the legislatures. There are other reasons too. Alfred E. Smith jokingly said to a member of the New York legislature when he obtained a license to practice as a lawyer: "Now you can take a bribe and call it a fee." The top leaders of the North Carolina Farmers' Union had been or were country physicians, lawyer-farmer congressmen, county superintendents of schools, country editors, editors of the *Progressive Farmer*, state senators, school teachers, and prominent farmers. C. W. Macune, president of the Farmers' Alliance, farmed and practiced medicine; R. M. Humphrey, organizer of the Colored Farmers' National Alliance and Cooperative Union which later joined the Alliance, had been a white Baptist missionary among the Negroes. See C. S. Barrett, *The Mission, History, and Times of the Farmers' Union*, Nashville: Marshall and Bruce Company, 1909, p. 180; A. A. Bruce, *Non-Partisan League*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921, p. 61; Charles S. May, "The Farmers' Movement, An Address," *Michigan Miscellaneous Addresses and Pamphlets*, Vol. XL, 1875, Michigan State College Library; Charles P. Loomis, "The Rise and Decline of the North Carolina Farmers' Union," *The North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. VII, No. 3, July 1930, pp. 321-323; and Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁴³ Haynes, *op. cit.*, p. 300. Haynes states that the conditions under which the farmers were exploited previous to the rise of the Nonpartisan League were due to bossism, which thrived on ethnic and racial differences of the area. "The 'boss' came in with the railroads and owed most of his power to them" (p. 300).

sure group and communication channels to reach to and from the farmer for various educational programs, this trend may be consoling. It explains, no doubt, the middle-class orientated statement of two rural sociologists: "In a democratic society participation is fundamental. The non-participating families retard progress. To neglect them is to hold back the development of the better life. Organizations in rural New York need to place greater stress on stimulating the non-participating families."⁴⁴

PRICES AND THE CENTRAL TARGETS OF ATTACK FOR FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS

Whereas land and the bonds related thereto were always central in the struggles of the peasants, modern money economy places the farmer in a situation where the prices for his products as well as for the commodities he must buy are of greatest importance. This, however, does not mean that land was unimportant in the farmers' movement. Jerry Simpson, running for Congress from Kansas with the Populist Party, argued, "Man must have access to the land or he is a slave."⁴⁵ However, Elizabeth Lease, also a Farmers' Alliance leader from Kansas, dramatized the price interest more in her speeches when she shouted: "What you farmers need to do is to raise less corn and more hell."⁴⁶ Poor crops, low prices, drought, and increased freight rates were contributing causes to the mushrooming growth of the Farmers' Alliance. In 1883, and after good crops and prices, Alliance membership fell off,⁴⁷ but when the full effects of the deflation hit the farmers, they were pushed into politics.⁴⁸

In the convention called in 1858 at Centralia, Illinois, to express the discontent of the farmers, who were then unorganized, with the exception of a few farmers' clubs and societies, prices were mentioned in the platform. "We believe that good prices are as necessary to farmers as good crops."⁴⁹ During a somewhat earlier period of low prices, farmers, mechanics, and workingmen organized in-

⁴⁴ W. A. Anderson and Hans H. Plambeck, *The Social Participation of Farm Families*, Ithaca: Cornell University AES Mimeograph Bulletin No. 8, March 1943, p. 2.

⁴⁵ Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

⁴⁹ J. Periam, *The Groundswell*, Cincinnati: E. Hannaford and Co., 1874, pp. 204-206.

formally, and by 1834 they were scattered all over the east and as far west as Missouri. Some consideration was given the organization of a national society but it did not materialize.⁵⁰ Prices were low when the democratic movement of the rural west swept Andrew Jackson into office in 1829.⁵¹ It is impossible to understand the farmers' movements without consideration of farm prices.

Although the farmers' movement was interrupted by the Civil War, numerous farmers' clubs were organized afterwards, and in 1867 the first large farmers' organization, the Grange, came into being. Prices were relatively low when the Grange was at its height; the membership fell off as prices became better. The second farmer's organization to sweep the country was the Farmers' Alliance. Again, relatively low prices characterized its origin and growth. The Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union, organized in 1902 in Texas, and the American Society of Equity, organized in 1902 in Indiana, began growing during low-price periods. The Farm Bureau, whose first local was organized in 1911, as well as various cooperatives, made their most rapid headway with the beginning of the last great depression. As Taylor states, the farmers' "movement in this country could almost be written in terms of farm commodity price levels."⁵² At least one state unit of a large organization, the Farmers' Alliance, was found to be related in the same way to the price level.⁵³

The marketing era surged ahead during the catastrophic price drop at the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century. This period saw the spread of the "sign-up" programs as well as the spread of the market contract, which had been used successfully among raisin growers to control prices in California. This movement, for example, resulted in the organization of the Tri-State Tobacco Growers Cooperative Marketing Association in North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina, which claimed 90,000 members in 1923.⁵⁴ This organization, like many of its kind, was organized around the principle of a contract to sell only to the cooperative. The "sign-up campaign" principle failed to hold members and the organization went into the hands of receivers.

⁵⁰ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 654.

⁵¹ Haynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

⁵² Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 655.

⁵³ C. P. Loomis, "The Rise and Decline of the North Carolina Farmers' Union," *North Carolina Historical Review*, Vol. VII, No. 3, July 1930, p. 319.

⁵⁴ Carl C. Taylor, unpublished manuscript on the farmers' movement.

THE GRANGE—THE PATRONS OF HUSBANDRY

The Grange, organized in 1867, reached a peak membership in 1875, when it had extended its membership to an estimated 858,050. This number was distributed throughout 21,697 subordinate Granges and thirty-three states. The Grange finally entered every state in the union except Rhode Island.⁵⁵ At the present time, the Grange has the largest membership in its history. When at its height in the last century, the Granges entered into many commercial and manufacturing activities, such as running stores, operating factories, marketing farm products, and running banks. Legislators, governors, and officials at all levels were elected by the Grange organization, which was the dominant political power in many states.

As previously stated, most of the Grange activities were directly or indirectly aimed at the control of markets and prices. The "Granger laws," which provided for state railroad commissions to regulate railroad charges, were among the principal achievements. "The 'Granger movement,'" Haynes said, "began that radical but tedious revolution of American ideas which is slowly bringing industry under political power of democracy!"⁵⁶ The failure of business adventures, direct political activities, and some improvement in economic conditions resulted in a dwindling of the membership. Since 1890, however, the membership has steadily gained. In 1948, the Grange was the second largest of the farmers' organizations. Its chief strongholds are in the Dairy Areas of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and in Washington and Oregon, as shown in Figure 180.

Structure of the Grange. The lack of success at direct political activities has led the Grange to return to fraternal, social, and educational activities. It will endorse or oppose legislation but will not endorse or support candidates. Its program concerns all matters involving rural life. Three subordinate Granges may combine to form a Pomona or County Grange, State Granges are composed of fifteen or more subordinate Granges, and the Masters of the State Granges and their wives are official delegates to the National Grange.

Although it is a fraternal order of men and women, there are also juvenile Granges. Families usually attend meetings as a unit. Sander-son believes the strength of the Grange is in its organization as a fra-

⁵⁵ Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 662-664.

⁵⁶ Haynes, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

ternal order.⁵⁷ Secrecy appears to preserve its solidarity. The most important economic activity of the Grange is the provision of fire insurance.

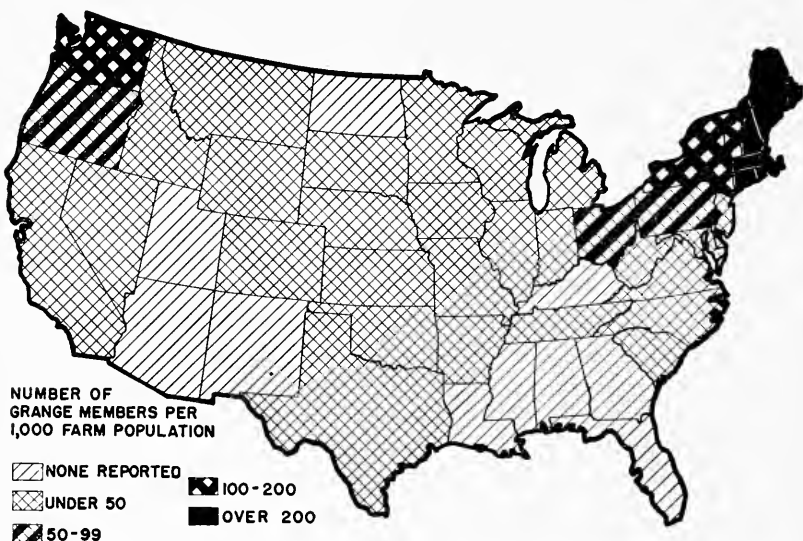


FIG. 180. Percentage of farms doing business through cooperatives, 1940. (SOURCE: Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, p. 178.)

The officers, in the order of their importance, are master, overseer, lecturer, treasurer, secretary, chaplain, steward, assistant steward, lady-assistant steward, Pomona, Ceres, Flora, and gatekeeper. Formal ritual accompanies the opening and closing of meetings. Prescribed ceremonial forms for entrance and exit, as well as during the ceremonial exercises, involving the seven degrees are followed quite carefully. As in other fraternal organizations, members call one another "brother" and "sister."

The modern Grange is a general-purpose organization with prevailing familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like functions, structure, and value orientation. Teamwork among officers, especially between the master and lecturer, is necessary for the effective functioning of the organization. The sacred, traditional, functionally diffuse, and personal nature of the social structure and value orientation stands in sharp contrast to the secular, rationally efficient, functionally specific, and imper-

⁵⁷ Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1942, p. 512.

sonal nature of interpersonal relations in the market or trading association which Toennies describes as a *Gesellschaft*-like organization.⁵⁸ The Grange is much more of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like organization than are the special-interest organizations of farmers which are united for a specific purpose such as buying, selling, or lobbying. In general, the Grange membership is made up of the more well-to-do farmers.⁵⁹ In California, however, it has the reputation of fighting the battles of the "best interests of those farmers who actually till the soil for a living."⁶⁰

THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE

The Farmers' Alliance, organized in Texas in 1878, became the largest farmers' organization in the United States, or for that matter in the world. The total membership of the Alliance, including the various affiliated organizations was between one and two millions. The Farmers' Alliance, like the American Society of Equity and the Nonpartisan League, rose to its height in a short time and then almost completely passed out of existence. It is the apparently discontinuous nature of such social systems that has led to the general belief that these "green risings" were of a sporadic nature, similar to the peasant revolts. However, the various organizations which later made up the Farmers' Alliance were linked to their predecessor, the Grange, both through leadership, value orientation, and social structure.

As Buck has pointed out, the "Declaration of Purposes" of the Texas Farmers' Alliance was but "a crude paraphrase of parts of the 'Declaration of Purposes' adopted by the National Grange in 1874."⁶¹ And ". . . all the main features of the Alliance and its component parts, prior to 1890, were strikingly similar to those which had been developed by the Grange in the preceding decade."⁶² After 1890 the Alliance went into politics through the Populist movement, and its subsequent decline was as rapid as that of the Grange.

The original Alliance units formed in 1874 and 1875 in Lampasas County, Texas, typical of farmers' organizations, were for the purpose of "catching horse thieves, rounding up estrays, and purchasing

⁵⁸ Toennies, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

⁵⁹ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

⁶⁰ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁶¹ S. J. Buck, *The Granger Movement*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933, p. 303.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 304.

supplies.”⁶³ This organization and offshoots from it went into the Greenback movement, just as the Grange had done, and were virtually killed by the resulting dissensions. One of the members of the organization carried the principle to Parker County, Texas, and in 1880 the Alliance was incorporated by the state of Texas as a “secret and benevolent association.”⁶⁴

The original local orientation of the organization, and its experience with politics on the national scale, are typical of American farmers’ organizations. The Southern Farmers’ Alliance was formed when the Grand Alliance of Texas combined with the Louisiana Farmers’ Union in 1887 and with the Agricultural Wheel in 1888, an organization which had previously absorbed the Brothers of Freedom in 1885. The Southern Farmers’ Alliance, like the Grange, was a fraternal organization but it also engaged in buying and selling, established factories, and at one time had a million-dollar business. It participated in politics, and like the Grange before it, took over legislatures and public offices. Through the Populist party, the Alliance became the strongest agrarian movement in American politics. It was killed through “the maelstrom of party politics” just as the Grange had almost suffered a similar fate during the Greenback movement.⁶⁵

The Northern Alliance was founded in 1877 by a group of Grangers who wanted to use it as a “political mouthpiece” against the railroads, for taxation reform, and for the legalization of Granger insurance companies. Similar organizations grew up in Cook County, Illinois, and in Kansas in 1880. The former was called the Farmers’ Alliance, the latter, the Settlers’ Protective Association. The Settlers’ Protective Association was set up to protect land titles against railroad claimants, and the Alliance was organized to fight the railroads, which one leader claimed were “literally starving some of our farmers to death.”⁶⁶ Within a year and a half the movement had spread to Kansas, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, and Michigan. Differing from the Southern Farmers’ Alliance, the northern movement, said to have had 400,000 members at its height in 1889, was non-secret before it was swept into party politics. Differing from the southern

⁶³ Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁶⁴ See Appletons’ *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 299–300, and Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁶⁵ Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

⁶⁶ Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

organization, the northern group admitted colored persons to membership. It permitted all persons reared on farms to become members, whereas the Southern Alliance debarred lawyers, merchants, merchants' clerks, and owners of private industrial or mercantile establishments.⁶⁷ Because of such differences, attempts to affiliate the Northern and Southern Alliances into an organic union were unsuccessful.

THE COLORED FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND COOPERATIVE UNION

This organization was founded in 1886 by a white Baptist missionary working among the Negroes. In 1890, members residing in Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee numbered 1,200,000. In 1889 and 1890 it held national meetings and took up issues similar to those of the Southern Farmers' Alliance.

THE ANCIENT ORDER OF GLEANERS

Never a large organization but nevertheless still in existence, the Gleaners, at its height, had about 45,000 members in Michigan, Iowa, Illinois, and Ohio. The organization engages in cooperative activity, owns and operates grain elevators, and has organized livestock shipping associations. Its official paper is the *Gleaner Forum*, and its central building is the Gleaners' Temple in Detroit.

THE FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION

The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, originating in Point, Texas, in 1902, was the third great attempt of the farmers of the South to adapt themselves to commercial agriculture and improve unfavorable conditions. The Grange, the Alliance, and the Farmers' Union have some similar earmarks, showing that they were organized to meet the same conditions, and that each organization was built on the foundations laid by those that had gone before. The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America, no doubt, got its name from the National Farmers' Alliance and the Cooperative Union of America. In addition, its preamble smacks of both the Grange and the Alliance.⁶⁸ The Farmers' Union stands

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 108 and 112.

⁶⁸ Edward Weist, *Agricultural Organizations in the United States*, Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1923, pp. 476 and 485.

against the entrance of the order into either partisan politics or church denominationalism, as had both the Grange and the Alliance during the earlier years of their existence. Many of the Union leaders were former Alliance and Grange members.

Although Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas were its first strongholds, by 1912 the center of the Farmers' Union strength had shifted to the South Atlantic states. During one period, the membership in North Carolina alone accounted for 21 percent of the total membership. By 1916, the North Carolina membership amounted to only 15 percent of the national membership.⁶⁹ Since that time the center has gradually shifted from the Cotton Belt to the Great Plains, especially the Wheat Areas.

The Farmers' Union now claims to have over 100,000 farm family members, and 21 states have state organizations. Locals exist in at least 12 additional states.⁷⁰ In 1939 one-fourth of the membership was in Oklahoma, Nebraska, and North Dakota, each having over 10,000 members. At the same time, Wisconsin, Kansas, Montana, and South Dakota each had nearly 5,000 members. The Union has gradually absorbed the membership of the American Society of Equity, which in 1923 had a membership of more than 40,000 in Wisconsin alone.⁷¹

The National Farmers' Union and the National Board of Farm Organizations, to which the Union belongs, helped secure such legislation as rural free delivery, parcel post, and rural credit for the farmer. Its former president, Charles Barrett, was appointed by President Roosevelt to serve on the Country Life Commission of 1907 and represented the National Board of Farm Organizations at the Paris Peace Conference. The Union's paid-up membership never exceeded 155,000, although as many as 4,000,000 members have been claimed for it.⁷²

In 1938-39, the Farmers' Union Grain Terminal Association at St. Paul handled 40,000,000 bushels of grain; it has become the

⁶⁹ Loomis, "The Rise and Decline of the North Carolina Farmers' Union," *op. cit.*, pp. 305-325.

⁷⁰ Dewitt C. Wing, "Trends in National Farm Organization," *Farmers in a Changing World, Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 954.

⁷¹ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 514.

⁷² C. P. Loomis, *The History of the North Carolina Farmers Union*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, North Carolina State College, 1929.

largest grain-marketing cooperative in the world.⁷³ The first cooperative hospital was the Farmers' Union Cooperative Hospital in Oklahoma, organized under the leadership of Dr. Michael Shadid. These two enterprises suggest the magnitude and pioneering nature of the undertakings of the organization. At the present time the Union is considered more liberal than the Grange or the Farm Bureau. Its official national publication is the *National Union Farmer*, published at Oklahoma City; in addition, twelve states publish Farmers' Union papers. The organization champions the cause of the small and middle-class farmer, but represents all farmers in the states where it is the dominant farm organization. Like the Grange and Farmers' Alliance, it is a secret organization, but has much less ritual and no degrees. It is a familistic Gemeinschaft-like organization at the local level, and all members of the family over 16 years of age are eligible for membership when the head of the family joins. It has a strong youth program with Juniors, between the ages of 16 and 21, and the Junior Reserves, between 12 and 16. Its strong social and recreational programs resemble those of the subordinate Granges except that more emphasis is placed upon cooperation and economics, and less upon social activities *per se*.

THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF EQUITY

The American Society of Equity was organized in Indiana in 1902. Since 1926 the Farmers' Union has almost completely taken over the Society. The American Society of Equity always placed more emphasis on buying and selling than on social or fraternal activities. By 1906 it was operating in 13 states to the north and west of its point of origin. It was also active in New York, Kentucky, and Oklahoma. In 1908 the Farmers' Society of Equity split away from the parent organization. The original organization founded the Equity Co-operative Exchange in St. Paul, Minnesota in 1908. This Exchange, which from 1915 on has been the heart of the organization, operated a crop-reporting service and storage plants, offered protection against false grading, and attempted to secure better prices for its members.

THE FARMERS' EQUITY UNION

The Equity Union was organized in 1910; its total membership was reported to be about 25,000.⁷⁴ The national headquarters are

⁷³ See Wing, *op. cit.*, pp. 954-960.

⁷⁴ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 668.

located in Greenville, Illinois, but the largest number of exchanges are located in Ohio. It has no county or state organizations. Its membership is limited to farmers who buy stock in the local Equity business enterprises, and membership in the national organization is purely voluntary. The exchanges buy and sell for the members, but their chief concern is the operation of grain elevators, produce concerns, and stores. Most of the proceeds are paid out to the members in the form of patronage dividends. Both the American Society of Equity and the Farmers' Equity Union are of the special-interest type of organization, with many more contractual *Gesellschaft*-like than familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like characteristics.

THE AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION

The Farm Bureau Federation had its beginning in 1913 in Broome County, New York, when a county-wide mass-meeting took over a local bureau organized in 1911.⁷⁵ In 1914, New York state required its farmers to join the Farm Bureau and to pay a membership fee of \$1.00 before a county agent would be made available. In the previous year, West Virginia had made the same provision.

After 1914, the Smith-Lever Agricultural Extension Act placed a great number of county agents in the field. In a number of midwestern and western states, the Farm Bureau has formed the organization through which these county agents work. In 1917, there were 542 county agents in this area, over 95 percent of whom were working through or with Farm Bureaus. The number of agents in these states increased to 1,121 in 1919, with 82 percent working through this organization. The Farm Bureaus in the South did not at first furnish the channel through which the agent worked to the same extent as did farmers' clubs, county agricultural councils, and similar organizations.⁷⁶ However, the employment of county agricultural agents began in the Cotton Belt in 1906, when Dr. S. A. Knapp began organizing to combat the ravages of the cotton boll weevil. By 1940 there were 40 state Farm Bureaus, with some 444,000 families as members. This organization, however, has had a total of 492,000 families as members.

⁷⁵ O. M. Kile, *The Farm Bureau Movement*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921, pp. 94 ff.

⁷⁶ Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 668-669; Wing, *op. cit.*, p. 963; and Sanderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 516-517.

The Farm Bureau on the local level is essentially a familistic Gemeinschaft-like social system. The unit of membership is the family, and the local unit attempts to include all aspects of rural life in its program. In Michigan and Ohio, for example, there are hundreds of local neighborhood discussion groups. There are also township, county, and state organizations. In all cases, the state organizations are members of the American Farm Bureau Federation. In Iowa the most important unit beyond the family and the township is the local neighborhood club. It is obvious that the more the local organizational structure and value orientation of the Farm Bureau (or any organization) are influenced by local friendship groups, the more familistic Gemeinschaft-like traits the organization will have.

In general, it may be said that the Bureau represents the wealthier farmers. Kaufman⁷⁷ attempted to measure the average prestige of persons in various organizations in a New York community. He found that the average prestige scores of Farm Bureau, Home Bureau, and Grange members were nearly the same. However, a considerable proportion of his sample (19 percent) were of European ethnic stock. None of the Grange members was of this stock. The prestige scores of the Farm Bureau members were lower than those of organizations composed of urban professional groups. Vogt⁷⁸ found that Farm Bureau and Home Bureau members in Illinois were made up, not of upper-class or "squire" farmers, but mostly of the acculturated Norwegians. The unacculturated Norwegians did not join, but rather relied on church connections for their social life. Here the Farm Bureau was a social-climbing mechanism.

One member from each state, and an additional trustee for every 20,000 members or major fraction thereof, constitute the American Farm Bureau Federation's board of trustees. In addition to the board of trustees, there is a house of delegates, which is composed of one delegate from each member state organization, and an additional delegate for every 10,000 farms in the state. A member of the Farm Bureau, by paying his county dues, automatically becomes a member of the national organization, since the Federation receives an annual fee of fifty cents from the local dues. Annual membership dues vary with the different states, ranging from \$2 to \$15 per family. Illinois,

⁷⁷ Harold F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*, Ithaca: Cornell University AES Memoir 260, March 1944, p. 17.

⁷⁸ Evon Z. Vogt, Jr., "Social Stratification in the Rural Middlewest: A Structural Analysis," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 4, December 1947, pp. 371-372.

with the largest state Farm Bureau, has the highest membership dues.

THE JUNIOR FARM BUREAU

In those states in which the Farm Bureau controls and furnishes the nucleus of organization for agricultural extension work, rural young people may be organized into 4-H Clubs.⁷⁹ In states where the Farm Bureau and the Agricultural Extension Service are separate organizations, as in Michigan, the farm youth may be organized into Junior Farm Bureaus. Although 4-H Clubs and Junior Farm Bureaus are separate and apart, individuals may be members of both; in addition, they may be members of the Future Farmers of America. The educational and recreational programs carried on by these organizations are varied. The Junior Farm Bureau, for example, sponsors travel tours and brings foreign farm boys and girls to America.

All these organizations are very important in the development of rural leadership. The importance of the Junior Farm Bureau was demonstrated by a study of Junior Farm Bureau camps in Michigan. A total of 189 members between the ages of 18 and 28 from 19 counties attended three camps.⁸⁰ Upon arrival, each member indicated on a schedule containing certain control data the five persons in the camp (in order of preference) with whom he or she would most enjoy working during the camp session. At the end of each of the week-long camp sessions, participants were again requested to list the names of the five persons with whom they would most like to work if the same group were to repeat the camp six months later. The choices made at the beginning of the camp were used to divide the camp into work groups based upon sociometric techniques.

It was found that considerably more cleavage existed between the sexes upon arrival than upon leaving the camp. Some members jokingly called the camps "matrimonial bureaus." In-groups, based upon locality, tended to dissolve as individuals became acquainted with others from different parts of the state. At the beginning of the camps, 56 percent of the choices for work-mates were made between people living in different counties; at the end, 80 percent were thus

⁷⁹ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 402 and 520.

⁸⁰ Dale Faunce and J. Allan Beegle, "An Experiment in Decreasing Cleavages in a Relatively Homogeneous Group of Rural Youth Members of the Michigan Junior Farm Bureau," *Sociometry*, Vol. XI, No. 3, August 1948, pp. 207 ff.

chosen. A sociogram made of choices for work-mates at the beginning of one of the camps, indicates the type of informal leadership present at that time. These data also provided a means of discovering the emerging leaders and measuring the increased integration or decreased cleavage. The study revealed that cleavages between age groups persisted, suggesting that camps should include groups of fairly similar age composition.

THE NONPARTISAN LEAGUE

The Nonpartisan League began in North Dakota in 1915. More than any other organization, the League was able to take control and to carry out the imposition of state control of public services and agencies. The phenomenal growth of the League is to be accounted for in part by the organization procedures. A. C. Townley believed that the farmer could gain his rights only if the "interests" and their political machines were to be defeated by another "machine." The informal procedures used in building this machine should be of interest to organizers. "He would convert a substantial and trusted farmer in a neighborhood and have him act as the local 'booster.' The Nonpartisan League organizer, or Townley in the first instance, would have the benefit of the personal introduction of the 'booster' in canvassing a new prospect. If necessary, a hired farm hand would do the work left undone while the farmer was listening to the league solicitor."⁸¹ Dues were \$2.50 at first, but later they were \$9.00 per year.

The League gained control of the state government in North Dakota in 1917 on the basis of the members who pledged their loyalty and support to the issues in which the farmers were interested. It spread to 12 other states, chiefly in the Northwest, but because of its failures in business projects and the success on the part of its opponents in spreading the belief that it was allied with radical labor elements bent on socializing everything, "even including women," the League has been eliminated as a farm organization. The movement spread from the Wheat Areas of the United States into Canada.⁸²

⁸¹ Nathan Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States 1828-1928*, New York: Rand School of Social Science, 1928, pp. 368-369.

⁸² Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 280 ff., and Paul F. Sharp, *The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada, A Survey Showing American Parallels*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1948, Chapters 4 and 5.

FAILURE OF CONTRACT CONTROLS IN THE SOUTH

It was stated previously that the large cooperative, the Tri-State Tobacco Growers Cooperative Marketing Association, organized in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia, failed when farmers were unable to keep their contracts, and sold to the tobacco companies, which used many devices to break the cooperative. Taylor's⁸³ description of the reason for the failure of this cooperative, which attempted "to construct a giant business organization on the backs of debt-ridden, ignorant, tenant farmers" who were to discover "how deeply entrenched was the auction warehouse system, dominated by the large tobacco companies and the businessmen of the large market centers," brings into sharp focus important regional differences.

Attempts to control prices by controlling supply through contracts among the California raisin growers and the thousands of poorer farmers of the South brought to light what has been emphasized in this chapter as basic class differences. The member growers in California, who were able under certain conditions to control marketing and production processes, were made up mainly of farmers who had in large degree accepted the standards and controls of the urban middle class. The mass of the tobacco and cotton growers in the South have not. They have less of the value orientation which we have characterized as prevailing among systems having the features of the contractual *Gesellschaft*.

RECENT FARMERS' ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

The great depression of the late '20's and early '30's produced the most violent farmers' uprisings since Shays' Rebellion in 1786-87. The Farmers' Holiday Association appeared in the Corn Belt, chiefly as a protest against foreclosures of farms which were going under the hammer as a result of falling prices and indebtedness. The movement passed out of existence as New Deal legislation brought aid to farmers.

In the 1924 presidential election, the Farmer-Labor Union, remnants of the Nonpartisan League, Western Progressive Farmers, and Farmers' Union, supported La Follette. The Farm-Labor party was never strong after this election. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, for a time associated with the C.I.O., represents a new type of

⁸³ Carl C. Taylor, "The Sapiro Cooperative Marketing Era," an unpublished manuscript on the farmer's movement.

organization in rural America. Claiming 35,000 members, the organization is centered in the Cotton Belt and includes both Negroes and whites. The Union has staged several strikes and attempts to lobby for legislation to improve the conditions of the poor in the South.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Taylor calls the cooperative movement "the end product of the farmers' movement."⁸⁴ He has sketched its rise in terms of membership in commodity marketing associations. Each of the farmers' organizations previously described, beginning with the Grange, has sponsored various types of enterprises which are traditionally called cooperative.⁸⁵ The Grange actually sent students abroad in the last

⁸⁴ Taylor, *Rural Sociology*, *op. cit.*, p. 674.

⁸⁵ This is not a good term for what is meant by cooperative endeavors such as those set up on the Rochdale or similar principles. Any social system is a "cooperative" in the sense that it embodies concerted effort. This is as true of a bank or an army as of a family. After studying the traits or definition given to cooperative association, J. V. Emelianoff writes: "This striking divergency of opinions and suggestions makes it obvious that the idea of cooperation is a nebulous one." P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. H. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931, Vol. II, p. 173.

In order to determine what the essentials of any organization are, one should ask the members or others who know it. Five hundred farmers in various types of farming areas, 70 percent of whom were members of cooperatives affiliated in the Michigan Association of Farmers' Cooperatives, were interviewed by the Social Research Service of Michigan State College. (See *Co-ops as the Farmer Sees Them, Membership Relations of Michigan Farmers' Cooperatives*. A report by Social Research Service of Michigan State College to the annual meeting of the Michigan Association of Farmers' Cooperatives, October 30, 1947.) This study was conducted by Duane Gibson. What these 500 farmers think a cooperative is may be judged in part from the following: Eighty-five percent of the members and 77 percent of the non-members said that the fact that "farmers can own and control the business which serves them" is one of the chief advantages of cooperatives (p. 15). Concerning the control of the cooperatives, 76 percent of the members and 76 percent of the non-members thought that "each member should have just one vote." Twenty-one percent of the members and 18 percent of the non-members thought that there should be a vote for every share of stock owned by the member (p. 23). Only 76 percent of the members felt that they were part-owners of the cooperatives to which they belonged; and only 68 percent felt that they had a say about the way the co-op was run (p. 26). Fifty-two percent of the members and 66 percent of the non-members said that co-ops, like ordinary business, are out to make a profit (p. 32). This describes the answers given when co-ops are compared with other businesses and when interviewees are reminded

century to study agricultural cooperation in Europe.⁸⁶ It is estimated that one-half of the six million farmers of the United States hold membership in cooperative organizations, and that another half million are using these cooperatives. It has also been estimated that the total volume of business in marketing and purchasing associations alone amounted to more than five billion dollars.⁸⁷

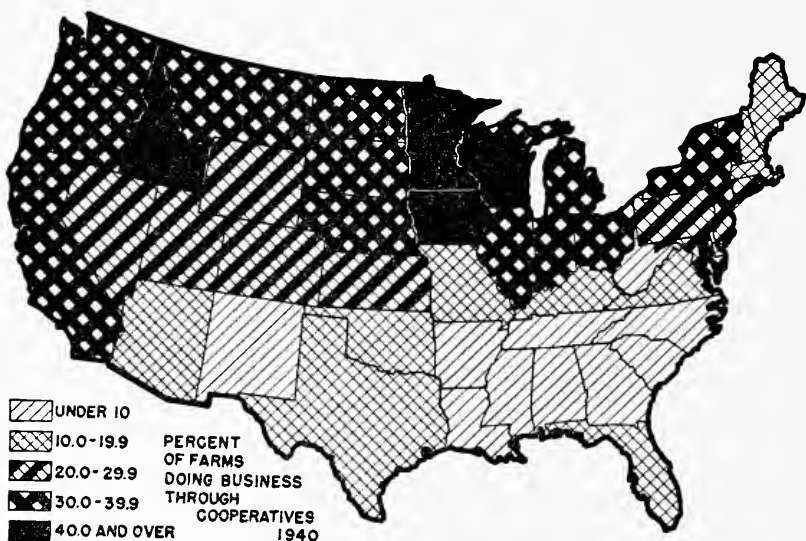


FIG. 181. Distribution of Grange members per 1,000 farm population, by state, 1940. (SOURCE: Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, p. 506.)

Figure 181 indicates the percentage of farms doing business through cooperatives in 1940. The great regional variation is striking. It is obvious that the tendency of farmers to attempt to do their own buying and selling through businesses owned and operated by them-

that other businesses are "out to make a profit." However, when asked if co-ops were justified in calling themselves "non-profit organizations because they say the amount left over at the end of the year is returned to the purchasers [and is] similar to a discount," 72 percent of the members and 50 percent of the non-members said the cooperatives were justified in calling themselves "non-profit" organizations (p. 32).

⁸⁶ R. H. Ellsworth, *The Story of Farmers' Cooperatives*, Washington: Farm Credit Administration, 1938, pp. 4-7.

⁸⁷ L. C. Kercher, V. W. Kebker, and W. C. Leland, Jr., *Consumers' Cooperatives in the North Central States*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1941, Part I.

selves is related to a configuration of culturally determined factors. Indications are, for example, that in areas where the proportion of owners among all families is great, the percentage of farms doing business through cooperatives is also great. The proportion of the total tax burden which is state and local, representing in a sense the local interest and support of institutions, is also highly related to the percentage of farms doing business through cooperatives. Ethnic factors are also very important. The Scandinavians and Finns brought with them to this country a rich tradition of cooperation. The Finns particularly are noted for their cooperatives.⁸⁸ The percentage of farms doing business through cooperatives, of course, is no satisfactory measure of the extent of the cooperative structures owned and operated by farmers. The local ditch associations of the New Mexican and Utah villagers and the butchering cooperatives of Louisiana are as important an indication of this type of activity as are buying and selling.

Actually, the total amount of business done by cooperatives in the United States is relatively small. Cooperatives here handle only about 2 percent of the total retail trade, as compared with 30 percent for Finland, 12 percent for Sweden, 10 percent for the British Isles, France, and Denmark, and 10 to 12 percent for Switzerland.⁸⁹ In the United States, the cooperative movement is supported chiefly by farmers. It is a common practice for farmer cooperatives to combine purchasing and selling in the same organization. Thus, a cooperative may not only market eggs and poultry products but may also purchase young chicks, feed, and other supplies for its members.⁹⁰

There are some 15,000 cooperatives in the United States, between 10,000 and 11,000 of which are engaged in marketing farm products, purchasing farm supplies, or in other related services. That this business is not a fly-by-night affair is proved by the fact that one-fifth of the farmers' cooperatives have been doing business for twenty-five years, and 65 percent have been doing business for at least ten years. That more rural sociologists have not studied the problems of these organizations seems difficult to understand.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1948, p. 179.

⁸⁹ Maxwell Stewart, *Cooperatives in the U.S.—A Balance Sheet*, Public Affairs Pamphlets, No. 32 (Revised), 1941, pp. 5–8.

⁹⁰ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

⁹¹ See C. P. Loomis, "Current Bulletins," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. IV, No. 3, September 1939, pp. 360–361.

The farmer's motivation for joining and maintaining membership in cooperatives varies. In general, it may be said that unless the cooperative unit with which he comes in contact is small and near geographically, he has a tendency to consider the cooperative as just another commercial firm which he pays to service him.⁹² A study of 601 active members of 22 egg and poultry auction associations indicated that 90 percent of the members were personally acquainted with the auction manager. Fifty-three percent gave higher prices as reasons for joining. Other reasons mentioned were: more dependable sales outlet, new, special, or surplus outlet, more financially reliable outlet, and convenience.⁹³

The study of Michigan cooperatives by the Social Research Service of Michigan State College brings out several facts that demonstrate the authors' thesis that cooperatives, in order to continue functioning effectively, must be a synthesis of familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft* characteristics. Five hundred farmers, 70 percent of whom were members, were asked the questions: "How about the efficiency with which a marketing co-op operates as compared with other marketing businesses? Would you say that the marketing co-ops are more efficient, less efficient, or about the same as other businesses?" Nineteen percent of both members and non-members answered "more efficient." Sixty-five percent of the members as compared with 62 percent of the non-members answered "about the same."⁹⁴ It is obvious that farm people believe that cooperatives are efficient.

On a continuum with "traditional" at one end and "efficient" at the other end, the cooperative, like the private business organization engaged in marketing, would be ranked toward the "efficient" end of the continuum. A continuum with "sympathy and emotionality" at one end and "efficiency" as typified by planning and design at the other, would bring about the same ranking. A marketing cooperative that ran its business on the basis of sympathy for needy members

⁹² George F. Henning and Earl B. Poling found that "a cooperative association which is 30 or more miles away is a rather impersonal thing," and that smaller or local associations had a better opportunity of keeping members informed than large organizations. See *Attitudes of Farmers Toward Cooperative Marketing*, Wooster: Ohio AES Bulletin 606, September 1939, p. 36.

⁹³ John J. Scanlan and Roy W. Lennartson, *Cooperative Egg and Poultry Auction Associations*, Washington: Farm Credit Administration Bulletin 37, June 1939.

⁹⁴ *Co-ops as the Farmer Sees Them*, op. cit., p. 16.

would be sure to fail in the Western culture. On the other hand, the same study revealed that one-half of the member informants stated that their "farmer friends and farmer relatives in this community [are] all members of co-ops." Moreover, 29 percent stated that within the past year they had tried to interest non-member friends in joining a co-op.⁹⁵ Thus we may see that the cooperatives are far from being impersonal bureaucratic organizations. On a continuum with "personal" at one end and "impersonal" at the other, the farmer members would rank cooperatives as being relatively personal as compared with other business organizations.⁹⁶ This fact and the general diffusion of the Rochdale principles of democratic action no doubt led 76 percent of both members and non-members to state that when a vote is held at a co-op meeting, each member should have just one vote. Only 21 percent of the members and 18 percent of the non-members thought that each member should have a vote for every share of stock he owns.⁹⁷

It is generally assumed that the latter attitude is more in line with the contractual *Gesellschaft* or capitalistic society in which status is theoretically determined by wealth. Interestingly enough, over half the members as well as the non-members reported that it was the "big farmer" who got most from belonging to a co-op. Ninety percent of the members and 79 percent of the non-members thought that non-members got the same service as members when they traded at co-ops.⁹⁸ In general, it may be said that members of cooperatives in Michigan do not consider their organizations as "class" organizations fighting other classes. In answer to the question, "In general, do you feel that managers or officers of co-ops should belong to local business or service clubs, or not?" 75 percent of each group answered "no."⁹⁹ Actually, only 54 percent of the members reported that "co-ops are

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁹⁶ See Chapter 5 for a general discussion of the importance of congeniality and friendship groups. It is too frequently assumed that kinship and friendship groups are unimportant in the large bureaucratic and capitalistic organizations.

⁹⁷ *Co-ops as the Farmer Sees Them*, p. 23.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27. Actually members had more schooling, larger farms, were more likely to be farm owners, be members of the Farm Bureau, Grange, crop or livestock association, and were older (p. 4).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21. It is interesting to note that four out of five members consider the co-op an important "measuring stick" with which to compare what non-co-operative businesses are doing. More than 60 percent of the non-members felt the same way about the cooperatives.

a greater asset than other businesses to the community.”¹⁰⁰ This reply would suggest that members were not greatly dissatisfied with existing private enterprise. That they would be unwilling to support their cooperatives beyond a certain point is indicated by the fact that 86 percent of the members report that “a farmer should be allowed to join or drop out of a marketing co-op any time he pleases.” Only 12 percent of the members thought the member should be “required to have a contract which runs for an agreed period of time.”¹⁰¹ However, to a hypothetical question introduced by the statement, “Suppose . . . so many members dropped out that the co-op began to lose money,” only 11 percent of the members said they would drop out, whereas 29 percent said they would recruit more members. Eighteen percent said they would stick with it and put up more money, and 22 percent said they would find out the cause.¹⁰²

The Cooperative Thrives Best in a Primary Group Setting. R. Weber,¹⁰³ a student of Toennies, observed that the cooperative was a synthesis of the *Gemeinschaft* and the *Gesellschaft*. Others have emphasized the same principle. Kercher and associates, in their penetrating study of the Finnish cooperative movement, write:

It has been in the intimate, neighborly social setting of the hamlet, village, or small town that the cooperatives as a whole have had their firmest roots. Here occupational and other class differences are minor factors, and consequently economic wants are sufficiently commonplace and uniform to be served by a relatively simple institutional structure. Furthermore, the face-to-face contacts of everyday life provide the ideal social experience for the development of common understanding and the formation of attitudes of group solidarity so essential to voluntary cooperative effort. In such intimate and homogeneous social situations the cooperatives come to be centers of organized group activity and hence come to possess the added strength of being social institutions as well as business enterprises.¹⁰⁴

Kercher's study revealed that as the Finns became Americanized or integrated into the “great society,” their cooperatives suffered ac-

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁰³ R. Weber, “Das Konsumgenossenschaftswesen als Synthese von Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft,” *Kölner Vierteljahrshefte für Sociologie*, 1925, Vol. V, No. 1-2.

¹⁰⁴ Kercher, Kebker, and Leland, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

cordingly. The more the people took on the value orientation of the contractual Gesellschaft in terms of making their actions less traditional, sacred, and functionally diffuse, the less they patronized the Finnish cooperative stores. Nevertheless, as Weber points out, the successful cooperative must be economically, rationally, and efficiently operated. This explains why a successful cooperative must be a synthesis of the familistic Gemeinschaft and the contractual Gesellschaft.

In the case of cooperatives, as with most other organizations, person-to-person contact between members and officers is important in morale. Gibson,¹⁰⁵ in a study of 500 farmers in Michigan, found that face-to-face contacts furnished the most important source of information these farmers had concerning cooperatives. When the farmers were asked: "Where do you get most of your information about co-ops?" they answered as follows:

	<i>Members</i>	<i>Non-members</i>
Trading with co-ops and talking with manager	56%	41%
Farm magazines and newspapers	24	20
Co-op meetings	24	11
Talking with other farmers	20	31
Co-op publications	18	12
Radio	5	4
Other sources	19	3
None or don't get any	9	25
	175*	147*

* Farmers named more than one source of information.

Note that in the case of members and non-members alike, word of mouth is far more important than any other form of communication. No cooperative can hope to carry on effective public relations work with its members through impersonal media such as the exclusive use of the printed page or radio, useful as these may be as a supplement to personal, face-to-face contacts in the Gemeinschaft setting.

¹⁰⁵ Duane L. Gibson, *News for Farmer Cooperatives*, November 1948. In a previous study of cooperatives in New York, Gibson emphasized the importance of the intimate, personal relationships. The large, centralized cooperatives were often referred to as "they" or "it" rather than as "our" organization. See Duane L. Gibson, *Membership Relations of Farmers' Milk Marketing Organizations in New York State*, Ithaca: Cornell University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1940.

The fact that almost a fourth of the farmers credit farm magazines and newspapers as being sources of information about cooperatives supports the conclusion presented in Chapter 16 that farm papers are among the most important channels through which farmers may be reached.

Types of Cooperatives. Nelson¹⁰⁶ has summarized the available data on the various types of cooperatives in the United States. (See Table 55.) When a farmer obtains a land bank loan, he subscribes for stock in his association equal to 5 percent of the amount of stock of the land bank.¹⁰⁷ These associations, however, were seldom the integrated solidary groups which furnished the basis for the European Reiffeissen system. The list in Table 55 is partial, as Nelson indicates, but the relative importance of various types may be studied from it. The informal or traditional cooperatives, such as the many ditch associations of the Southwest, are not included. Also, the thousands of small cooperatives organized by the Farmers' Home Administration, and the hundreds of cooperative associations borrowing money for electrical service from the Rural Electrification Administration are not included.¹⁰⁸

A frequently employed classification of farmers' cooperatives separates them into: local, federated, and centralized types. Local associations range from the ditch association described above to a locally owned and operated store in which several farmers own stock and exercise control in relation to stock owned. In general, the Rochdale principle of "one man, one vote," regardless of the amount of stock, is by no means universal. The federated association is represented by the California Fruit-Growers Association, the Farmers' Union State Exchange of Nebraska, the Michigan Association of Farmers' Cooperatives, Land O'Lakes Creameries, and similar organizations. The centralized type is represented by the California raisin growers and other highly centralized groups. The federated associations reduce overhead costs and make it possible to employ better management

¹⁰⁶ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

¹⁰⁷ See the article entitled "Agricultural Credit," by E. C. Johnson, in *Farmers in a Changing World*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940, pp. 740-754. Also see Andrew J. Kress, *Introduction to the Cooperative Movement*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941, p. 238.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* There were some 16,000 F.H.A. cooperatives with some 300,000 members as of 1941, and some 670 cooperative associations borrowing for services from R.E.A. as of 1940, p. 183.

by federating local or small federated groups into larger systems. The centralized type is characteristic of one commodity and has the advantage of concerted action, particularly when production or mar-

TABLE 55
Number of Cooperatives of Various Types in the United States

Type	Number	Type	Number
<i>Marketing^a</i>	7,708	Farm machinery	7
Cotton	539	Insecticides	6
Dairy	2,369	Paint	5
Fruits and vegetables	944	Sawmills	8
Grain	2,358	Machine repair shops	100
Livestock	700	Petroleum products	
Nuts	46	Refineries	9
Poultry and products	166	Oil Wells	350
Tobacco	11	Pipe lines (15,000 mi.) — lub. oil and grease	11
Wool and mohair	135	<i>Purchasing^a</i>	2,742
Miscellaneous products	441	<i>Production^c</i>	4,340
<i>Processing Plants^b</i>	2,761	Irrigation companies, soil conservation associa- tions, dairy herd im- provement, etc.	
Cotton	419	<i>Financing^c</i>	11,760
Milk	2,056	Farm loan associations, credit unions, etc.	
Fruits and vegetables	220	<i>Mutual Fire Insurance Com- panies^c</i>	1,909
Grain	18	<i>Telephone Companies^c</i>	2,067
Livestock	4	<i>Power and Light Assoc.^c</i>	600
Poultry	9	Total	35,557
Miscellaneous	35		
<i>Plants for Supplying Farm Requirements^c</i>	1,670		
Feed mills	57		
Elevators	1,000		
Fertilizer	40		
Hatcheries	32		
Seed cleaning	40		

^a Annual Report of the Farm Credit Administration, 1943-44. Data for 1942-43.

^b R. H. Ellsworth, "Trends in Farmer Cooperation," *News for Farmer Cooperatives*, 1944, 10:4, 14-15.

^c From R. H. Ellsworth, *The Story of Farmers' Cooperatives*, Washington, D. C.: Farm Credit Administration, 1938, p. 28. Data for various years from 1936 to 1939.

SOURCE: Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, p. 181.

keting control to raise prices is employed. It is not uncommon to buy up fruit or other crops and leave them in the fields to rot. In all the associations that attempt to raise prices by control of supply, contract breaking is a major problem. In general, such operations have been most effective among well-to-do middle-class farmers. They have failed frequently in the tobacco and cotton belts of the South,¹⁰⁹ but have been more successful in California. Obviously, people whose value orientation is more in keeping with the contractual *Gesellschaft* are less given to "contract breaking," other things being equal. The farmers of the United States are becoming more and more organized, and, therefore, more able to carry on in the American contractual *Gesellschaft*-like society.

SUMMARY

The farmers' movements have resulted in the establishment of channels of communication whereby the farmers can make their political, economic, and social needs felt. As the farmers of the nation assume the characteristics of the middle class, they achieve facility in operating formal organizations for political and economic action. The various organizations that have swept the country have accumulated a great deal of formal organizational experience.

The methods used by present-day farmers' organizations to achieve their objectives through institutionalized processes are far from the violent, sporadic, programless, and cruel uprisings occurring during the peasant revolts. Nevertheless, most of the farmers' organizations, aptly called "green risings," had their origins in informal groupings which later developed more formal structure and goal-directed behavior. The farmers' movements are, in large measure, attempts to adjust to the price and market regime. Many of the mushrooming growths of farmers' organizations came during periods of low farm prices. The cooperative movement is one of the important results and parts of the farmers' movement.

¹⁰⁹ N. L. Sims, *Elements of Rural Sociology*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1940, p. 459.

PART VII

RURAL SERVICE AGENCIES AS
SOCIAL SYSTEMS

CHAPTER 20

THE EXTENSION, SOIL CONSERVATION, AND RELATED SERVICES

SOME NATIONS, like local communities, have higher levels of living than do others. Differences in rural levels of living are due in large part to variations in agricultural practices, plants, breeding stocks, organizations, and natural resources. The levels of living of most of the rural peoples of the world could be raised if improved agricultural and health practices were extended to them. There has been a gradual development of a sense of responsibility on the part of some of the "have" nations for the "have not" areas.

Two agencies functioning in agriculture, the Technical Collaboration Branch of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the United States Department of Agriculture, and the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, are examples of organizations that are attempting to improve the levels of living in underprivileged areas. The former has assisted in establishing jointly supported Agricultural Experiment Stations and Extension Services in foreign areas under bilateral agreements between the United States and the country in which the agencies are to be established. The latter agency is organized under the Pan American Union, and is supported on a quota basis by each American republic that ratifies the agreement. Many other agencies, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, YMCA, mission boards, and the Near East Foundation, have attempted to bring the advantages of science to underprivileged areas. The Intergovernmental Refugee Organization of the United Nations, as well as other agencies, has been interested in improving levels of living through colonization.

PRINCIPLES OF RURAL REHABILITATION AND COLONIZATION

Knowledge of how to make the contributions of science available to underprivileged areas has been gradually accumulating. A group of scientists, including one of the authors, attempted to draw to-

gether and generalize the experiences of agricultural extension workers in various parts of the world. The results of these efforts have been published elsewhere.¹ Since this chapter will consider programs of agencies that are supported and controlled, in part at least, by federal or international organizations, a brief summary of some general principles concerning techniques of introducing improved practices will be presented.

By way of preface, it might be useful to consider an incident related by Afif Tannous,² the attempt to introduce a pump into an Arabian village. Some of the elements of the Arabian culture involved in the anecdote, as Tannous explains them, are the peculiar land tenure system and tremendous importance of land in the culture, and the fact that the family, along with its structure and value orientation, represents the chief axis of life. In terms of general value orientation, Tannous indicates that generosity and hospitality are important attributes of this culture, and that status is gained by daring and personal prowess. The aged are revered and leadership bestows great rights as well as responsibilities on those who possess intelligence, daring, generosity, land, farming ability, and religious devotion. Interpersonal relations and personal appeal are indispensable for those who wish to change opinions or attitudes. After this preliminary description of the culture, Tannous continues:

The Village Pump. Such, then, is a brief picture of the community organization in the Arab village, and of the possibilities, difficulties, and techniques involved in rendering that organization more effective, which should be the ultimate goal of any form of extension, relief, or rehabilitation. The detailed story of the way one project was fitted into the organization of an Arab village should serve as a fitting conclusion. The story is rather typical, and since it occurred in the writer's field experience it is told as a personal narrative.

One of our Village Welfare Camps was established at the main spring, just outside Jibrail, a foothill village in the extreme north of Lebanon, where most of our work was centered. About two miles away stood Ilat, a small community of a few hundred people. One morning a few of them came to the camp and asked for medical help, saying that many of their

¹ Edmund deS. Brunner, Irwin T. Sanders, and Douglas Ensminger, *Farmers of the World*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945; *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. II, No. 3, 1943, entire issue; and C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Bookstore, 1945, Chapter 2-4, 15, 18-20.

² Brunner, Sanders, and Ensminger, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-100.

children were stricken with "fever," the word they used to cover all sorts of internal diseases. Our doctor and two assistants went to the village to investigate. They came back in the evening and reported several cases of typhoid, malaria, and dysentery, and a high incidence of infant mortality, that was another case of the general health problem common to most villages. We promised to extend to them medical treatment and to do what we could along preventive lines, which was our general policy in solving the problem.

Further investigation revealed the probable source of trouble: a tiny spring in the midst of the village, which flowed into a stagnant pool. It was the only source of water supply, and we saw how it was being utilized. One woman after another emerged from the surrounding houses, each carrying an empty jar in her hand. (Hauling water is a woman's job, and a man would be ridiculed if he should be seen doing it.) With bare feet they walked in the dirty street, waded into the pool, drank, and gave their trailing children to drink, filled their jars, raised them to their shoulders, and walked back home. Animals came to the pool too—cows and oxen, goats and sheep, and donkeys. They waded and they drank. So we thought that our line of action was clear and simple. Dig the pool deeper, cover it with a stone structure, and install a hand pump. It was as simple as that.

One evening we called the elders to a meeting and informed them of our plan, requesting them to render as much help as they could. There seemed to be general agreement. In our lack of experience, however, we had not yet learned the subtleties by which a "yes" may mean a "no" in certain cases. The following morning, when we came to the village, ready to begin the project, we found the place practically deserted. They had all gone to their fields. The *mukhtar* (Headman, a government official) made his appearance to tell us that the people refused flatly to let us install the pump. *Let us install the pump!* That made us pause and think. So that was how they felt about it; that we were imposing upon them something they did not really want. And all the time we took it for granted that we were satisfying their urgent need. Something was certainly wrong.

With much difficulty we were able to bring them to another meeting a few days later. In the course of the discussion we did our best to make them talk freely; and they told us a great deal. The following are more or less direct quotations:

"Our fathers, grandfathers, and great grandfathers drank from this water as it is, and I don't see why we should change now."

"*You* say that *you* want to install a pump at the spring; but I for one have never seen a pump, nor do I know what might happen if it should be put there."

"I tell you what will happen. The water will flow out so fast that the spring will dry up in no time."

"Not only that, but the iron pipe will spoil the taste of the water for us and for our animals."

"You So-and-So," put in one of Jibrail's elders, who are much more advanced in their outlook than the people of Ilat, "do you like the taste of dung in your water better?"

"Well, I admit it is bad; but we and our animals are at least used to it."

"You have told us that the water is the cause of our illness and of our children's deaths. I do not believe that, and I can't see how it could be. To tell the truth, I believe that the matter of life and death is in Allah's hands, and we cannot do much about it."

"One more thing. We don't understand why you should go to all this trouble. Why are you so concerned about us?"

"You say that the pump will save our women much effort and time. If that happens, what are they going to do with themselves all day long?"

At the close of the meeting we realized that we had blundered. We had to begin from the beginning, taking nothing for granted. An educational campaign was launched, starting with laboratory tests of Ilat's water and samples from neighboring villages. We emphasized to the people that the report on their water was *very bad*, whereas the other villages received *good* reports. The way the hand pump worked was demonstrated to them, and they were convinced that it would neither spoil the spring nor dry it up. Quotations from the Koran were cited to the effect that cleanliness was required from every faithful Moslem and that man should do his best to avoid the danger of disease. At the same time, our girl workers visited with the housewives and explained to them how the pump would make their day's work easier and how they could use the time saved in taking better care of their children. They would not get ill so often, and fewer of them would die. Finally, we did our best to explain to the villagers that we were doing all this as our patriotic duty, and that it was their duty also to cooperate with us for their own benefit.

It took one whole month before the situation was ripe for action. We advanced the cost of the pump and its accessories, which we ordered from the neighboring town. We insisted, however, according to our working principle, that they should contribute the necessary labor and pay in cash or in kind as much as they could. Two of our volunteers took with them a donkey and went from house to house gathering contributions. Towards the evening they came back with a small sum of money and a heavy load consisting of barley, wheat, eggs, chickens, and fruit. The following morning the villagers started working. The pond was cleaned and deepened; a stone structure was built over it, and the village pump was installed at last.³

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-100.

What may be learned from such an experience that will be generally applicable? A work group, composed of one of the authors and others with considerable experience in extension principles, from their own studies, listed the most important general principles. Most of these principles are to be observed in the case study concerning the introduction of the village pump. These principles are as follows: (1) Demonstrate the need and practicality of the new program before trying to push it. (2) Bring together in a familiar environment people who already know one another. (3) Start with projects that are important to the farmer and whose importance will be easily demonstrated to him. (4) Start with what the people have. (5) Let the program evolve from the people and let it remain their program. (6) Utilize local leadership appropriate to the situation, realizing that diffusion from upper classes to lower classes is usually more rapid than diffusion in the reverse direction. (7) Start work in communities where entry can be made comparatively easily. (8) Gain a thorough knowledge of the social structure and value orientation of the local culture before launching any program of action. (9) For demonstration purposes choose a site that is advantageously located. (10) Where possible, see that the needs of the whole community are met.⁴

THE COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE

"The largest and best financed division of adult education is," according to Kolb and Brunner, ". . . the tax-supported Agricultural Extension Service, whose administration and subsidy are a joint effort of the United States Department of Agriculture, the State Agricultural Colleges, county governments, and in some states, local farmers' organizations."⁵ This statement accurately portrays important aspects of the most remarkable social system in American agriculture. Condemned by some because its local officials are restricted,

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-137. This portion was contributed by C. P. Loomis and is entitled "Extension Work in Latin America." See also C. P. Loomis, "Extension Work for Latin America," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. III, No. 4, September 1944, pp. 27-40.

⁵ J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, p. 484. Of course, it is a mistake to call the Agricultural Extension Service an adult educational agency. This service carries on through the 4-H Club program one of the most important educational programs for youth. The work of the Extension Service extends to all age groups. Its distinguishing feature is that it is off-campus and non-school.

are responsible to local leaders, and are bound to the values of the local communities, it receives much less criticism from local people than do most federal agencies, which are often accused of being "bureaucratic" and controlled from Washington. The Agricultural Extension Service represents a unique combination of the elements of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and the contractual *Gesellschaft*. It has many of the positive and negative features of both.

The size of the organization may be appreciated from Table 56, which indicates the number of employees in the Extension Service. The Agricultural Extension Service is one of the three arms of the program of the land grant colleges, namely, experimentation, resident instruction, and off-campus instruction. In Michigan, for example, county extension employees are considered staff members, with professorial status comparable to the resident teachers at Michigan State College. Ideally, no part of the rural areas is outside the influence of the college, and more and more of the activities of the Extension Service are being extended to towns and cities.⁶

The Morrill Act of 1862, which established the colleges of agriculture; the Hatch Act of 1887, which provided for the establishment of agricultural experiment stations; the Adams Act of 1906 and the Purnell Act of 1925, both of which provided additional funds for agricultural research; and the Bankhead-Jones Act of 1936 furnish the legislative foundation for the Agricultural Extension Service created by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. The objective of the service, described in the act that established it, was "to aid in diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on agriculture and home economics and to encourage the application of the same through field demonstrations, publications, and otherwise. . . ." Furthermore, its purpose is that of ". . . increasing farm crops . . . or it may be considered a system of rural education for boys and adults by which a readjustment of country life can be effected and placed upon a higher plane of profit, comfort, culture, influence, and power."⁷

⁶ Agricultural Extension Services in Michigan, Illinois, and other states have been carried into the towns and cities. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947, two million urban women were served by extension programs. Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics 1947, *Better Rural Living*, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, p. 35.

⁷ Seaman A. Knapp, "The Farmers' Cooperative Demonstration Work," *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1909*, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910, p. 160.

TABLE 56
Number of Cooperative Extension Workers in the United States, June 30, 1945

Division and Territory	Total	County Agricultural Agents and Assistants	County Home Demonstration Agents and Assistants	County Club Agents and Assistants	Administrators and Supervisors	Subject-Matter Specialists	Temporary W.F.A. Workers ^a
New England	415	80	62	78	35	112	48
Middle Atlantic	751	200	168	83	35	186	79
East North Central	1,296	461	256	34	89	282	174
West North Central	1,711	552	303	54	102	295	405
South Atlantic	1,934	752	564	30	117	271	200
East South Central	1,572	663	438	—	85	159	227
West South Central	1,591	589	549	—	86	137	230
Mountain	546	214	87	1	40	102	102
Pacific	476	216	78	16	27	76	63
Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico	260	64	48	1	17	34	96
Total	10,552	3,791	2,553	297	633	1,654	1,624

^a War Food Assistants.

SOURCE: *Agricultural Statistics 1946*, U.S.D.A., pp. 714-715.

The act followed the establishment of facilities in some states such as New York, which had appropriated money for extension work in 1894. The leadership of Seaman A. Knapp, who developed services in the South to fight the boll weevil, furnished great impetus to the spread of the extension movement. When the Smith-Lever Act was passed in 1914, 1,350 men and women were employed in 42 of the 48 states in county extension work.⁸

Structure and Value Orientation. Figure 182 describes the general formal organizational structure of the Agricultural Extension Service. In reality, most of the employees work under various types of supervisory patterns. In some states the agents are responsible solely to the State Extension Service, a highly centralized organization. In other states, especially in the South, an advisory committee or council is created in each county to confer with the agent and to assist in obtaining local funds. This committee, however, has no direct control over the work. In other states, such as New York and Illinois, and throughout the New England states, the county agent is sponsored by the County Farm Bureau or County Farm and Home Bureau Association. These organizations are jointly responsible with the state college for the employment of the agent and for determining the program of work. The Farm Bureau in many states does not have any organic relation to the Extension Service.

The more locally responsible the agent is for his original appointment and for the support of his program, the fewer are the typically bureaucratic features of the organization. In terms of the continua which go to make up the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft* dichotomy, when the agent is responsible to the locality for his appointment, program, and support, we have a situation in which more particularistic and fewer hard and fast universal criteria will enter into this work. Although technical competence cannot play so important a part as it would if there were less local control, friendship and kinship factors may play a greater part. In addition, the agent may have more solidary, personal, and traditionally controlled relationships than he would if he were responsible only to a state, regional, or federal director or other official. In this case, relationships with members of the community could be and often are more secondary, rational, impersonal, and functionally specific. It has been demonstrated many times that in the case of shortage of funds, the

⁸ C. B. Smith and M. C. Wilson, *The Agricultural Extension System of the United States*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1930, pp. 38, 40.

locally moored Extension Service may be the last agency to lose support. On the other hand, it may be criticized, especially by federal administrators of other bureaus, for getting into a rut, employing less competent personnel, and refusing to make necessary adjustments to changing state or national conditions.

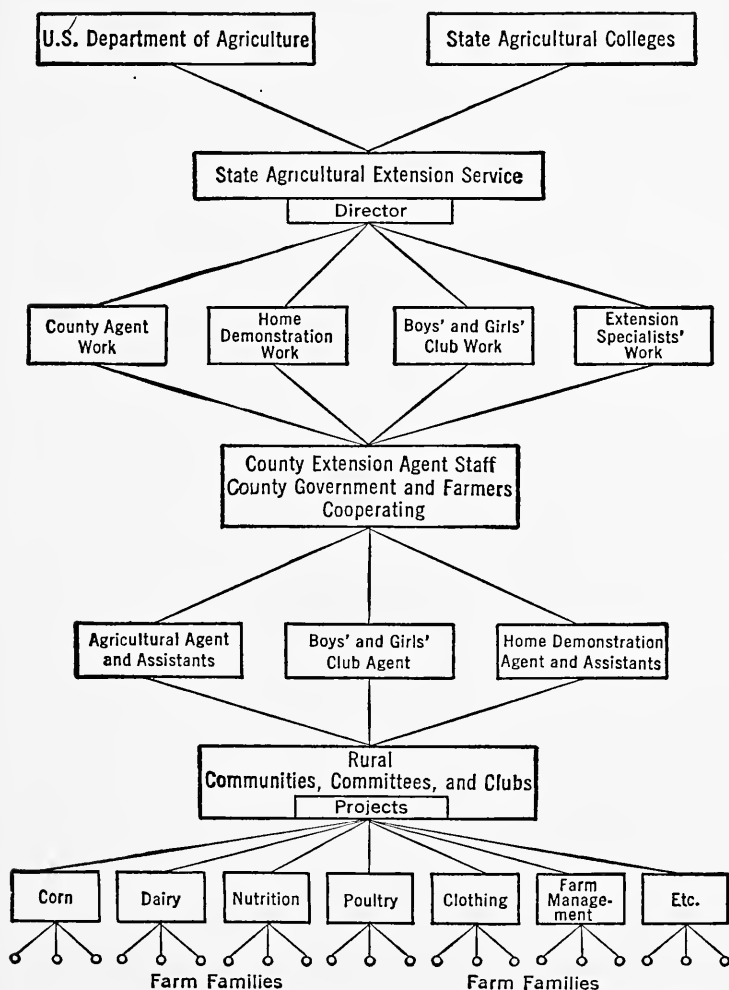


FIG. 182. Organizational chart of the cooperative extension system in agriculture and home economics. (SOURCE: Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, p. 401.)

Because of the local control imposed upon the agent and state services, the authority of the Federal Director of the Extension Service is much more restricted than that of the heads of most bureaus of the United States Department of Agriculture functioning in rural areas. A perusal of the directives that go from the federal leaders of the various bureaus will prove that a director of the Extension Service "suggests," whereas other heads actually direct.

The Extent of Participation and Role of Local People in Extension Service. Most studies of diffusion prove that personal contacts are extremely important in the spread of material and non-material cultural traits. In recent years the county agricultural agent and, perhaps to a lesser extent, the other extension agents and specialists have been given regulatory and service duties which prevent maximum personal contact. It has been reported that in 1935, 36 percent of the agricultural agent's time was devoted to routine administrative duties.⁹ This situation obviously serves to handicap the agent in fulfilling his educational functions. Agents must assist in setting up programs for soil conservation, land-use planning, drought relief, and, in cases of emergency or war, food production and farm labor.

Although they are usually rather narrowly trained in the agricultural specialties such as animal husbandry, farm crops, horticulture, and other disciplines, agents are now important administrators. Their executive functions become more important daily, and the majority find that their past college training is inadequate for the human problems with which they must deal.¹⁰ There have been suggestions that the county agent should be a type of county manager to whom all workers from the United States Department of Agriculture in a given county are responsible. The necessity for developing some type of coordination among agencies in a given county is important. If it should become the function of the county agricultural agent to coordinate the work of various agencies in counties, it is obvious that training in the narrow agricultural specialties will not be sufficient.

⁹ Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1942, p. 409; and Report of Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics 1935, *Building Rural Leadership*, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, p. 36.

¹⁰ Lucinda Crile, *Preparation and Training of State Extension Subject-Matter Specialists*, Extension Service Circular 371, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, 1941, p. 33.

Influence and Social Class Aspects of the Activities of the Extension Service. In a study of the participation of farm people in 16 states in the programs of the Extension Service, M. C. Wilson reports that 77 percent of the tenant, and 81 percent of the owner families were reached by Extension.¹¹ In general, surveys demonstrate that the Agricultural Extension Service is more effective in reaching families in the upper social and economic classes. One of the most extensive state studies, conducted in Vermont, indicates that "eight in ten farmers know about their county agent and half of them have dealings with him." For three income groups, under \$3500, \$3500-6499, and \$6500 and over, the percentages of farmers who had dealings with the county agent are 42, 51, and 75. For these same three groupings the percentages who did not know the county agent are respectively 34, 20, and 10. For those finishing grade school, high school, and college, the comparable percentages are 46, 65, and 86. For those who did not know the agent, the percentages are 29, 11, and 3.¹²

The number of calls which the agent made on farmers, as well as the number of calls farmers made at the office of the agent are even more closely related to the social and economic position of the farmers in the class structure. For the three income groups, under \$3500, \$3500-6499, and \$6500 and over, the percentages of farmers who had made no calls at the office of the agricultural agents are respectively 67, 58, and 39. For the three levels of education—namely, those who had completed grade school, high school, and college—the percentages of farmers who had not called the county agent's office are 85, 66, and 51. For these same income groups, the percentage of farmers who had been called on by the county agent are 85, 74, and 68. For three levels of education comparable percentages are 85, 66, and 51.

Participation in county agent meetings is definitely related to social and economic class. For the three income groups, ranging from low to high, the percentages of Vermont farmers who had not attended any county agent meetings during the year of the study are 84, 63, and 53. For the three educational groups, ranging from low to high, the com-

¹¹ M. C. Wilson, "How and to What Extent Is the Extension Service Reaching Low Income Farm Families?" Circular 375, Washington: U.S.D.A., Extension Service, December 1941, p. 12.

¹² *The Extension Service in Vermont, Part One: Farmers and the Extension Service*, Washington: U.S.D.A., Extension Service in Cooperation with Bureau of Agricultural Economics, July 1947.

parable percentages are 76, 56, and 37. Such figures should dispel the notion that lower-class farm families are reached by the Extension Service in about the same proportions as upper-class farm families.¹³

The Extension Service of no state has been more carefully studied by rural sociologists and anthropologists than has that of Michigan. The various studies corroborate the findings for Vermont with respect to socio-economic groups. A careful analysis of 600 farm families in two counties made by Gibson¹⁴ leads to the generalization that farmers of "lower socio-economic status, participate decidedly less in the agricultural extension program than do those of high status."¹⁵ Thus those in the lowest group, although comprising one-fifth of the sample, constituted nearly two-fifths of those who had no contact with the extension services. Most of the Michigan studies indicate that owner-farmers, other things being equal, had more contact with the Extension Service than did tenant families.¹⁶

Many other surveys and cultural anthropological analyses demonstrate that the Agricultural Extension Service fails to reach the lower-class farmers in the same proportion it does the upper-class farmers. However, if we consider how traits and practices diffuse, this should not be adverse criticism. Those who wish to change practices and ideas as we indicated in the discussion of principles should utilize local leadership appropriate to the given situation, realizing that usually diffusion from upper classes to lower classes is more rapid than diffusion in the opposite direction. In many cases, communica-

¹³ Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1948, p. 419.

¹⁴ D. L. Gibson, "The Clientele of the Agricultural Extension Service," *Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station Quarterly Bulletin*, Vol. XXVI, No. 4, May 1944.

¹⁵ The Sewell Scale was used. See William H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, Stillwater: Oklahoma AES Technical Bulletin 9, April 1940.

¹⁶ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 7. C. R. Hoffer, *Selected Social Factors Affecting Participation of Farmers in Agricultural Extension Work*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 331, June 1944, pp. 23-24. See also M. C. Wilson and R. J. Baldwin, *Extension Results as Influenced by Various Factors*, Washington: U.S.D.A. Extension Service Circular 97, Mimeographed 1929. This circular indicated that in the years previous to the study, 82 percent of tenants as compared with 80 percent of the owners had changed one or more practices. When both groups are considered, 72 percent of the farmers had had some contact with the county agent.

tion from upper classes to lower classes is so poor that diffusion downward is extremely slow. This is why it is so important to gain a thorough knowledge of the social structure and value orientation of the local culture before launching any program of action.

In a community in Illinois, where the Extension Service is supported and controlled in part by the Farm Bureau and the Farm and Home Bureaus, Vogt¹⁷ found that the 4-H Clubs were "‘open’ or ‘inclusive’ organizations in the sense that every family regardless of status or ethnicity is strongly encouraged to join," and that non-members tended to be lower-class unacculturated Norwegians or "Yankee ‘dirt farmers.’" The upper-class or "Squire Farmers," although they may belong, do not participate, being interested only in high-status urban activities. The lower-class Yankees and acculturated Norwegians who were mobile upward used the organizations to climb in status. Unacculturated Norwegian families gave their support to the Lutheran Church and were "very reluctant to join these associations."

Although Kaufman's study of prestige classes¹⁸ does not specifically stress the importance of the Extension Service and the Farm Bureau as means of acculturating the ethnic group in the community he investigated, a careful study of his data indicates that the same process described by Vogt also applies here. Presumably "Oldlanders" or foreigners join Farm Bureau groups as they become more acculturated.

Michigan studies have shown that the larger the proportion of foreign-born farmers, the less the participation of farmers in various programs. This relationship has been demonstrated by statistical correlation in a state-wide study¹⁹ based on the annual reports of 79

¹⁷ Evon Z. Vogt, "Social Stratification in the Rural Middlewest: A Structural Analysis," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 4, December 1947, pp. 372-375.

¹⁸ Harold F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*, Ithaca: Cornell AES Memoir 260, March 1944, pp. 17-19.

¹⁹ Hoffer, *op. cit.*, p. 25. In absence of survey data comparable to those gathered from the master sample in Vermont, this study makes use of the annual reports as a basis for evaluating participation and the efforts of the Extension Service. Although the author, his associates, and the extension staff are cognizant of the inaccuracies of annual reports and their inadequacies for correlational analysis, this study pointed up many significant relationships for future study. The possibility of substituting the sample survey for annual reports of agents has been suggested as an evaluation procedure. Methods of combining such elements as 4-H Club enrollment, telephone calls, attendance at demonstrations, and eleven

county agents, and an intensive study²⁰ comparing native-born and foreign-born Dutch farmers in a celery-growing area. An extension circular concerning celery-growing was mailed to these farmers; an edition in the Dutch language went to three communities, and an edition in English went to two comparable English communities. Although a higher proportion of the farmers receiving the English edition than of those receiving the Dutch edition read them (78 compared with 76 percent), a considerably larger percentage of the native-born than the foreign-born Dutch farmers read them (92 compared with 82 percent). A careful study of practices such as testing soil for acidity, using power sprayers or dusters, and observing U.S. grades of celery proved that the native-born or the more acculturated farmers were making the greatest use of improved practices.

In Vermont, women who were not foreign-born and in the upper-income and upper-educational levels were more likely to have heard of the Extension Service and its ally, the Farm Bureau.²¹

Gibson's study in Michigan²² supports Vogt's finding that the middle socio-economic classes, as indicated by size of farm, make the greatest use of the Extension Service. Contacts such as attending meetings, calling at the agent's office, asking the agent to visit the farm, writing to the agent, taking extension tours, receiving mimeographed material, or reading mimeographed material mailed from the extension office, increased for families holding up to 200 acres, after which there was a definite and sharp decrease in contacts with the Extension Service. Although Gibson made no attempt to analyze the class status as described by Vogt, the fact that nearly half of those

other activities into an index of participation were developed. Also an "effort index" was developed by weighting and combining such factors as training 4-H judging teams, visiting farm homes, publishing news articles, and ten other items. When the indices for 79 counties were studied, the proportion of native-born farm families and the index of participation (with effort "partialled out" or held constant), these indices were found to be positively related as indicated by the correlation coefficient plus .41.

²⁰ C. R. Hoffer, *Acceptance of Approved Farming Practices Among Farmers of Dutch Descent*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 316, June 1942, p. 30.

²¹ *The Extension Service in Vermont, Part Two*, p. 8.

²² Gibson's study reveals a high positive correlation between the socio-economic status as revealed by the Sewell scale and use of the Extension Service. By quintiles, from high scores to low, the percentages having none of the specified contacts with the Extension Service were as follows: 12, 15, 16, 19, and 38. Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

on the smallest farms had had no contact with Extension as compared with 7 percent of those with farms of 150 to 199 acres indicates that participation may follow the same pattern. The Michigan studies demonstrate that farmers who belong to farmers' organizations and cooperatives, subscribe to daily papers, own radios and telephones, are the best educated, have wives who belonged to home demonstration or PTA groups, own automobiles, and who, in other characteristics, are of the middle class, participate most in Extension programs.²³

West indicates that the Extension Service caters to the upper classes. According to him, "Satellites of the county agent are accused of cooperating with him to get 'big AAA payments' and to get the jobs of signing up their neighbors for the program."²⁴ The county agent in the Missouri county which he studied, "aside from ignoring the lower class and its leaders, makes little or no effort to win the influence of merchants, lodge members, or ordinary school teachers."²⁵ Perhaps he has judged by local behavior and misunderstood the instructions of the Extension officials when he says: "County agents are instructed to propagandize through outstanding local 'leaders,' not through the 'poorer' or more 'backward' farmers who need . . . the fruits of such instruction. Those who instruct and direct county agents apparently do not know that 'poor' and 'backward' farmers also have 'leaders'—a fact which local politicians forget in no other circumstances. . . . Most lower-class men and women would feel uncomfortable in the presence of their 'betters' who attend AAA meetings and form Home Economics clubs."²⁶

Age Groups Influenced by the Extension Service. In Vermont, half of the farmers aged 45–59 report using the Extension Service as compared with one-sixth of those under 30, and not quite one-third of those over 60.²⁷ Gibson²⁸ found that in two Michigan counties, men between the ages of 40 and 59 were the most active participants in agricultural extension work. Among Dutch farmers, Hoffer²⁹ found

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 9; and Hoffer, *Selected Social Factors Affecting Participation of Farmers in Agricultural Extension Work*, p. 24.

²⁴ James West, *Plainville, USA*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, p. 224.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

²⁷ *The Extension Service in Vermont, Part One*, p. 5 and Table 2.

²⁸ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

²⁹ Hoffer, *Acceptance of Approved Farming Practices Among Farmers of Dutch Descent*, p. 31.

age to be less significant, although younger farmers had adopted more improved practices recommended by the Extension Service than had older farmers.

What Do Farmers Think about the Extension Service? Over three-fifths of the farmers in Vermont thought the Extension Service was the best way to get information to farmers.³⁰ Seventeen percent thought office calls were the best means of using the service; 13 percent, attending demonstration meetings; and 12 percent, general meetings.

Fifty-six percent of the Vermont farmers know about their county agent and have had dealings with him. Of this group, 76 percent thought the agent was well liked by the farmers, 47 percent said he knew his business well or very well, and 67 percent said he had been helpful or very helpful to them. However, despite this general satisfaction with the work of the county agent, two-fifths of the farmers would like to see some changes made in the Extension Services. The changes most frequently suggested were more individual farm visits. Almost 25 percent of the farmers who had contact with the county agent mentioned this as a desirable change. When asked what methods the county agent used to get farmers to try new practices, 28 percent answered that he held meetings and demonstrations, 24 percent said that he visited farms and discussed practices, 11 percent replied that he sent leaflets, letters, bulletins, and circulars, 8 percent said that he made suggestions during office visits, but 21 percent replied that he had never tried to persuade the farmer to try a new practice.

Studies generally prove that the personal appeal is of great importance in effecting changes in attitudes and practices. Commercial channels, especially the salesmen, were important as the original sources of knowledge about seed, for example, but neighbors were the most important influence leading to the acceptance of new vari-

³⁰ These data were obtained in answer to the question: "So far as you are concerned, what do you think is the best way to get information about new practices and ideas out to farmers like yourself?" See *The Extension Service in Vermont, Part One*, p. 20. In a scientifically drawn sample of 151 farmers in Van Buren County, Michigan, 70 percent said they were "personally acquainted" with the county agent. Only 64 percent indicated that they were acquainted with the local AAA township committeemen, and 30 percent with some directors of the local Soil Conservation District. *The Van Buren County Cooperative Survey*, Michigan State College Extension Service, December 1948, p. 26.

eties.³¹ It is unfortunate that the pressure of other work has forced the agents of the Extension Service to give more impersonal service.³² Various studies have shown that the spread of information through such informal channels is greater than for almost any other type of medium.³³ Communities in which there is agreement as to who the leaders are, or where there is a minimum of conflict of farmer versus farmer or farmer versus villager, or where leaders and community boundaries were not separated by civil boundaries, were found to be important factors in effective extension work. In general, the more effective the local social and economic organizations are and the more the extension service uses them, the more effective is the performance. This conclusion is supported by a study of diffusion of hybrid seed corn in two Iowa communities.³⁴

Extension Methods, Their Evaluation, and Rural Sociology and Anthropology. The importance of rural sociology has been becoming more and more evident to extension workers, especially those at the local level. A study that included 7,873 extension employees throughout the nation revealed that most of the extension workers believe that rural sociology should have received more emphasis in their training. Table 57 indicates the results of this study. Home economists report that no subject was so much underemphasized as was rural sociology.³⁵ For the agricultural agents, 42 percent indicated that rural sociology should have received greater emphasis in their training. Fifty-three percent of the agricultural agents, 78 percent of the home demonstration workers, and 63 percent of the 4-H Club agents had taken courses in rural sociology.

³¹ Bryce Ryan and Neal C. Gross, "The Diffusion of Hybrid Seed Corn in Two Iowa Communities," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, March 1943, pp. 15-24.

³² H. W. Beers, R. M. Williams, J. S. Page, and D. Ensminger, *Community Land-Use Planning Committee*, Lexington: Kentucky AES Bulletin 417, June 1941, p. 208.

³³ *The Extension Service in Vermont, Part One*, p. 13.

³⁴ C. R. Hoffer and D. L. Gibson, *The Community Situation as It Affects Agricultural Extension Work*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 312, October 1941. Results of the diffusion study are found in Bryce Ryan and Neal C. Gross, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-24.

³⁵ M. C. Wilson and Lucinda Crile, *Preparation and Training of Extension Workers*, Extension Service Circular 295, Washington: Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, November 1938, p. 15; and Lucinda Crile, *op. cit.*

Under its present direction, the Extension Service places great emphasis upon the social sciences. Speaking for the service, Director M. L. Wilson has said, “. . . agricultural extension workers need a great deal of the help which sociologists, social psychologists, and cultural anthropologists can give us.” He adds that the Extension Service must develop local and state responsibility and that “. . . the basis for this fundamental attack lies in what is coming to be called

TABLE 57

Subjects Which Agricultural Extension Workers Feel Should Have Received Greater Emphasis in Their Training

Subject Which Should Have Received Greater Emphasis	Agricultural Specialists		Home Economics Specialists	
	Percentage reporting who rated subject 1, 2, or 3	Evaluated ratings (Total equals 100 percent) ^a	Percentage reporting who rated subject 1, 2, or 3	Evaluated ratings (Total equals 100 percent) ^a
Mathematics	31.6	8.2	21.8	4.1
Chemistry, physics	31.0	8.2	27.9	5.9
Biology, botany, zoology	29.4	7.8	19.1	4.4
Economics, agricultural economics, farm management	53.3	15.3	57.4	13.9
Technical agriculture	43.4	12.9	6.0	1.3
Technical home economics	2.6	0.6	38.2	10.9
Sociology, rural sociology	34.6	8.7	65.6	16.6
Education, philosophy, psychology	44.3	11.7	50.3	13.0
History, civics	17.9	4.1	20.8	4.0
English, journalism	43.4	12.1	49.7	14.0
Foreign language	11.9	2.2	15.8	2.4
Business administration	27.6	6.9	27.9	6.6
Engineering	1.3	0.4	—	—
Art	0.6	0.2	5.5	1.7
Music	0.6	0.2	1.1	0.2
Other subjects not readily classified above	1.5	0.5	3.3	1.0

^a To determine the relative helpfulness of the various subjects as indicated by all the ratings, each rating 1 was given the value of 3, each 2 the value of 2, and each 3 the value of 1. These evaluated ratings were added for each subject and the totals are shown in their percentage relationship to the whole.

SOURCE: Lucinda Crile, *Preparation and Training of Subject-Matter Specialists*, Extension Service Circular 371, p. 20,

the 'cultural approach,' an approach which considers the whole of a culture and especially its value system."³⁶

The Joint Committee Report of Extension states that "Ranking in importance second only to more and better trained personnel is the need for more adequate means of evaluating the performance of extension."³⁷ Until recently, however, the service and methods experts have not focused their attention on the social processes involved in diffusion.

Evaluation techniques have involved a type of "atomizing" research which does not give much attention to the importance of informal and formal group structure in the diffusion of new practices. Typically, the problem has been approached from the point of view of answering this question: Which is the more important method? Demonstrations, bulletins, circular letters, exhibits, home visits, general meetings, news stories, indirect influence, office calls, radio, correspondence, in the order mentioned, are the most effective.³⁸ No attention was given to the fact that a bulletin read by a leading farmer might be more influential than the other methods because of his position in the social structure. Little attention has been given to the fact that in one culture one "technique" will fit in with the social structure and value orientation while in another culture it will not be effective.³⁹

Social psychological studies in which the open-ended interview was used have uncovered factual material of great importance to those

³⁶ M. L. Wilson, *Cultural Approach in Extension Work*, Extension Service Circular 332, Washington: Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, May 1940, pp. 3 and 11.

³⁷ *Joint Committee Report on Extension Programs, Policies, and Goals*, U.S.-D.A. and Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1948, p. 67.

³⁸ Eleanor D. Carson and Gladys Gallup, *Participation in Home Economics Extension and Effectiveness of the Program*, Extension Service Circular 313, Washington: Cooperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, June 1939, p. 43. Many similar studies may be obtained from the Division of Field Studies and Training, Agricultural Extension Service, U.S.D.A., Washington, D.C.

³⁹ See especially *The Contribution of Extension Methods and Techniques Toward the Rehabilitation of War-Torn Countries*, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Extension Service, and Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, October 1945. Of special interest in this publication are the articles by Carl C. Taylor entitled "The Cultural Approach to Extension Work," pp. 225-227, and by C. P. Loomis, entitled "The Case" in the Analysis of Agricultural Extension Techniques," pp. 208-210.

interested in methods. In the Vermont study,⁴⁰ it was found that farmers claimed they had been most influenced in changing practices by farm papers and magazines, the county agent, friends, and neighbors, in the order mentioned. However, when the farmer was asked to give his opinion as to what source of information about new farming practices was most important, he gave county agent office calls first

TABLE 58
Farmers' Opinions as to Best Source of Information about New Farming Practices

Source of Information	Percentage of Farmers	
Extension Service	61	
County agent office calls		17
Demonstration meetings		13
Meetings other than demonstration meetings		12
Booklets and circular letters		9
Farm visits by the county agent		7
Extension Service, Farm Bureau, general		5
County agent		4
Photographs and motion pictures		1
Printed materials	23	
Farm papers and magazines		20
Newspaper articles		4
Books		1
Friends, neighbors, family members	9	
Friends, and neighbors		9
Radio	9	
Self-origination; develop ideas through experience	2	
Other Government programs, AAA, ACP, etc.	2	
Miscellaneous	1	
Don't know	4	
Not ascertained	4	
	**	
Number of cases	369	

** This column totals more than 100 percent, since some respondents mentioned more than one source.

SOURCE: *The Extension Service in Vermont, Part One*, 1947, p. 30.

⁴⁰ *The Extension Service in Vermont, Part One*, pp. 21 and 30.

place. The other media are indicated in Table 58. This table suggests that the farmers want to professionalize the work of the extension agent. In a Michigan study,⁴¹ farmers emphasized the importance of office calls and complained that often the agent was away on farm visits and other duties when they called. Seventy-two percent recommended office-centered activities such as office calls, telephone calls, and mail as the most desirable forms of communication. This same Michigan study found that 36 percent of the farmers, in changing from one variety of crop to another, had acted on the advice of "farmers and neighbors," indicating the importance of non-bureaucratic channels of influence.

That meetings are placed high in Table 58 is interesting and important. The method of conducting meetings has been demonstrated to be very important. One experimenter compared the effectiveness of an exceptionally good lecturer with the group discussion and decision technique which involves the whole group.⁴² In the experiment, which attempted to get women of various income levels to use hearts, kidneys, and brains as food for their families, the group-decision approach was found to be by far more effective than the lecture method. More such experiments in methods are needed. The various forces available to those who understand group processes and cultural factors both in and out of meetings must be used if Extension and other similar programs are to attain their optimum effectiveness. Never has a stronger plea for "humanizing" the Extension Service been made than by a recent report of the Joint Committee on Extension which prescribes that "the people are agriculture's basic resource. Work with people as such, as contrasted with individual problems, must get increasing emphasis. . . . The necessity for helping people learn how to enjoy living are fields which cannot be overlooked."⁴³ Increased attention, according to the report, must be given to improving rural health and home and community life, as well as the physical and economic basis of living.

The Extension Service as a Social System: Social Structure. A state agricultural extension service is a social system embracing

⁴¹ *The Van Buren Cooperative Survey*, p. 23.

⁴² Kurt Lewin, "The Relative Effectiveness of a Lecture Method and a Method of Group Decision for Changing Food Habits," State University of Iowa, Child Welfare Research Station, Preliminary Report, 1942.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

several sub-systems.⁴⁴ The county agricultural agents, the 4-H Club leaders, the home demonstration leaders, and other groupings are sub-systems of the larger system. Each of these sub-systems, of course, is made up of smaller sub-systems.

Accordingly, the Michigan county agricultural agents were divided into 6 informal groups, as described in Figure 183. These informal subgroups, or friendship groups of agents, were revealed when the county agent leader requested that each agent indicate, on a sheet containing the names of all the agents, those with whom he would like to work in an Extension summer school soon to be held. The Michigan State College Department of Sociology and Anthropology developed the chart, Figure 183, for the purpose of dividing the agents into work groups for the Extension school, which was organized around various topics in the fields of rural sociology, anthropology, and agricultural economics. The nature of these work groups effectively demonstrated to the agents the merits of being able to identify comparable groups among the rural people with whom they worked. Each group met after illustrated lectures for a discussion period and again reassembled for a panel discussion composed of representatives selected by the groups. The groups elected their own leaders, as might, of course, have been predicted from the sociometric data included in Figure 183. These informal groupings constitute the foundation upon which the formal structure rests. If these groups "pull" against the administration or fight one another, morale will be low; if all groups cooperate with the administration, other things being equal, morale will be high.

The Extension Service as a Social System: Value Orientation. How the agents relate their own social system to the formal and informal organizational structure of the people in their counties is determined in part by how they think about these matters. The manner in which 72 agents registered their opinions demonstrates that they think the farm people should help in policy formation and that a definite structure should be established to accomplish this end. (See Attitude items in Table 59.) The county land-use planning work in Michigan had received a great deal of emphasis, and many agents thought land-use planning committees should be given considerable importance.

⁴⁴ C. P. Loomis, "Demonstration in Rural Sociology and Anthropology—A Case Report," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. VI, No. 1, Winter 1947, pp. 10-25.

Michigan agricultural agents are convinced of the value of working through existing agencies in their counties. This is shown in Table 60. Farm organizations, schools, and civic organizations are judged by

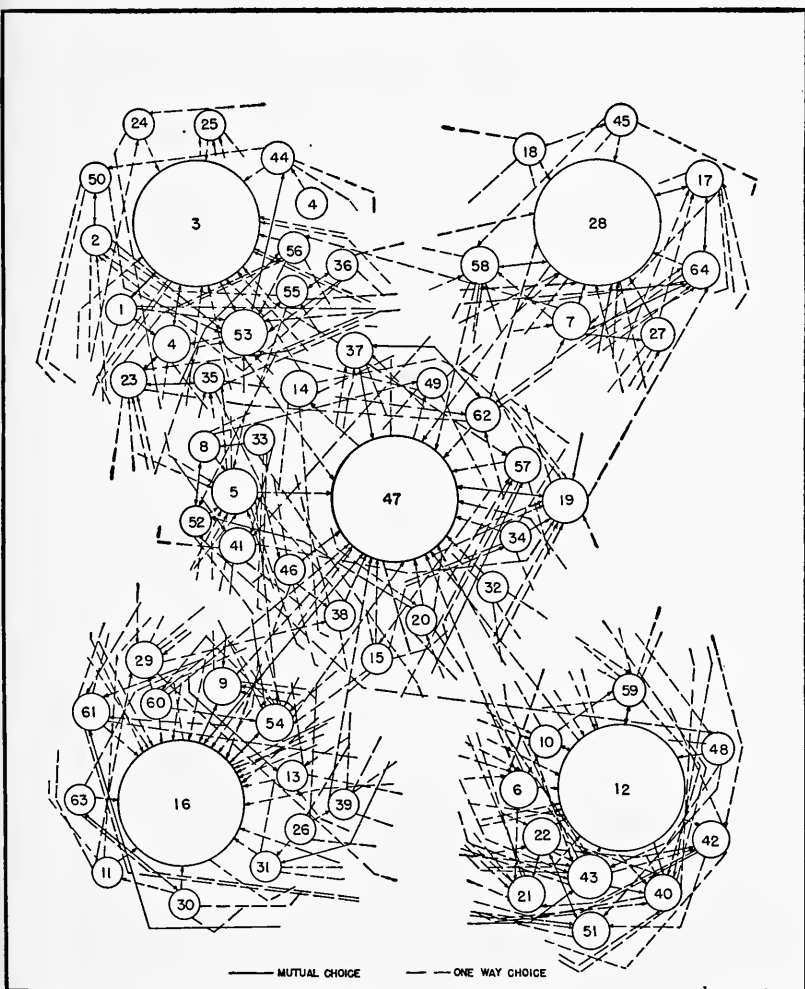


FIG. 183. Sociometric chart showing the choices of county agricultural agents. Each circle represents an agent, and only mutual and first choices have been recorded on the chart. The larger circles represent key persons as determined by all choices received. Six groupings or "neighborhoods" were formed in order to maximize cooperation and congeniality in discussion. (SOURCE: Loomis, *Demonstration in Rural Sociology and Anthropology—A Case Report*, p. 19.)

the agents to be the media through which the county agent should work.

As items in Table 60 indicate, a considerable number of agents do not want more supervision from their own organization. This is suggestive of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like nature of the sentiments of the agents. Authority tends to be personal rather than specific, action to be two-way rather than one-way, and the criteria that determine the agent's status in the community as well as in the system are more dependent upon particularistic than universal and standardized measures of professional competence. This is less true perhaps of the more "bureaucratic" organizations such as the Soil Conservation Service, the Forest Service, the Farmers' Home Administration, and other similar organizations which have more of the contractual *Gesellschaft*-like features.

That Extension agents oppose the specialization which characterizes so many modern bureaucracies is indicated by the extent of their disagreement with the following statement: "The Extension Service subject matter specialist should be well informed in broad areas of his subject matter rather than very expert in only a narrow phase. For example, in the field of Agricultural Engineering, the building specialist should know at least the fundamentals about dealing with such diverse problems as drainage, repairing sagging roofs, remodeling kitchens, and hitching up motors." Only three out of 71 agents disagreed with this statement concerning "specialists." However, that the agent himself wants to have an important place in the hierarchical structure in the county is indicated by the fact that only 18 out of 71 disagreed with the statement: "The County Agent should be given authority to coordinate the activities of all federal agencies which deal with farmers in his county." Forty-one agreed with this statement. Only four disagreed with the statement: "Michigan State College representatives should always inform the County Agent before making a local appearance." The place rural sociology, anthropology, and similar disciplines can have in the improvement of rural life, as seen through the eyes of the agents, is indicated by the fact that only 12 agreed with the statement: "There is hardly any problem of farm life which could not be solved by higher net incomes for farmers." Table 61 reveals much about the verbalized value orientation of agents. The agents place the importance of community participation and non-money-making activities high among the attributes of a successful farmer.

TABLE 59

Selected Attitudes and Opinions of County Agricultural Agents in Michigan

Attitudes and Opinions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
<i>Willingness to Accept Direction</i>					
The less supervision the Extension worker gets from regional or state offices the better will be his work in the long run	6	11	6	45	4
The County Agent should be given authority to coordinate the activities of all federal agencies which deal with farmers in his county*	12	29	12	16	2
Every local Extension Service Office should have a county advisory committee to help develop the Extension program for that county	30	38	3	1	0
Every county Extension Service Office should use the Land-Use Planning Committee in building its annual program	17	41	9	5	0
Farm people should have a larger voice than they now have in determining the agricultural programs of federal, state, and local agencies	30	39	2	1	0
<i>General Policies</i>					
The balanced farm unit approach is far superior to the single enterprise approach in Agricultural Extension	23	30	9	9	1
The Extension Service subject matter specialist should be well informed in the broad areas of his subject matter rather than very expert in only a narrow phase. For example, in the field of Agricultural Engineering, the building specialist should know at least the fundamentals about dealing with such diverse problems as drainage repairing, sagging roofs, remodeling kitchens, and hitching up motors	27	42	0	3	0

* One schedule unanswered.

(Continued on next page)

TABLE 59 (Continued)

Attitudes and Opinions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
<i>General Policies (Continued)</i>					
Most farmers are interested in the type of materials presented at general outlook conferences*	0	28	18	23	2
Relative to other farm problems, the need for soil conservation programs has been too greatly emphasized*	9	27	7	26	2
In general, Michigan people expect more problems to be solved than is really possible by township and county zoning*	4	41	14	12	0
Michigan State College representatives should always inform the County Agent before making a local appearance	31	35	2	4	0
The Agricultural Extension Service should provide educational assistance to the general public on problems of broad public interest as well as on specific agricultural questions	18	34	9	11	0
The importance of the services offered by the Extension Office in my county justifies a great improvement in its location and facilities	15	35	4	16	2
<i>Value Orientation of Agents</i>					
The less the Government controls prices of necessities the better for everyone concerned, especially for farmers	23	23	13	12	1
It is impossible for large federal programs to reach the mass of rural people without these agencies becoming involved in politics	8	23	4	24	13
There is hardly any problem of farm life which could not be solved by higher net incomes for farmers	0	12	8	44	8

* One schedule unanswered.

SOURCE: *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. VI, 1947, pp. 22-23.

TABLE 60

County Agents' Appraisal of Utility of Various Organizations in Achieving Effective Extension Work

Organization	Number of Times Chosen	Weighted Rank Score*
Church and religious organizations	55	312
Civic organizations	63	493
Farm organizations	67	651
Library systems	55	170
Political organizations	35	68
Professional organizations	55	266
Public Health Service	56	304
Schools and educational organizations	65	543
Social Welfare agencies	52	226
Veterans organizations	59	293
Other groups or agencies	13	85

* First choice was given a weight of 6, second choice the weight of 5, sixth choice the weight of 1.

SOURCE: *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. VI, 1947, p. 18.

TABLE 61

County Agents' Evaluation of the Characteristics of the Successful Farmer

Characteristics of Successful Farmer	Number of Times Chosen	Weighted Rank Score*
Employs the best soil conservation practices	22	35
Gets the biggest yield per acre	23	47
Is able to retire from farming at the earliest age	7	13
Is able to keep his children on the farm	7	11
Gets the highest return per dollar invested	23	54
Has interests and satisfactions not dependent on money income	49	126
Gives his children the best education	24	41
Plays the most significant community leadership role	39	63
Other	3	3

* First choice was given the weight of 3, second choice the weight of 2, and third choice the weight of 1.

SOURCE: *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. VI, 1947, p. 18.

THE RISE OF OTHER AGENCIES WITH
NON-LOCAL CONTROL

Recently, what may be called an "anti-bureau" sentiment has arisen in the local communities of the nation. This is due in part to the creation of many federal agencies during the thirties and early forties designed to overcome the results of the nation's worst depression. During this period "New and powerful Federal agencies were barging into almost every local community administering action programs that strongly affected local affairs and dealt with things which were far from being noncontroversial."⁴⁵

As indicated previously, the United States Department of Agriculture instituted an experiment in organization known as county land-use planning in an effort to overcome some of the difficulties that developed when federal bureaus, with their contractual Gesellschaft-like orientation, entered the familistic Gemeinschaft-like rural communities. The department attempted to overcome some of its own weaknesses through the use of local committees to develop more integrated plans for action. This attempt was defeated, at least in part, because farm organizations saw that this organization could develop a mechanism that might be used to support governmental agencies and displace the farm organizations in representing the farmers' interests in Congress.

The failure of this general planning system and the ever-present need for all agencies to function in rural areas and to have their policies and procedures evolve from and be supported by local people, has led to the development of various devices through which bureaus attempt to gain acceptance and become a part of the local communities' programs. Some of these procedures, because they involve group action, increase the effectiveness of the spread and accomplishment of the agency. They are justified on the grounds of saving money to taxpayers, but they all are influential in relating the bureau personnel and programs to the institutions and agencies of the communities. At present, few considerations are more important. In the following sections, we shall discuss briefly some of the agencies other than the Agricultural Extension Service which function in rural communities. Special emphasis will be placed on the relationship between the bureaucratic structure of the non-local system, on the one hand, and

⁴⁵ Milton S. Eisenhower and Roy I. Kimmel, "Old and New in Agricultural Organization," *Farmers in a Changing World, Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940*, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 1131.

the familistic Gemeinschaft-like character of the community, on the other.

THE SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

Figure 184 depicts the organizational structure of the Soil Conservation Service. This chart, however, does not indicate specifically how the farmers are made a part of the program. After the establishment of the Service in the Department of the Interior in 1933 and its transfer two years later to the Department of Agriculture, farmers were brought into the program as individuals, and an attempt was made to reach the people through demonstration projects. However, after 1938 the emphasis shifted to the group approach. The most important step in the direction of the group approach was made in 1935, when under statutory law, Congress directed the Secretary of Agriculture to establish a Soil Conservation Service. This directive carried the qualification that conservation districts be organized as subdivisions of states, with the following provisions: "(1) The power to establish and administer erosion-control projects and preventive measures, including financial and other assistance to farmers carrying on such work on their lands, and (2) The power to prescribe land-use regulations in the interest of prevention and control of erosion, such regulations to be first submitted to local referendum and, if approved in the referendum, to have force of law within the district."⁴⁶

The act establishes a state soil conservation committee, which has power to define the boundaries of each district, encourage the organization of districts, furnish a channel of communication between districts, and to coordinate the several district programs "so far as this may be done by advice and consultation."⁴⁷ The state committee is composed of the state director of extension, director of the state experiment station, and the state conservation commissioner of agriculture. The committee may invite the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States to appoint one person to serve as a member of the committee. The committee shall be composed of not less than three and not more than five members.

All except a few states have conservation districts created under general state enabling acts. Under the procedure of organizing dis-

⁴⁶ Philip M. Glick, "Soil Conservation District Laws," *Soils and Men, Yearbook of Agriculture* 1938, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1938, p. 249.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE

CHIEF

Directs national program of soil and water conservation as a means of insuring the permanent usefulness of agricultural land resources.

BUDGET AND FINANCE
Organizes, coordinates and carries out all budgetary, auditing, and accounting functions of the Service.

ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES
Coordinates, establishes, and directs methods and procedures by which procurement, personnel, supplies, claims and file activities are conducted.

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT
Organizes, coordinates and carries out an effective and efficient employment, training, placement, promotion, investigation, and safety program for the Service.

RECORDS AND REPORTS
Installs, supervises and maintains a system of statistical records and information covering accomplishments, magnitude and progress of all Service activities.

INFORMATION AND EDUCATION
Organizes, coordinates and carries out a broad program of public information and education in soil and water conservation.

STATES RELATIONS
Advises the Chief of the Service in the determination or revision of policies concerning relationship in states with other agencies.

OPERATIONS
Provides technical guidance and direction in the operations phases of the Service technical program.

RESEARCH
Directs a coordinated program of research in all phases of soil and water conservation.

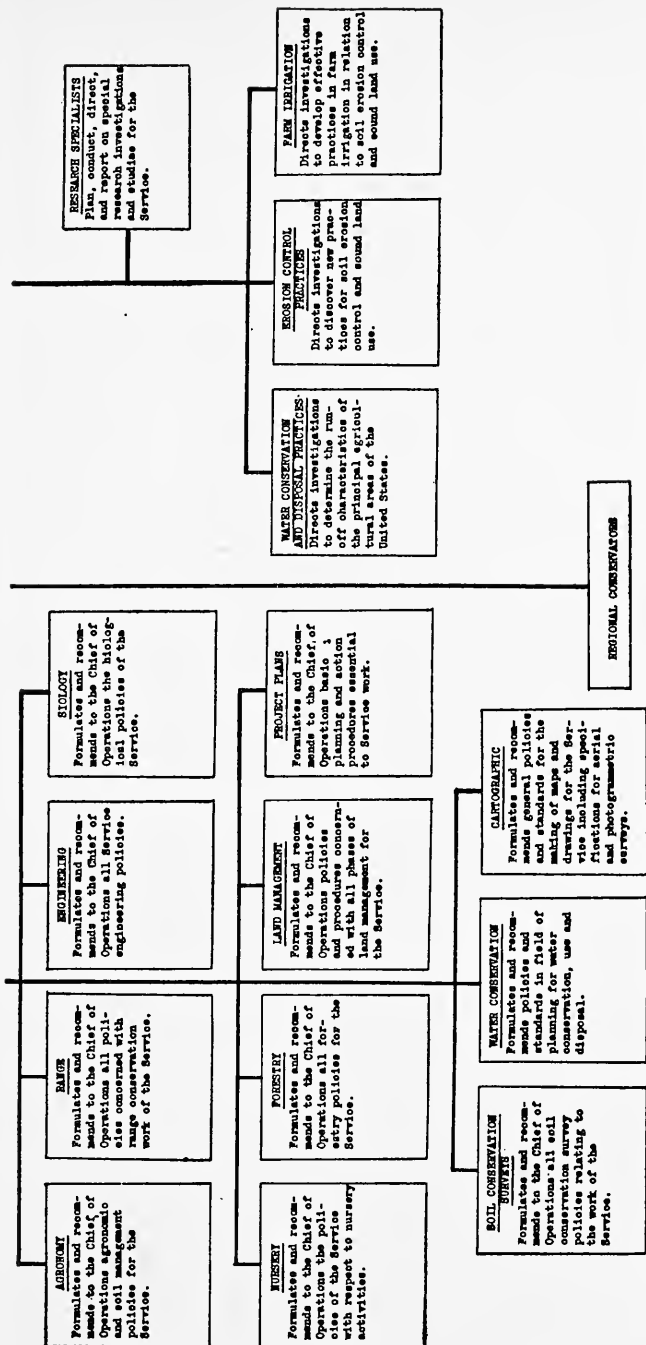


FIG. 184. Organizational chart of the Soil Conservation Service. (SOURCE: Soil Conservation Service, *Functional Chart*, p. 1.)

tricts, any 25 land occupiers may petition the state committee to establish a district. Land occupiers are those in possession of lands as owners, renters, or tenants. A public hearing on the petition must be held by the committee and, although state legislation varies, no district may be established unless a majority of the votes cast in the referendum are in favor of it. Each district is governed by a board of five supervisors, two of whom are to be appointed by the state committee, and three elected by the land occupiers of the district. The supervisors hold office for three years and receive no compensation other than expenses necessarily incurred. Paid staffs may be provided by the districts. The regulations imposed by the districts must be submitted to referendum.

Typically, the program involves construction of terraces, check dams, and similar devices of soil conservation. Others include particular methods of cultivation, such as contour cultivating, lister furrowing, strip cropping, planting of trees and grasses, cropping programs and tillage practices, and rotations, and the requirement that steep or otherwise highly erosive land be retired from cultivation. Although the principal emphasis has been placed on educational and cooperative rather than on the compulsory functions, the failure of land occupiers to observe the regulations is punishable by fine as a misdemeanor. In addition, the supervisors may file a petition with the local courts asking the court to order that the land occupier observe the regulations. The court order may provide that if the land occupier fails to comply with the regulations, the district supervisors may go onto the occupier's lands, do the work called for by the regulations, and collect the costs from the land occupier.⁴⁸ Districts may be discontinued after five years through a referendum. Funds to finance operations come from: (1) direct appropriations from the state treasury; or (2) grants-in-aid made directly to the districts, through the state committee by the Soil Conservation Service or other federal agencies or through bond issues. Districts are not authorized to levy taxes or special assessments.

The advantage of establishing a social system such as a conservation district through which a government bureau may carry its work to the people should be obvious. Originally it was hoped that these districts might be "natural groupings," with established leadership patterns. Generally, however, they have been units which are determined by topography rather than by group integration. To promote

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

inter-agency cooperation there has been a recent tendency in several states to make the districts coterminous with counties. Although various forces have prevented soil conservation districts from taking the form of locality groups with unified and integrated social structure and value orientation, they have furnished a channel of communication for the Soil Conservation Service to and from the farmer. As the chief of the Service has said: "By working with soil conservation districts, the Service is able to avoid considerable administrative and organizational work and to concentrate its efforts on the technical problems encountered in planning and executing the local soil conservation program. Demonstration farms, demonstration areas, and conservation districts remain the first line of advance toward modern methods of soil conservation."⁴⁹

The Group Approach Within the District. Whether the conservation district covers a county or any other area, the boundaries of which are determined more by physical than by sociological or political factors, the problem of how the services of the staff of technicians may be integrated into the lives of the people in the localities is of great importance. Most soil conservation districts are too large and the relationships between most of the members too secondary to make the systems familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like in character. Nevertheless, experience has demonstrated that when small friendship groups can be evolved in the conservation programs, with members meeting in one another's homes, the group processes augment the attainments of the Service and the results of the program become more permanent.

To relate the Service to such groupings, various procedures have been employed. How this is accomplished in the Upper Mississippi Valley Region is described in a manual entitled *Group Action in Soil Conservation*.⁵⁰ This manual advises the soil conservationist to locate the "natural groups" and their leaders and to stay in the background by working through these groups and leaders. "If there is to be any 'big shot,' it should be the local neighborhood leader and just to the extent that his followers make it so."⁵¹ These leaders are described as

⁴⁹ H. H. Bennett, "Our Soils Can be Saved," in *Farmers in a Changing World*, pp. 435-436.

⁵⁰ *Group Action in Soil Conservation: Upper Mississippi Valley, Region III*, Milwaukee: United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, March 1947.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

the actual or potential group planner, spokesman, harmonizer, group educator, and executive. Hints are given on the kinds of leaders, how to locate leaders, and "how to motivate leaders." The following is a quotation from this manual:

1. *Professional Leader*.—Professional leaders in the field of agriculture, in a soil conservation district are people like the county extension representatives, soil conservation service workers, vocational workers, vocational agriculture teachers, and others who are hired specifically to work toward improved farming conditions. The professional leader is paid to render services. . . .

2. *Leaders with Titles (Titular Leaders)*.—Examples of this type of leadership in the conservation district are members of the district governing body, president of county farm bureau, master of the local grange, president of farmer's union, officers of civic clubs, school board members, etc. . . .

3. *Natural Neighborhood Leader*.—Examples of this type of leader are difficult to cite. He does not stand out as do the other kinds. . . . He is often a modest fellow, not particularly or at all conscious that he is a leader, and not always outstanding in his farming abilities, specialized knowledge, or other outstanding leadership traits. His leadership may appear latent, but the potential qualities of leadership are present though not always evident. This is the man to "tie to" in developing a real program of group action. . . .

How to Locate Neighborhoods and Their Natural Leader.—To find the real leader of a natural neighborhood group it is essential to look to the *followers*. Interviews with the followers will point to the individual whom they follow in agricultural matters. Remembering that the leader is the person followers have confidence in, visit and consult with, and finally defer to, by directed conversation, *they* will point out the leaders.⁵²

In order to make this familistic Gemeinschaft-like structure available for use as a foundation for the program, conservationists are instructed to take the following steps: *Step 1*. An inventory is made of the organizations and formal leaders. *Step 2*. An interview is secured from selected professional and titular leaders to clear the channels, and to obtain information about locality group boundaries. *Step 3*. An interview is taken from trade-center community leaders to get the tentative locality group areas. These leaders, the township supervisor, for example, may not know the neighborhood leaders but he often is helpful in indicating to whom one should go to locate the

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 12–15.

congeniality groups and their informal leaders. *Step 4.* The followers are interviewed. A follower in a congeniality group will "unknowingly identify the neighborhood leader" and "three or four of the followers within a neighborhood group would enable one to identify the natural neighborhood leader." The interviewer is instructed in the technique of getting the followers to indicate the acquaintances to whom he "defers," especially in matters related to farming and conservation. Interviewers are instructed not to ask for leaders because these local leaders are frequently not known as leaders in the formal sense. *Step 5.* Interview the neighborhood leader to ascertain how he stands on conservation and how to strengthen and develop his position as a leader.⁵³ In at least one state, experimentation is being carried out in methods of involving the informal leaders and their groups in an effective manner.⁵⁴

Experience has shown that under certain circumstances the potential leader may lose his followers because he is brought into relationship with the new social system. In Michigan, for instance, it has been reported that when farmers who have demonstrated superior competence and results in farming are designated as "Master Farmers," their interaction with the local farmers is weakened. Any social system, especially a government bureaucracy, which makes potential leaders of friendship systems a part of the bureaucratic program by a method of involvement, must pay particular attention to the resulting equilibrium. Unfortunately, the agencies know very little about this operation. The Soil Conservation Service is to be commended for its attempts to formalize procedures whereby the familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like friendship and locality groups may be brought into relationship with the contractual *Gesellschaft*-like government bureau.

THE FARMERS' HOME ADMINISTRATION

The predecessors of the Farmers' Home Administration, the Farm Security Administration and the Resettlement Administration, have accumulated more experience in various types of group and indi-

⁵³ See *ibid.* pp. 23-27, for these steps. Unfortunately the manual is too greatly influenced by the "neighborhood school" of rural sociologists. Actually, as indicated in Chapter 5, neighborhoods are not generally congeniality groups, but are composed of them. The groups which join and work together in Soil Conservation Service projects usually represent one or more congeniality groups.

⁵⁴ These studies are being made in Livingston County, Michigan, under the supervision and direction of Paul A. Miller, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College.

vidual action programs in rural areas than have any other agencies. Experiments in establishing rural and suburban communities,⁵⁵ group and village rehabilitation,⁵⁶ collective farming, group medicine, the organization of cooperatives, tenant purchase programs, and family rehabilitation were carried out by these agencies.

The Loan and Grant Programs. Possibly the most lasting contribution this social system has made is the demonstration of the importance not only of working with families as units but also of approaching rural people through their "natural" groupings. Many rural agencies pay lip service to the principle of approaching the farm business operation and the home as a unit, but none has attained the highly unified approach that the Farm Security Administration developed in its Rural Rehabilitation loan program.

For each family that was loaned money, the farm and home agent outlined a carefully drawn farm and home plan which related the wife's functions as food producer, processor, and home manager to the farmer's functions as operator of the farm enterprise. Expenditures of the entire family were included in the plan. As a condition of the continued processing of the loan, the farm family agreed to follow the directions of the farm and home supervisors, who were usually trained respectively in agriculture and home economics.⁵⁷ A professional relationship, which may be called "Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft," developed between the borrower and the supervisors.

It is the authors' belief that few inventions in rural administration have been more important than the supervised rural rehabilitation loan. Through its provisions, thousands of families were raised as units from relief status to independence. The loan provisions were coupled with a grant program calculated to put prospective rehabilitation clients in a position to pay off their loans. Borrowers had the advantage of community status as parts of the free enterprise system of the contractual Gesellschaft. They also had the advantage of professional guidance which had to be followed if they were to continue as borrowers. Few question the relative merits of the rural rehabilitation program as compared with outright relief for the families in the towns.

⁵⁵ Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Chapters 18 and 19.

⁵⁷ E. C. Johnson, "Agricultural Credit," *Farmers in a Changing World, Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940*, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 747.

Actually, many of the results of the program have been remarkable. Reports have indicated that farm families have doubled or trebled the annual value of goods produced for home consumption.⁵⁸ Almost a million families have been carried on the loan program, and losses from these loans have been less than 20 percent. This is an exceptional record, considering the fact that many of the borrowers were relief clients who otherwise would have been a direct drain on the treasury.⁵⁹ As one of the administrators claimed in his annual report: "It is, of course, far cheaper for the Government to help these families get reestablished in farming than it is to provide relief for them. . . . Work relief in the cities costs about \$800 per year per family. Even rural work relief costs from \$350 per year upward. Rehabilitation—counting all losses on loans, the cost of supervision, and every other item of expense—costs only about \$72 per year per family."⁶⁰

Tenant Purchase Program. In addition to the rehabilitation program, this administration carried on a tenant purchase program designed to assist non-owner farmers to become owners. In view of the fact that only 51 percent of the farm operators are owners or managers and that every year some 40,000 owners become tenants, this program is important in a country where the ideal rural economy is focused upon the family-sized, owner-operated farm. Through the tenant purchase program, loans to selected tenant families for the purchase of farms up to the full value of the farm on a 40-year repayment plan at 3 percent interest are available.

The Group Rehabilitation Projects.⁶¹ Although the greatest achievements of the Farmers' Home Administration and its predecessors were accomplished by the county farm and home supervisors in family rehabilitation, from the sociological and anthropological point of view the several group rehabilitation projects are of great importance.

In a number of subsistence farming areas where the cash incomes were low, experiments in intensive rehabilitation were made. These experiments outline the general principles of the rehabilitation proc-

⁵⁸ C. B. Baldwin, *Report of the Administrator of the Farm Security Administration*, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 7.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶¹ Olaf Larson, *Ten Years of Rural Rehabilitation in the United States*, Washington: U.S.D.A., B.A.E., July 1947.

ess. We shall describe one of them somewhat in detail as reported in 1943, five years after the project was initiated.⁶²

El Pueblo, New Mexico. The Spanish-speaking villagers of the Southwest are among the poorest people in America. Disease-ridden, underfed, poorly educated, and dependent, they have been called America's "Forgotten People," or the "Step Children of a Nation."⁶³ How the people gradually lost their rights to the use of the large Spanish and Mexican land grants has been told elsewhere.⁶⁴ The conspicuous role the Anglo has played in the ownership of the grazing lands has had its influence on Anglo-Spanish American relationships.⁶⁵

⁶² Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, Chapters 18 and 19. Here a full description of the experiment is given.

⁶³ George Sanchez, *Forgotten People*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.

⁶⁴ Olen Leonard, *Role of the Land Grant in the Social Organization and Social Processes of a Spanish-American Village in New Mexico*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Ph.D. Dissertation, 1943. *Notes on Community-Owned Land Grants in New Mexico*, Soil Conservation Service, U.S.D.A., Regional Bulletin No. 48, Conservation Economics Series No. 21, August 1937. See also Olen Leonard and Charles P. Loomis, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, El Cerrito*, Rural Life Studies 1, Washington U.S.D.A., B.A.E., November 1941. Here the *El Cerrito* report states:

"El Cerrito and El Pueblo are part of an early Spanish grant that contained over 400,000 acres. In 1901 the Court of Private Land Claims denied these people all but a little more than 5,000 acres. Not only did the people lose their land in this case, but also much of their tangible property went for lawyers' fees to plead their case. Another local case, and one typical of the area is the Anton Chico Grant which borders the village of El Cerrito. Part of this grant is being purchased by the Government as a part of the El Pueblo rehabilitation program, this community having lost all grant lands once available to it.

"The Anton Chico Grant was originally made to a community of 36 persons by the Mexican Government in 1822. As confirmed by the United States Government in 1860 it contained 278,000 acres. At the present time there are 700 descendants and heirs of the original grantees. The grant is owned in community by the heirs and is administered by a Grant Board of 5 persons elected by them. Land contained within the grant is subject to the regular property taxes of the State of New Mexico. At a very early date delinquency in payment of taxes became very serious and now only 63,000 acres are available for community use by original owners."

⁶⁵ For an analysis of ethnic cleavages, see Charles P. Loomis "Ethnic Cleavages in the Southwest," *Sociometry*, Vol. VI, No. 1, May, 1943. For a description of the processes involved in the growing dependency of the Spanish-speaking group, see *Village Dependence on Migratory Labor in the Upper Rio Grande Area*, Soil Conservation Service, Southwest Region, U.S.D.A. Regional Bulletin No. 47,

Main Program Objectives. The main program objective in the experiment was to determine techniques for making the people independent of relief and outside labor. It was decided that the village community approach would be tried out and techniques for its general application to the poorest non-commercial farm families developed.

Accomplishments in Light of the Limitations. To what extent have these objectives been attained? This question is difficult to answer. The war has increased the incomes of the people, thus introducing an extraneous factor into the experiment. Nevertheless, certain objective accomplishments can be described.

1. *Increased Production of Food and Crops.* The most conspicuous results were manifest in the production and conservation of food for home use.⁶⁶ From a negligible amount (an average of only six quarts per family) of canned food preserved by the families in 1938 with the beginning of the program, the average rose to 180 quarts in 1939; 226 quarts in 1940; 252 quarts in 1941; and 310 quarts in 1942. In 1942 the families were producing about 70 percent of the value of the food they consumed.⁶⁷ Their diets were much better and they had grown and preserved few things they did not like.⁶⁸

2. *Increased Income.* The net worth of the 50 families participating in the program when it began was calculated at \$393. Now it is cal-

Conservation Economics, Series No. 20, July 1937. See also other publications of this series. See also Charles P. Loomis and Olen Leonard, *Standards of Living in an Indian-Mexican Village and on a Reclamation Project*, U.S.D.A. Social Research Report XIV, August 1938; Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States*, Berkeley: University of California Press. For more recent data see Charles P. Loomis, "Wartime Migration from the Rural Spanish-Speaking Villages of New Mexico," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. VII, No. 4, December 1942.

⁶⁶ Michael Pijoan, "Food Availability and Social Function," *The New Mexico Quarterly Review*, Vol. XII, No. 4, November 1942. Here the author shows in a similar village that the effort expended by children walking to school created such a tissue deficiency of oxygen that the remainder of the time in school was required to make it up.

⁶⁷ So far as production is concerned, the farm and home supervisors both stressed the use of insecticides in the control of insects attacking orchards, gardens, and crops. The people had seldom used these before; they had produced only a few things which were relatively immune to disease and which would produce seeds for the following year. When the program is discontinued in the village it will be important to observe how many drop back to this practice. Probably many will.

⁶⁸ Sauerkraut, conserved the first year, was an exception and was not put up afterwards. The people preferred to store their cabbage.

culated at \$929. Thus \$32,558 was granted to these families during 1939 through 1942 and their net worth was increased by \$26,794.⁶⁹

3. *Accomplishments in Sanitation.* All participating families and the community house are now supplied with modern sanitary privies built by the W.P.A.; the materials were furnished from project grants. The villagers also have cooperative wells, which free them from the necessity of drinking ditch water, the source of water before the project was begun. Also, all windows and doors of the houses of the villagers have been screened. This, as in the case of the wells, was accomplished by labor furnished by the people and with materials furnished by project grants.

4. *Accomplishments in Medical Care.* The project supervisors have facilitated their health program by urging local health authorities and the people to cooperate.

5. *Accomplishments in Developing Leadership and Cooperation.* From greater cooperation between members of one "larger family" to inter-village cooperation, great strides have been made. It is natural for closely related Spanish-American families to cooperate in various ways, but for village and inter-village cooperation there was far less precedent. To be sure, the so-called ditch associations and grant boards served as a framework. But the introduction of a community center, with all the associated activities, is a significant accomplishment in breaking down "feuds" and teaching new habits in living together. As a natural result of forming these new associations, village leaders were groomed to run them. The supervisors conscientiously "took a back seat" as much as possible. At the present time the villagers are increasingly learning how to run things themselves.

Community-wide Action. Important as the small family and friendship cooperatives are in general rehabilitation projects, they are not large enough to operate community livestock ranges under supervised management. The supervisors, therefore, were confronted with the problem of welding the four villages into one cooperative unit. Such a unit would also facilitate the other programs which required equipment such as the orchard spray, threshing machine, and mill, which would be used by the whole community. For this reason, and

⁶⁹ In 1940, grants were distributed as follows: 36.04 percent for food; 15.59 percent for clothing; 19.84 percent for farm operation; 7.33 percent for cooperative farm activities; 9.26 percent for household materials; 9.29 percent for medical treatment; and 2.68 percent for personal items.

because no other suitable building was available, the supervisors began to work for a community house early in the program. The house was finally finished by the villagers with approximately \$600 worth of material furnished by the Department of Agriculture. The house became the pride of the people of the community, a sort of symbol of its unity, the center of all kinds of demonstrations, fairs, and meetings. It is the storehouse for the community carpenter tools, and there the women can and store the food for the school children's hot lunches. The supervisors are agreed that it is the most important single agency in the total program. The distribution of work time on the part of farm and home supervisors in the El Pueblo project is shown in Figure 185.

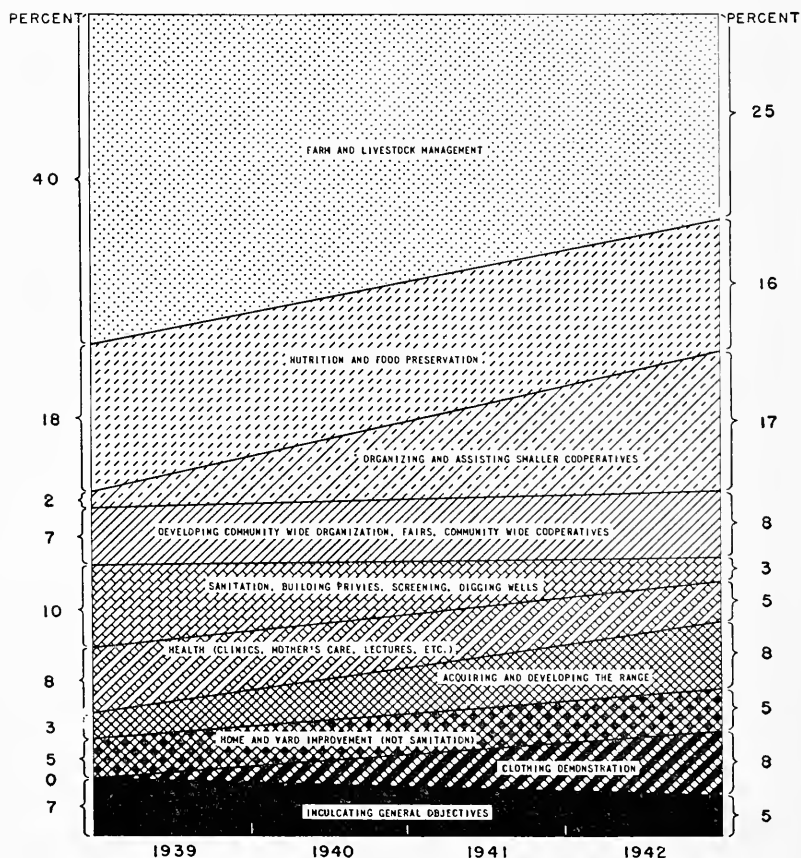
So far as the community-wide program is concerned, the controlling agency is the community council, consisting of a president, vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer elected by popular vote of the people. This council appoints the following committees: (1) community house committee, (2) committee for the beautification of the community, (3) committee on recreation, and (4) committee for the improvement of the farms and livestock. These officers and committees arrange for the two most important project meetings: the October fair and fiesta, and the February meeting for the election of officers and for the working out of farm and home plans. The community council functions under a constitution adopted by the community.

Village Community Approach versus Individual Family Approach. With this conclusion we come perhaps to the most important lessons learned through the project. The El Pueblo experiment has demonstrated the importance of social organization in extension and rehabilitation work. Previously, the supervisors in New Mexico had worked through individual families which had occasionally been organized into cooperatives. With El Pueblo, an important innovation was introduced. The supervisors worked increasingly with larger groups. The village structure was used to lengthen the hand of the individual supervisor. The ditch associations, the small family-friendship cooperatives, the church, and all the organizations of the community were used to implement the rehabilitation and extension program. To use an analogy, the supervisors used the "handles" in the villages which would make their efforts more effective. When handles were not available, they created them. In this sense the Community Council and the Livestock Association were handles which the supervisors helped create to increase the effectiveness of their program.

THE FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION

In general, an index of the penetration of the contractual Gesellschaft into rural society may be measured by a comparison of interest rates for routine business among businessmen in towns and the gen-

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL WORKTIME OF FARM AND HOME SUPERVISORS, EL PUEBLO EXPERIMENTAL AREA, 1939-42



U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG 43135

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIG. 185. Distribution of worktime of farm and home supervisors, El Pueblo Experimental Area. Note how the proportion of time devoted to group activities increased. (SOURCE: Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, p. 377.)

eral interest rates offered to farmers and peasants. The lower the rural rates from the relative point of view, the more the farmers are

able to avail themselves of the bureaucratic credit structures, which furnish an important basis for large-scale trade and industry of the cities. The more the farmers and peasants enter into these contractual Gesellschaft-like credit arrangements, the fewer the elements of the familistic Gemeinschaft we may assume the life of the rural communities to have. In peasant societies in India,⁷⁰ Korea,⁷¹ China, and many other parts of the world, rural interest rates may be above 300 percent.

Rural rates in the United States have never been this high, but before the installation of the Federal Land Banks in 1915, farmers frequently paid from 8 to 12 percent per year. After the farmers' organizations and interests battled through Congress the legislation that established the Federal Land Banks, the average interest charge was reduced to 5.6 percent. The farms of the borrowers became the security through which capital was raised by sale of bonds.⁷²

The twelve regional land banks loaned farmers money through local associations of ten or more members. These associations were supposed to furnish the group with a basis for a credit system similar to the Reiffeisen, Schulze-Delitzsch, and other systems functioning in the various European rural credit schemes. Under these European systems, the local members of each community, who were most often fellow-villagers, furnished the judgment necessary for determining the honesty and appraising the security of the prospective borrower. This group lost if the borrower did not pay the principle and interest of the loan. Social pressure and rural intimacy formed the basis of the system. However, when the loan association idea was transplanted to the more mobile, isolated farming areas of the United States, the associations' business and responsibilities were often taken over directly by the banks, and the group aspects of the rural co-operative credit system of Europe never became important in the United States. For this reason, rural credit arrangements in the United States lack the familistic Gemeinschaft nature they have in some other countries.

The Farm Credit Administration, established in 1933, brought all

⁷⁰ Jaswant Singh, *A Critique of Policies for Reconstructing India's Rural Economy*, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State College, 1948.

⁷¹ Edmund deS. Brunner, *Rural Korea*, New York and London: International Missionary Council, 1928.

⁷² Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

agencies dealing with agricultural credit into one unit. Under this system the Federal Land Banks loan money through farm loan associations. When a farmer obtains a land bank loan, he subscribes for stock in his association equal to 5 percent of the amount of the loan. The association then subscribes for an equal amount in the stock of the land bank. By utilizing facilities offered by the Federal Land Bank for first mortgages and by the Land Bank Commissioner for second mortgages, farmers may obtain loans not to exceed 75 percent of the normal appraised value of their farms. Emergency crop and feed loans to farmers who cannot obtain credit from other sources are made by the Administration. Production credit associations under the Farm Credit Administration also make short-term and intermediate-term loans to farmers.

The country has been divided into 12 farm credit districts under the Farm Credit Administration. In each district there is a Federal Land Bank, which makes long-term mortgage loans, a Production Credit Corporation to supervise credit associations making short-term loans, a Federal Intermediate Credit Bank to serve as a dependable source of funds for financing institutions making short- and intermediate-term loans, and a Bank for Cooperatives to extend credit to farmers' cooperative associations. The appraising and administration of these various agencies, for the most part, fall to professionals of the bureaucratic structure, who are probably less cognizant of and obligated to the locality and friendship groups of farmers in rural areas than are those of most agencies. Nevertheless, persons who must work with farmers should know about Farm Credit Administration facilities. Figure 186 describes the interrelation of loaning agencies of the United States.

THE FOREST SERVICE

Although largely manned by foresters with little or no training in the social sciences, the Forest Service personnel must deal with groups and social processes in almost all its work. As indicated in Figure 187, the forests of the nation are to be found in very different cultural areas. Foresters who have been reared and trained in New England may be assigned to areas where they must meet such culturally different peoples as the Spanish-speaking populations in the Southwest, people of French ancestry in Louisiana, and Anglo-Saxons in the Appalachian Highlands. Personnel are often transferred from one region to another to provide executives who will know the over-

FARMERS, STOCKMEN, FARMERS' COOPERATIVES

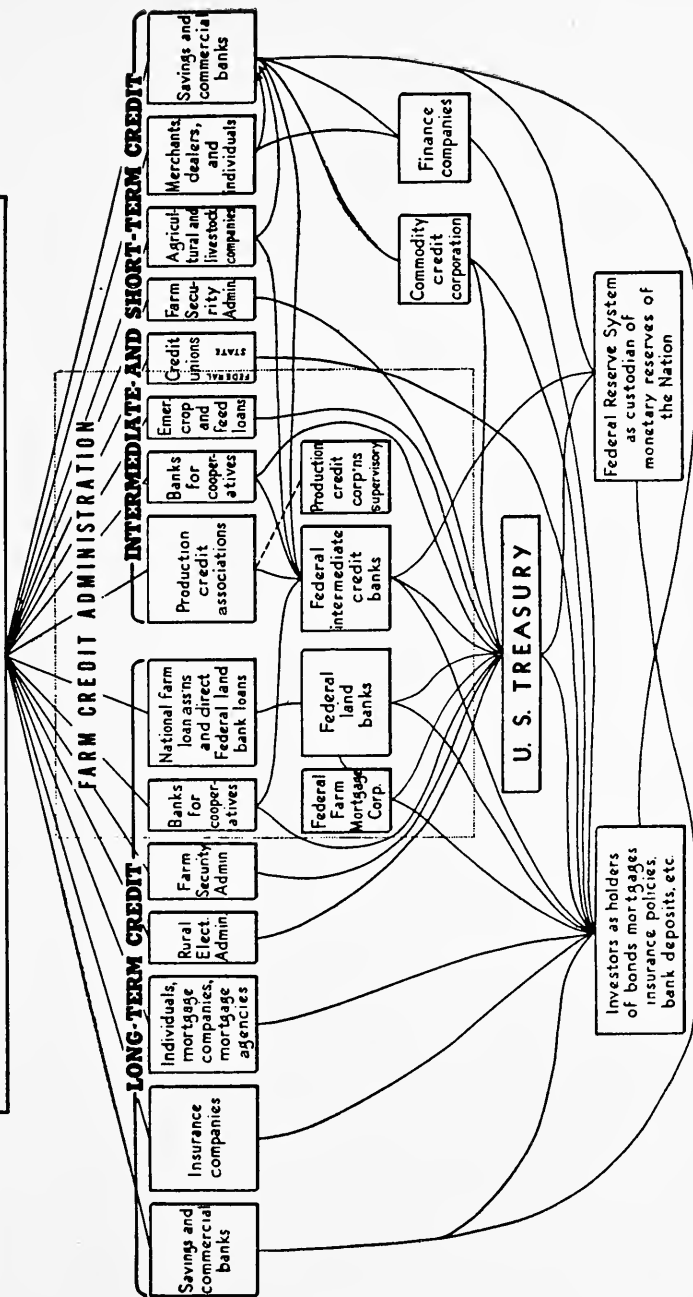


FIG. 186. The agricultural credit structure. (Reproduced from 1940 Yearbook of Agriculture, p. 746.)

all problems. In the forestry schools, however, little or no effort is given to a consideration of the people living in forested areas covering 200 million acres of national forest in 37 states and two territories.

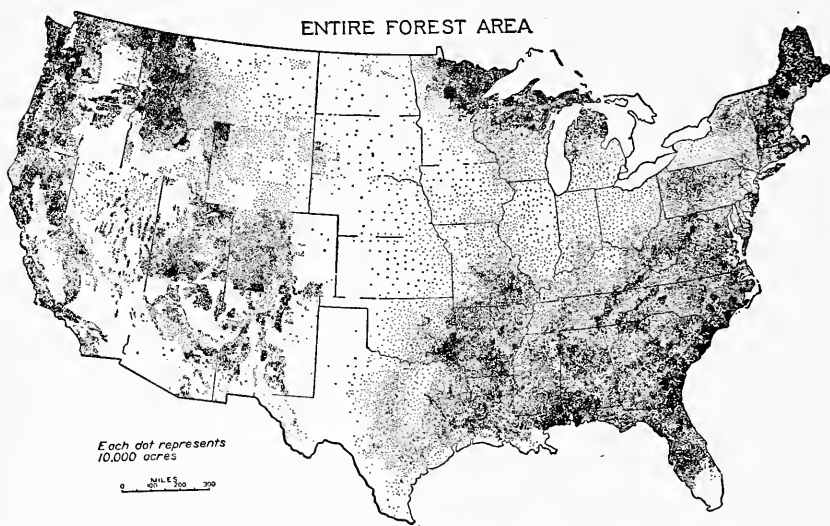


Fig. 187. Distribution of forests in the United States. Each dot represents 10,000 acres. (Reproduced from *New Forest Frontiers*, Forest Service Misc. Pub. No. 414, p. 8.)

Actually, the national-forest resources furnish support directly to more than one million persons.⁷³

Many of the forester's duties bring him into contact with the people of the forests. Those engaged in fire prevention and fire fighting, moreover, are greatly concerned with sociological and anthropological elements. Fires burn some 41 million acres of timber annually, and most of the fires are man-set, many purposely.⁷⁴ Because of this great loss, the Forest Service hired a social scientist to study the human aspects of forest fires.

A new design for forest-fire prevention in the South, where 90 per cent of all forest fires are caused by man, has been developed from

⁷³ Henry A. Wallace, "Forestry," *Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1937, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1937, p. 86. There are some 495,000,000 acres of commercial forest land in the United States. More than 50 per cent, or 334,000,000 acres of both commercial and non-commercial forest lands are grazed.

⁷⁴ "Forestry and Economic Recovery," *Yearbook of Agriculture* 1936, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1936, p. 56.

a study of 200 families located in a typical southern forest. The original study, *Getting at the Roots of Man-Caused Fires*,⁷⁵ although made by a psychologist, deals primarily with group phenomena and is a sociological and cultural anthropological investigation. The basic method used in the study was the controlled interview, which "may be compared roughly to playing a game fish with a reel of not-too-strong fishing line."⁷⁶

According to the author, the denizens of the southern forests come from Anglo-Saxon stock. They exhibit the southern disbelief in the merits of hard work. They are proud and sensitive even though they stand at the bottom of the southern class or caste system. Like their ancestors, they "takes no sass off'n nobody." They "insults easy" and they "shoots quick." According to the author, many of these frustrated people allow themselves to become careless and dirty. Most men go unshaven, women look bedraggled, and many of their houses are disordered and unsanitary. Farm implements and tools are allowed to rust by farmers who "see no way out." Such persons, though literate, neglect to read.

The study reveals that burning woods is traditional with the southern forest people, who battle the forests to keep their small plots of land free. Since hunting and fishing, traditional sources of diversion and food supply, are now futile pursuits, forest fires furnish an important source of recreation. The people think burning the woods kills off the boll weevil, helps produce better cotton crops, kills off snakes, destroys ticks, kills bean beetles, keeps their fields from being choked up with brush, makes grass grow better and quicker, keeps them healthy by killing "fever germs," and is the best way to keep the woods clean. Woods burning is "right." We have always done it, they say. Our fathers and grandfathers burned the woods. It was "right" for them and it is the "right" thing for us to do.

The author analyzes the following basic urges and drives: (1) need for income (economic); (2) need for social belongingness (including recreation); (3) need for prestige; (4) need or craving for religion;

⁷⁵ John P. Shea, *Getting at the Roots of Man-Caused Fires*, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, March 1940; and *New Design for Forest Fire Prevention in the South*, paper read before the 65th Annual Meeting of the American Forestry Association, Biloxi, Mississippi, February 1940. See also a discussion of this publication by C. P. Loomis, "Current Bulletins," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 3, September 1940, pp. 360-361.

⁷⁶ Shea, *New Design for Forest Fire Prevention in the South*, p. 4.

(5) craving for excitement (this cuts through all the other urges); and (6) need for security. Since the first four needs are not met, conflict develops, resulting in frustration, which in turn leads to the setting of forest fires and "human cussedness."⁷⁷

The author writes: "We can not win their cooperation by locking horns with them in their beliefs. And mere propaganda and prohibitions against such deep-seated beliefs are about as effective as a popgun against an elephant."⁷⁸ It is recommended that the fire-setting habit be "blocked off" and that punishment for fire setting be made quick and sure. A community program with movies, fishing, and hunting, sponsored by a community center with a forest officer who can "whittle" and "spit" with the people (particularly the "Pappies," who control all in this culture) is designed to develop new habits to supplant the old fire-setting activities.

Findings concerning man-caused forest fires in various other parts of the country resemble those reported by Shea.⁷⁹ The Forest Service is becoming more and more conscious of the necessity for relating the bureaucratic structure and its technical specialists to the local groupings and culture. It is one of the more regionalized bureaus, perhaps ranking next to the Extension Service in the weakness of the Washington office in power and control. Whereas the state offices are most important in the Extension Service, however, the regional offices are most important to the Forest Service.

Also of interest to sociologists are the 1,500 community forests in the United States. They contain more than 3 million acres of land and more than 146 million trees. They are reminiscent of the thousands of community forests of Europe which are vestiges of the cooperative village systems.⁸⁰

THE RURAL ELECTRIFICATION ADMINISTRATION

The Rural Electrification Administration was established as a

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷⁹ See John P. Shea, *Man-Caused Forest Fires, The Psychologist Makes a Diagnosis*, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, January 1939; John P. Shea, "A Psychologist Looks at the Forest Service," *Journal of Forestry*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, February 1939; R. F. Yeater, "Incendiarism—Its Causes and Prevention," Master's Thesis, Oregon State College, 1940; and W. F. Cobb, "A Study of Attitudes Toward Forest Conservation in Duval County, Florida," Master's Thesis, University of Florida, 1941.

⁸⁰ Nelson C. Brown, *Community Forests*, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, 1939, pp. 3-4.

bureau of the United States Department of Agriculture in 1935. At that time, only 10 percent of the farmers of the United States had central-station electrical service, as compared with almost 95 percent in France, 90 percent in Japan, 85 percent in Denmark, and 100 percent in Holland.⁸¹ Since 1935, rural electrification in the United States has been rapid both because the R.E.A. has supplied power to many families and because it has made private companies move out into rural areas.⁸²

The Rural Electrification Administration provides loans that are self-liquidating within a period not to exceed 25 years; they are made largely to cooperative associations consisting of farmers. It is recommended that associations consist of compact rural areas with at least 100 miles of line and approximately 300 members, or a density of about three to the mile. Steps preliminary to the formation of a cooperative are usually taken at a community meeting called by the county agent or other farm leader in the community. Cooperatives are incorporated under state laws and usually follow the instructions of the R.E.A., which evaluates the economic and engineering feasibility of the plan before making loans. Each consumer who receives service is a member and pays a membership fee of about \$5. Each member is entitled to receive all the benefits provided by the cooperative and to have a vote in its management. Loans generally cover the total cost of constructing the distribution lines, which constitute the entire security for the loans. Thus the members of the cooperatives are personally liable for repayment. Rates charged permit payment of principal and interest on the government loan and other costs. Where possible, existing generating sources are used.⁸³

Previous to 1935, rural electrification was largely restricted to those located along the main highways extending out from urban centers, or where population density was relatively high. Thus, in Michigan,

⁸¹ R. T. Beall, "Rural Electrification," *Farmers in a Changing World*, p. 790.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 803. In its report of October 3, 1936, the Wisconsin Rural Electrification Association stated that, "startled out of a long sleep by farmers' R.E.A. cooperative activity, private electric companies in the State jumped to their feet with sudden, new plans to extend rural lines to farmers whose requests had gone begging some twenty-five years." The Kansas State Corporation Commission reported that "in addition to their electric supply lines constructed, the activity of the cooperatives has served to intensify the effort on the part of the private power companies to develop the territory immediately adjacent to urban and rural territories now served by the companies."

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 799-800.

where a low fertility ratio is most typical of urban populations, the birth rate of the farm population is very highly related to the proportion of the farm families having electricity.⁸⁴ In irrigated sections, particularly in village settlements, rural electrification is extensive. However, in most rural areas in which general farming prevailed, line extensions were usually short, reaching only the more prosperous and densely settled communities.

Although only 700,000 farms were electrified when the work of R.E.A. began in 1935, there are now some 1,500,000 farm subscribers.⁸⁵ The construction costs per mile of line have been forced down, from \$1500 to \$1000. Of importance from the rural sociological and anthropological point of view is the fact that the social forces in the communities which make for honesty were relied upon: the farmers read their own meters. Previously, meter-reading cost the average subscriber 15 cents a month. With the installation of a new clock-type meter, skilled readers are no longer necessary and meter-reading costs have been reduced to 3 cents a month. General costs have been reduced by various other inventions adaptable to rural consumption. Approximately 1,000 organizations are now borrowing from R.E.A.⁸⁶

These cooperatives constitute real problems of organization, not unlike the irrigation ditch associations. Many times the lines cross numerous locality and congeniality groups and the new organization or cooperative may be composed of people with little experience in working together. Various devices other than business meetings, such as socials, picnics, and entertainments, are sometimes organized to develop the type of group action and integration that make for effective teamwork. The rural sociology extension specialist has a very real and difficult problem when groups are determined by topography or by the direction a line happened to go for most efficient coverage rather than by the need for perpetuating the existing locality and friendship groups.

⁸⁴ In Michigan, the correlation coefficients expressing the relationship between total fertility and percentage of homes with electric lights, on the one hand, and between rural-farm fertility and percentage of homes with electric lights, on the other, are minus .83 and minus .66 respectively. J. Allan Beegle, *Differential Birth Rates in Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 346, February 1948, p. 24.

⁸⁵ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁸⁶ See Beall, *op. cit.*, p. 798.

THE PRODUCTION AND MARKETING ADMINISTRATION

Since its beginnings, the Production and Marketing Administration, the successor to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, has been one of the most powerful of the government bureaus, with headquarters in almost every county. Although legislation calculated to raise farm incomes by direct means began before the Franklin Roosevelt administration, notably with the Agricultural Marketing Act in 1929, the most important legislation came later. After the inauguration of Roosevelt,⁸⁷ Henry Wallace, as Secretary of Agriculture, called the main farm organizations together. The principles that were later incorporated into the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 were developed at that time. The general policy established payments to farmers which were designed to adjust agricultural production prices to a parity with non-agricultural prices, using the period 1909–1914 as a base. Through the Act, price could be controlled by restricting supply.

The Act was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1936.⁸⁸ Subsequent legislation, however, attempted to attain the same objectives through emphasizing soil conservation as the basic measure. Farmers were paid for soil-conserving or soil-building practices. Funds came directly from the United States Treasury instead of from a processing tax, as they had before 1936. To soil-conservation programs were added marketing and purchasing plans for surpluses.⁸⁹ During World War II, no agency in rural American counties was more powerful than the Production and Marketing Administration. For the rural sociologist and anthropologist, the means employed in tying this powerful bureau into the fabric of rural life are extremely important.

Field Organization. Local administration is in the hands of community, county, and state committees of farmers. Regional representatives and Extension Service officials assist these committees, although in some areas little organic relation exists between the Extension Service and the Production and Marketing Administration. On

⁸⁷ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

⁸⁸ Philip M. Glick, "The Soil and the Law," *Soils and Men, Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1938, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. 305 ff.

⁸⁹ A. P. Chew, *The United States Department of Agriculture, Its Structure and Functions*, Washington: United States Government Printing Office, Miscellaneous Publication No. 88, 1940.

the community level, all cooperating farmers—i.e., all farmers who receive payments and use fertilizer or other facilities provided by the Administration—are members of the association. These committees recommend acreage allotments and soil-building goals for farms, check performance as a preliminary step in the granting of payments and loans, and help county committees and agents in the educational work of the programs. There are between 3,000 and 4,000 county agricultural-conservation associations in the United States. Within these associations, there are some 25,000 community committees, the members of which are paid at a per diem rate for time actually spent in discharge of duties.

County committees of three farmer members are elected by county delegates chosen by the cooperating farmers at the same time the community committees are elected. The county agent is an ex-officio member, but does not have the power to vote. County committees review forms and other documents filed in the county as related to the programs, allocate acreage among individual farmers, fix soil-building goals, supervise preparation of applications for payments and loans, and perform general county administrative work. There are some 3,000 county committees in the United States, the members of which are paid on a per diem basis.

Actually, the "communities" of the Production and Marketing Administration and its predecessor, the A.A.A., are usually not communities at all. This will be emphasized by Figure 188, showing the neighborhoods and trade center communities of Green County, Georgia. Failure on the part of government bureaucracies to be aware of locality groupings is a common occurrence.⁹⁰

State committees are made up of farmers (usually four in number), the state director of the Administration, officials of state agencies, and the State Director of Extension, appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture upon the recommendation of the Administrator. These committees are in direct contact with the Washington office. They review county recommendations for acreage allotments and soil-building goals, hear appeals from decisions of county committees, and advise the regional director on general policy within the state. Between the Washington office and the states are six regional offices. The regional directors of these offices are in close contact with the Office of the Administrator as well as with the state committeemen

⁹⁰ Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, p. 159.

and field representatives in the areas they service; their offices serve as clearing houses in the two-way flow of administrative direction and information between Washington and the field.⁹¹ Regional offices

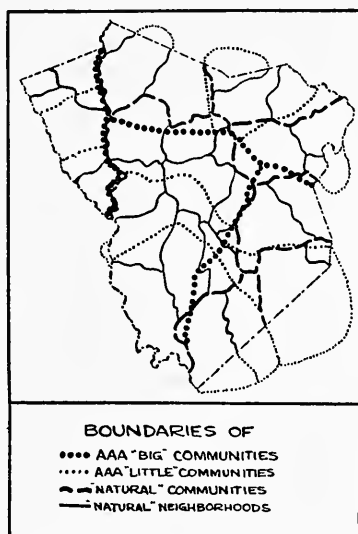


FIG. 188. Communities and neighborhoods in relation to the A.A.A. "communities" in Greene County, Georgia. (SOURCE: Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, p. 159.)

emphasize the major crop or type of farming characteristic of the region.

Bureaucracy and People. For those who wish to study the relation between the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and the contractual *Gesellschaft*, the Production and Marketing Administration and its predecessors offer the best possible subject matter. "This was, in one sense, a large-scale experiment in community organization and in the decentralized administration of a national program. . . ."⁹² In Kentucky it was found that being on one of the committees, according to over half of 123 respondents in 38 neighborhoods, changed a person's status in the community. Some thought it improved the

⁹¹ Chew, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁹² Beers, Williams, Page, and Ensminger, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

status of the committeeman, others thought it lowered his status. The stresses and strains of the bureaucracy at its point of entrance into the *Gemeinschaft* through the committeemen are illustrated by the following quotations, answers to the query as to whether serving on A.A.A. committees influences one's status in the community: "Yes, it has. In any dealing with the public a man is going to get praised by some and condemned by some. I'm on the committee and we get a lot of kicks from farmers who hold us personally responsible for acreage cuts." "We have a good group of men on the committee. It has raised them in my own estimation." "I think they are doing the best they can. They ought to get cooperation. I ought to know—I'm one of them!" "Yes, some people get mad: they can't seem to understand that we work with rules from Washington."⁹³ The attempt on the part of a contractual *Gesellschaft*-like social system to carry on its work in the local familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like communities will always result in various types of frustration. Considering the importance of the problem, the lack of pertinent research on the subject is astonishing.

SUMMARY

The largest and best financed off-campus and out-of-school educational agency in the world is the Agricultural Extension Service of the United States. This Service, which is uniquely orientated to local needs, derives its support from federal (47.0 percent), state (29.3 percent), county (21.0 percent) funds and from farmers' organizations and other similar sources (2.7 percent). The Service has approximately 11,000 professional staff members. Over three-fourths of all Extension funds are spent in the counties where the work is being carried on; 47 percent of the total amount goes for county agent work, 24 percent for home demonstration activities, and 6.1 percent for 4-H Club work.

Relatively more of the well-to-do farmers are reached by the Service than the lower-income groups. Since improved practices more readily diffuse downward than upward in the social class system, the chief problem confronted by Extension agents who work with the lower- and upper-middle-class groups is that of social cleavages which serve to block this diffusion. In some regions, for instance, it has been found that ethnic minority groups do not use the Service as much as the old American stock. Class barriers also frequently require that

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

agents work with the leaders within each stratum. Farmers in the upper-middle age groups (approximately 45-59 years) receive more attention than do older and younger farmers. Surveys in Vermont and Michigan indicate that approximately half of the farmers in all age groups and classes know their county agent.

The Soil Conservation Service is rooted to a lesser degree in the local social structure for financial support and control. However, this Service has shown remarkable ingenuity in devising means for attaining the advantages of local group action. In several areas the spread of the Service's action program has been greatly augmented by relying upon local groups and leaders in getting improved practices on the land.

The Farmers' Home Administration has experimented in a unified family farm and home approach and in group action in community-wide rehabilitation. The Farm Credit Administration, on the other hand, has made relatively little use of group processes in integrating its program into the local social structure. Whereas the Reiffeisen and Schulze-Delitzsch cooperative credit systems in Europe relied heavily upon local groups, the more mobile and heterogeneous farm population of the United States makes such systems less possible.

The Forest Service is learning the necessity of working with groups. The fires that destroy 41 million acres of timber annually are almost all man-set, many purposely. Cultural and group forces must be taken into consideration in solving this problem. The cooperative associations of the Rural Electrification Administration furnish its basis of financing and operation. Farmers' rural electrification associations seldom form "natural groupings." Nevertheless, the social norms which have existed or which have been cultivated make it possible to save thousands of dollars by relying upon the users to read their own meters. The Production and Marketing Administration, one of the most powerful of the government bureaus, has had the typical problems of any bureau in orienting and integrating its program into the fabric of local society. "Community committees" are generally not community committees in the sociological sense, and a member's status is influenced by his position as a paid representative of the farmers functioning in the bureaucracy.

CHAPTER 21

RURAL HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE

THE PRACTITIONER AND THE MEDICAL PROFESSION

IN RURAL AREAS throughout the United States, the practitioners, most of whom are medical doctors, constitute the chief medical agency.¹ The medical facilities in almost all communities are so completely controlled by the practitioners that no realistic discussion of the cure and prevention of sickness can be made without a consideration of the peculiarities of the medical profession and its associations.

Like other professions, the medical profession is selective and obtains a special mentality for its members. Since the members are organized, they constitute a social system. The most powerful of the medical groups, of course, is the American Medical Association. Its ethical code states that "A profession has for its prime object the service it can render to humanity; reward or financial gain should be a subordinate consideration." This code states that the principles developed for the guidance of the members "are primarily for the good of the public."²

Ordinarily we think of professions as including those highly trained experts who, at the cost of great effort, have mastered a body of knowledge and skills. We think of them as being paid for their services through fees or salaries, and not through profits such as those

¹ In a survey conducted in five Missouri counties, it was found that three-fourths of the families in the population surveyed used doctors of medicine and osteopathic physicians. See Harold F. Kaufman, *Use of Medical Services in Rural Missouri*, Columbia: University of Missouri AES Research Bulletin 400, April 1946, p. 12. A United States Department of Agriculture survey revealed that the expenditure for physicians' services took 37 and 44 percent of the medical dollar, respectively, in 1941 and 1945. See "Medical Expenditures of Farm Families in 1941 and 1945," Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Research Administration, Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics, October 1947.

² R. M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1937, p. 308.

which accrue to businessmen for the risks they take.³ As MacIver observes, the professions are not directly involved in the cleavages that prevail between capital and labor or between employer and employee. These conflicts have their roots in competition for an advantageous division of the economic gains, and they prevent the development of policies which place the public good high in the hierarchy of values. Nevertheless, all the professional associations attempt to look after the economic interests of the members.

Parsons⁴ has shown that the motivation of businessmen and professionals differs only to the extent that the situation, goals, and norms differ. Through such policies as prohibiting advertising, requiring that patients who can't pay be treated, and refraining from price competition, the self interest of the doctor or other professional is enhanced. The system has been so arranged that to violate these norms may mean loss of status in the group, and loss of hospital facilities or other privileges. Although the goals in business may be more specific and a businessman's status may be measured largely in terms of economic income, restrictions in business, credit rating, and business ethics do exist. In business just as in the professions, the drive to attain is not the egoistic motivation which characterizes the "acquisitiveness" of capitalism, but rather those elements of the social systems involved which accord status on the basis of achievement and which attach symbols and recognition to money.

In the medical profession as well as in business, there is tremendous resistance to outside control or threatened structure changes from government. Part of this resistance is to restrictions on what may be called free enterprise; part can be attributed to the genuine fear that the traditional patterns of the patient-doctor relationships will be disturbed. This objection may involve dislike for bureaucracy, or what we term the contractual *Gesellschaft*. MacIver quotes M. Faguet as saying: "An official is a man whose first and almost only duty is to have no will of his own."⁵ This statement overestimates the danger of governmental control, but stresses extremely important difficulties which state medicine would have to face. In all civilized

³ Kimball Young, *Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1942, p. 909.

⁴ Talcott Parsons, "The Motivation of Economic Activities," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. VI, No. 2, May 1940, pp. 187-202.

⁵ MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

countries, the state regulates the practice of medicine and law because the services offered by these fields are so vital to the general welfare and because the public is often unable to judge the competence of the practitioners. The state boards of examiners in the United States establish the standards of competence and training, and determine whether or not a candidate should be permitted to practice. Thus the public is protected from charlatans, and the profession itself is protected from the ill repute which unqualified practitioners would bring to it. Various forms of licensing are available for hospitals and nurses.⁶

FAMILISTIC GEMEINSCHAFT AND CONTRACTUAL GESELLSCHAFT CONCEPTS AS APPLIED TO THE MEDICAL ASSOCIATIONS

In the conflict over socialized medicine, the opponents frequently raise the specter of excessive bureaucratization as one of the grave dangers. They contend that the doctor-patient relationship would not maintain the situational elements suitable to healing. Although the concern over the doctor-patient relationship is justified, it is interesting to observe that the American Medical Association is the association having the most bureaucratic features. It is the most important organization of the medical profession and is the oldest of the national professional organizations.⁷

If we consider the elements of hierarchical and non-hierarchical interaction as well as the general value orientation, we believe that the national, state, and county units of the American Medical Association are more of the nature of the contractual *Gesellschaft* than are most farmers' organizations. Contacts are secondary, secular, rational, and, although somewhat traditional, authority is impersonal. Rights and responsibilities are limited to the "office," and norms, ends, and symbols tend to be rational, functionally specific, and secular. A careful study of such farmers' organizations as the Grange and Farm Bureau would be necessary, of course, to prove the hypothesis just stated. For those who have dealt with both groups, there seems to be little doubt about the validity of the hypothesis.

⁶ E. T. Hiller, *Social Relations and Structures*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 550.

⁷ C. H. Cooley, R. C. Angell, and L. J. Carr, *Introductory Sociology*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933, p. 303.

Perhaps no professional group professes, and, in some respects, actually behaves more in the public interest than does the medical group, although this procedure probably pays off in advantages to the doctors. In so far as members are required to deliver a high level of service regardless of individual rewards,⁸ the value orientation is based upon what MacIver calls the "intrinsic interest."⁹ When this orientation actually controls the members, a type of "community of fate" exists and responsibilities are functionally diffuse. When members of a profession, despite membership in a bureaucratic, functionally specific trade organization, attempt to attain perfection in accordance with the standards of their group, irrespective of economic gains to themselves, or when they adhere to certain moral codes involving the duties of physicians to other physicians which are not in line with self-interest, we may say that the organization also has motivation characteristic of the Gemeinschaft-like organization.

NURSING AS RELATED TO BASIC CONCEPTS— SHORTAGE IN RURAL AREAS

Nursing is one of the most recent professions among the healing arts, and it is one of the most interesting for the sociologist and anthropologist. Although the remuneration is low and the degree of authority small, professional honor and the instinct of workmanship are great. Hiller has given as explanation the "religio-humanitarian origin" and the eminently feminine function (Gemeinschaft-like, as Toennies sometimes used the term) of aiding the weak, ailing, and suffering. The origin of the profession is to be found in the humanitarian movement beginning with the Crimean War and the American Civil War. Hiller states that "Although she is by calling sympathetic to the patient's problems, the nurse must be self-contained almost to the point of being secretive."¹⁰ The report of the Commission on Hospital Care describes women who developed modern nursing as being "imbued with ideals and strong desires to help the sick. . . ." ¹¹ At

⁸ There is, of course, what was called the "instinct of workmanship" by Veblen. The drive of the scientist or inventor toward the creation of something new is guided by interest in the activity in and of itself. See F. W. Taussig, *Inventors and Money-Makers*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, Chapter 1.

⁹ MacIver, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

¹⁰ Hiller, *op. cit.*, p. 554.

¹¹ Commission on Hospital Care, *Hospital Care in the United States*, New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1947, p. 46.

its best, perhaps because of the less technical, specialized, rational, and functionally specific nature of the training and duties of the nurse, the nurse-patient relationship remains the most familistic Gemeinschaft-like of the professionalized relationships.

As might be expected, because the nursing profession is the most urbanized of all professions, the distribution of the nurses is determined in a large measure by the location of hospitals. In 1940 there were 371,066 trained and student nurses as compared with 294,189 in 1930, a tremendous increase. Nevertheless, there is a great shortage, as indicated by Table 62.

TABLE 62

Employed Trained Nurses and Student Nurses in Urban, Rural-Nonfarm, and Rural-Farm Areas, United States and Regions, 1940

Area	Employed Nurses		Population		
	Number	Percent	Total	Percent	Per Nurse
United States	355,786	100.0	131,669,275	100.0	370
Urban	304,072	85.5	74,423,702	56.5	245
Rural-nonfarm	42,732	12.0	27,029,385	20.5	633
Rural-farm	8,982	2.5	30,216,188	23.0	3,364
Northeast	132,625	37.3	35,976,777	27.3	271
North Central	103,135	29.0	40,143,332	30.5	389
South	72,559	20.4	41,665,901	31.6	574
West	47,467	13.3	13,883,265	10.6	292

SOURCE: Sixteenth Census of the United States, *Population*, Vol. III, Part 1.

THE CONCEPTS OF FAMILISTIC GEMEINSCHAFT AND CONTRACTUAL GESELLSHAFT AS APPLIED TO THE DOCTOR-PATIENT RELATIONSHIP

Through the use of modern equipment, specialization, division of labor, efficient screening and reference, and the employment of competent technicians of various types, competent specialists might extend their services to many more patients than they now serve. As indicated in Chapter 1, the rationalization and bureaucratization of any function give it the characteristics of the contractual Gesellschaft. With more bureaucratization, the doctor-patient relationship would become more one-way, secondary, secular, rational, efficient, planned, and impersonal. Norms, ends, rights, and roles would become more

limited, functionally specific, and rational than under the conditions of the typical general practitioner in his rural community office.

The difficulties that arise with the "streamlining" of the medical services are dramatized by Alice Joseph. Herself a doctor, she first describes a typical attitude of many doctors: ". . . Many modern physicians, when confronted with sick persons, do not conceive persons at all, but only cases—cases of measles, cases of arthritis, of diabetes, of heart failure. When such a physician thinks of Mr. Smith, who is the head of a family, a man of middle age, with three children and a good job which he will soon lose if he does not become healthy in time, he may see him simply as a beautiful case of streptococcus sore throat which may or may not respond to sulfanilamide therapy."¹²

Dr. Joseph then goes on to contrast how Mr. Smith himself feels about his sickness.

Before his sickness he may have been a cheerful man, eager to work, affectionate toward his family, a man of certain principles, with a certain political opinion and a certain social position. Now, however, though only temporarily, he is changed into a rather helpless human being, stripped of many of the attributes of social differentiation and of some of the upper layers of moral intellectual attitudes acquired during his life. . . .

For our simplified example of the sick Mr. Smith, however, we may assume that there are no extraordinary forces which delay or inhibit his perception of pain, or which increase his capacity of pain-endurance. He is fully and wholeheartedly in pain, and that means hypersensitivity towards additional stimuli, and anxiety and insecurity. And out of these arise certain behavioral attitudes which we find also in other psychological constellations of a negative direction, but which are particularly overt in periods of sickness. There is the so-called harm-avoidant attitude which expresses itself in an apparently exaggerated concern about trifling matters, and which so often exasperates the healthy members of the family. Along with this, there often goes a more or less aggressive attitude, that is, a readiness to blame and to accuse other people of neglect and indifference toward the patient. At the same time, however, or shifting from one to the other sometimes within minutes, is a quite overwhelming need for help, attention and affection. Out of this latter, usually the strongest need of all, the physician is called. And here begins a relationship which, with the possible exception of the relationship be-

¹² Alice Joseph, "Physician and Patient," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. I, No. 4, July-August-September 1942, p. 1.

tween the sexes, is not approached in emotional content anywhere else in our present day white society—emotional in the sense that it contradicts and even excludes the factors of experience and logical reasoning. Because the need for help is so strong, because the suffering patient wants to be relieved, he creates from this drive the concept of a person who in reality does not exist at all, a person endowed with exceptional powers and a knowledge which, in his healthy days, the patient would normally deny to any other individual.¹³

The Ideal Doctor-Patient Relationship: A Fine Balance between the Familistic Gemeinschaft and Contractual Gesellschaft. The ideal doctor-patient relationship, as described by Dr. Joseph, is comparable to that between husband and wife in that it “contradicts and even excludes the factors of experience and logical reasoning.” It is, therefore, not rational, and involves certain Gemeinschaft elements. The relationship is of the nature of the familistic Gemeinschaft in that patient and doctor share a common fate. Doctors generally maintain that it is very difficult to operate on the same patient the second time, because they “shared the fight” in the first operation. On the other hand, doctors avoid treating members of their own family or discussing professional matters at social occasions. They often give their office hours to friends who wish to discuss their ailments, indicating a desire to avoid the blanket responsibilities of a familistic Gemeinschaft relationship.

The patient-doctor relationship tends to be rational in that keeping up with science suppresses traditionalism. In addition, the technically competent doctor is supposed to be “efficient” in getting people well or in preventing sickness. Whether the doctor-patient relationship develops, i.e., whether or not an individual becomes a patient of a doctor, depends upon functionally specific criteria as to whether or not the malady comes under his field of competence. Furthermore, in his role as diagnostician the doctor is restricted in his inquiry to those areas that are relative to his function. Otherwise, he might well be accused of prying. On the other hand, the patient’s wife may question him generally, because of the functionally diffuse relationships between man and wife.

The authority of the doctor is peculiar in that it is based upon “technical competence” and restricted to areas in which he is able to advise. Parsons¹⁴ has pointed out this characteristic of the doctor-

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁴ Talcott Parsons, “The Professions and Social Structure,” *Social Forces*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, May 1939, pp. 457-468.

patient relationship, and has indicated that it is also governed by universalistic, rather than by particularistic or personal considerations. By universalistic we mean that the standards and criteria are independent of any particular social relationship. In the sense that the relationship is rational and governed by functionally specific and universalistic criteria, the doctor-patient relationship is of the nature of the contractual *Gesellschaft*. To the extent that the patient and doctor share one another's fate or to the extent that there is an emotional involvement, the relationship has familistic *Gemeinschaft* features.¹⁵ Although sympathy is important in the professional's relationships with the client, intimacy and rapport are not essential.

Enough has been said about the doctor-patient relationship to indicate that it has aspects of both the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and the contractual *Gesellschaft*. (See Diagram 1.) Any rationalization of the rural medical services which limits the personal contact of doctor and patient may not increase the real efficiency of a clinic or other curative agency. The problem is very complex, but the increasing amount of mental disease and the increased demand for psychiatrists who are especially trained in establishing rapport indicate the danger of over-rationalization.

DIAGRAM 1

Comparison of the Doctor-Patient Relationship with the Father-child Relationship, on Key Attributes of the Familistic Gemeinschaft and Contractual Gesellschaft Continuum

Rights and responsibilities unlimited or functionally diffuse	5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 F D	Rights and responsibilities limited to area of technical competency; contractual
Personal; particularistic	F D	Impersonal; universalistic
Traditional	F D	Rational
Affectual; emotional	F D	Efficient; planned
Community of fate; mutuality of interests	F D 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 	Convergence of interests; limited
Sacred	F D	Secular
FAMILISTIC GEMEINSCHAFT	F = Father-child D = Doctor-patient	CONTRACTUAL GESELLSCHAFT

¹⁵ Hiller, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

RURAL AGENCY SYSTEMS
DOCTORS AND THE RURAL AREA

In few services are rural as compared with urban people more underprivileged than in the medical services. Since the turn of the century, there have been progressively fewer and older doctors in rural areas, whereas the opposite applies to the urban sections. In 1940 the states having the smallest populations per physician were New York with 492, Massachusetts with 547, Colorado with 572, California with 580, Maryland with 610, Illinois with 648, and Nevada with 660. The states having the largest number of people per physician were Mississippi with 1,459, Alabama with 1,365, South Carolina with 1,355, North Carolina with 1,304, Idaho with 1,241, South Dakota with 1,266, North Dakota with 1,239, and New Mexico with 1,211. These disparities and those to be discussed later are brought into true relief when it is realized that the rural practitioner's efficiency is perhaps cut from 10 to 25 percent because of distance and other handicaps.¹⁶

Dentists and nurses as well as other personnel and facilities are more available in urban than in rural areas. States such as Arkansas, Georgia, and Kentucky have one hospital bed for each 600 persons, whereas urban states such as Rhode Island, California, and Massachusetts have three times as many. Six rural counties in 1940 reported more than 10,000 persons per active physician. Two of these counties, Sandoval in New Mexico and Stewart in Tennessee, had more than 13,000 per doctor.¹⁷ The concentration of the specialists in the cities is much more pronounced than that of the general practitioners. Many areas are without needed specialists. In the United States in 1940 there were 164,649 physicians for the 132,000,000 people, or about one physician for every 800 persons. In cities, however, there were only 580 people per doctor as compared with 1,336 in rural areas. Nearly 11 million people are living in more than 1,000 of the nation's most rural counties in which there is only one physician for every 1,700 persons. When calculations are made to take into account the

¹⁶ *Our National Health Problem*, Chicago: Research Council for Economic Security, 1946, pp. 1-5. See also Frederick D. Mott and Milton I. Roemer, *Rural Health and Medical Care*, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948, p. 155.

¹⁷ *Report to the Committee on Education and Labor*, Senate Committee Print No. 4, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946, p. 15. Any analysis based upon county lines, of course, is inadequate. See Frank G. Dickinson, "Medical Service Areas in the United States," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. XXXIII, April 5, 1947, pp. 1014-1015.

effects of age upon these doctors, the ratio is increased to one to 1,964. With this adjustment, New Mexico, with a ratio of one "effective" physician per 3,738 persons, makes the poorest showing. Disadvantaged as the rural areas are in general medical practitioners, they are even more disadvantaged in specialists. Full-time specialists in outlying counties are less than one-third as numerous as they are in counties bordering the metropolitan counties.¹⁸

That the general movement of professionals to towns and cities is an ever-increasing trend is demonstrated by regional figures. In 1900, for example, 33 percent of the 825 unincorporated Michigan towns had physicians, whereas this percentage had fallen to only 12 percent by 1930. For 93 incorporated places under 500 population, 95 percent had physicians in 1900, whereas only 65 percent had physicians by 1930.¹⁹ The average number of physicians in places under 10,000 has decreased greatly.²⁰ (Interestingly enough, the same tendency is noted in the case of lawyers.) Table 63 indicates the unfavorable position of rural areas as compared with urban at the present time. In 1912, rural Minnesota had one physician for every 1,443 persons, but by 1936 there were 1,814. During the same period in the Minnesota urban area, the ratio of population per physician declined from 632 to 434.²¹ Although places under 5,000 population contain 48 percent of the population of the United States, less than one-fifth of the young medical-school graduates establish themselves in places of this size. At the beginning of the century, half of the medical students were establishing themselves in places of this size, but by 1923 the proportion had fallen to one-fourth.²²

¹⁸ *Report to the Committee on Education and Labor*, p. 16; and Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, p. 151. See also studies cited on page 162 by Tate, Mangus, and Almack.

¹⁹ C. R. Hoffer, *Changes in the Retail and Service Facilities of Rural Trade Centers in Michigan, 1900 and 1930*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 261, September 1935, p. 29.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30. Hoffer found that the percentage of physicians in 380 Michigan trade centers of 10,000 and under declined from an average of 3.8 physicians in 1900 to 2.3 in 1930. The most severe decreases came in the smallest centers.

²¹ Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1948, p. 507. See also Joseph W. Mountain, Elliott H. Pennell, and Virginia Nicolay, "Location and Movement of Physicians, 1923 and 1938," *Public Health Reports*, September 11, 1942, and December 18, 1942.

²² Bernhard J. Stern, *American Medical Practice*, New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1945, p. 70.

Not only are doctors in rural areas becoming scarcer and older, but they are also becoming more mobile. A Minnesota study found that the average annual turn-over rate of doctors in communities under 500 people was 31.1, as compared with 18.1 for places of 10,000 and over.²³ Many in rural areas had moved to the larger centers. Since the facilities and general reorganization of American rural life about the

TABLE 63
Distribution of Physicians by Type of County, United States, 1942

Type of County	Available Physicians					
	Percent of Population	Number	Percentage Distribution	Per 100,000 Population	Hospital Beds per Physician	General and Special Beds per 1,000 Population
All Counties	100.0	158,429	100.0	120	2.9	3.5
Metropolitan ^a	53.3	107,510	67.9	153	3.0	4.7
Bordering ^b	16.0	18,873	11.9	90	2.6	2.4
Not Bordering ^b	30.7	32,046	20.2	79	2.7	2.1
By Largest Urban Place ^c						
10,000 or more	9.5	12,850	8.1	102	3.6	3.7
5,000 to 10,000	6.7	7,022	4.4	80	2.9	2.3
2,500 to 5,000	6.3	5,839	3.7	71	2.0	1.4
Under 2,500	8.2	6,335	4.0	59	1.3	.8

^a A metropolitan county is one having within its boundaries all or any part of a city of 50,000 or more, or suburbs of such a city. This is a more inclusive definition than the United States Census definition of metropolitan district, which is limited to adjacent townships having more than 150 people per square mile.

^b *Bordering* and *Not bordering* designate counties which border or do not border on a metropolitan county.

^c Counties are classified according to location with reference to metropolitan centers and by size of largest town within each county. The most isolated counties are those which neither border on a metropolitan county nor have any town or city of more than 2,500 population.

SOURCE: United States Public Health Service, based on original data from United States Bureau of the Census and the American Medical Association.

²³ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 507; and Harold Maslow, "The Characteristics and Mobility of Rural Physicians: A Study of Six Wisconsin Counties," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 3, September 1938, pp. 267-278.

larger trade center is conditioned largely by the increased economic rewards for professional practice in these centers, it is not surprising that this trend prevails. The results are obvious. In cities with populations of 10,000 and over in 1943, only 2 percent of the live births were not attended by a physician; in rural areas the percentage was 13.²⁴ Although the trend toward the urbanization of the dental profession did not keep pace with the medical profession, dentists appear to be even more urbanized than physicians. In 1940 there were 1,911 people per dentist in the United States. For urban and rural areas these figures were 1,337 and 4,386 respectively.²⁵

There has been an increasing tendency for medical college graduates to settle in non-rural areas, where incomes are higher and where hospital, clinical, and other services are more available. It is not uncommon to find rural districts where all physicians are 50 years or over, where all have graduated 25 years earlier. Thus, whereas in 1923 only 23.8 percent of the physicians in counties with no urban place were 58 years of age and over, in 1938 this proportion had risen to 45.1 percent. In 1938 only 22.5 percent of the practitioners in metropolitan counties were over 58 years of age.²⁶ In view of the large proportion of older physicians in rural areas, it is interesting to note that the procurement and assignment service for physicians in the armed services considered doctors 65 years of age and older as one-third effective.²⁷

²⁴ U. S. *Summary of Vital Statistics*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, Washington: Bureau of the Census, February 28, 1945.

²⁵ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

²⁶ Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, p. 170. R. C. Williams, *Health and Medical Care Through Planned Programs*, Washington: Farm Security Administration, February 2, 1938; and Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., p. 554. For data on physicians in rural areas, see C. E. Lively and P. G. Beck, *The Rural Health Facilities of Ross County, Ohio*, Wooster: Ohio AES Bulletin 412, October 1927, pp. 12-20; C. R. Hoffer, *Public Health and Educational Services in Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 207, January 1931, pp. 9-12; W. F. Kumlien, *Basic Trends of Social Change in South Dakota, V, Public Health Facilities*, Brookings: South Dakota AES Bulletin 334, March 1940, pp. 21-24; and Maslow, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-278.

²⁷ Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 70. For a study of relationship between the effectiveness of physicians and their age, see A. Ciocco and Isadore Altman, "The Patient Load of Physicians in Private Practice: A Comparative Statistical Study of Three Areas," *Public Health Reports*, Vol. LVIII, September 3, 1943, pp. 1329-1351.

Table 64 summarizes the findings of a study of college medical students. The number of medical college students per million population, it will be noted, increases from the smallest communities to cities of 25,000 to 100,000. The study reveals that no relation exists between medical school locations and student-population ratios.

TABLE 64

Distribution of First-year Medical College Students in 1939-1940, Compared with Distribution of Active Physicians, United States, 1941

Size of Place	Distributed Population ^a 1940	Physicians 1941	Medical Students 1939-40	Personnel Per Million Population		Ratio of Students to Physicians
				Physicians	Students	
Total Population	131,669,275	150,523	6,011	1,143	45.7	1 to 25
Over 100,000	43,294,223	69,933	2,284	1,617	52.8	1 to 31
25,000-100,000	17,571,443	21,849	1,022	1,243	58.2	1 to 21
5,000-25,000	23,852,908	22,136	1,202	928	50.4	1 to 18
Under 5,000	47,450,124	36,605	1,503	771	31.7	1 to 24
2,500-5,000	9,479,790	*	437	*	46.1	*
1,000-2,500	13,965,612	*	441	*	31.6	*
Under 1,000	24,004,742	*	625	*	26.0	*

^a Open country *farm population* has been distributed among cities, towns, and villages, in proportion to the *number* of such centers. Open country *non-farm population* has been distributed among cities, towns, and villages in proportion to the *population* in such centers. This is done on the assumption that the open country nonfarm population lies almost entirely closely around large towns and cities. Consequently, the larger the center the more of this population should be allocated to it.

* Not available for groups other than "Under 5,000."

SOURCE: C. Horace Hamilton, "Distribution of Medical College Students by Residence," *Journal of the Association of American Medical Colleges*, January 1946, p. 6.

However, if we assume that rural-reared doctors are more likely to return to rural areas, the seriousness of the situation is revealed when we learn that for every million people in urban centers of the nation from 1938-40, these centers furnished 66.4 medical students. The comparable ratio for rural communities was only 18.6.²⁸ A study by the Social Research Service of Michigan State College and a Missouri

²⁸ C. Horace Hamilton, "Distribution of Medical College Students by Residence," *Journal of the Association of American Medical Colleges*, January 1946.

study indicate that rural students, far in excess of the capacities of medical colleges, want to study and follow the medical arts. The states of Utah, Nebraska, and Vermont have the largest number of students per 100,000 studying medicine; New Mexico, Kentucky, and Maine have the smallest proportions.

MEDICAL FACILITIES FOLLOW THE DOLLAR

It is generally agreed that the disparity in rural and urban health facilities is due largely to rural-urban disparity in wealth. The greater the number of rural people in a given state, the lower will be the average income. This fact determines to a considerable extent the amount and availability of medical service. In 1939, 77 percent of all farms in the United States produced less than \$1500 worth of products.²⁹ In 1941 the median-income urban families spent \$26.76 per person for medical care as compared with only \$14.34 per person spent by farm families.³⁰

Figures 189, 190, and 191 indicate dramatically the predicament of people living in low-income areas. Poor people not only have much more sickness than well-to-do people, but also there are fewer facilities available to them. A public opinion poll conducted by the National Opinion Research Center indicates that 81 percent of those interviewed think that some people cannot afford to see a doctor as often as they should. Thirty-one percent said that they themselves put off going to a doctor because of the cost.³¹ In a study of five rural counties in Missouri, Kaufman found that "If the entire survey population were to receive the same amount of medical and dental care

²⁹ *The Experimental Health Program of the United States Department of Agriculture*, Senate Subcommittee Monograph No. 1, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946, facing p. 2. See David E. Lindstrom "Ability to Pay for Medical Care," *Rural Sociology*, Vol XIII, No. 2, June 1948, pp. 180-182.

³⁰ Elin L. Anderson, *The Extension Service's Responsibility in Aiding Rural People To Improve Their Health and Medical Services*, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, Extension Service, July 1947, p. 3. Mott and Roemer have shown that the acute lack of physicians in rural areas is related to per capita income. States having less than 30 percent rural population have a per capita income of \$814 and 637 persons per effective physician; states having 70 percent or more rural population have an average income of \$303 and 1,428 persons per physician. *Op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.

³¹ *What Do the American People Think About Federal Health Insurance?*, University of Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, October 1944, p. 3. Sixty-eight percent of the informants in this survey thought it would be a good idea for social security to cover hospital and doctor care.

received by those families having incomes of \$2,000 or over, the total number of practitioner calls to the 1,544 families would be increased

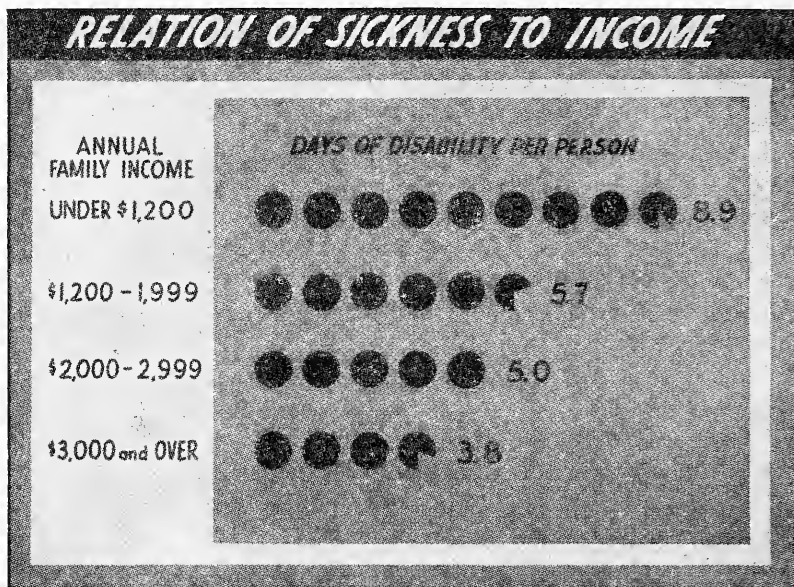


FIG. 189. The relationship between days of disability per person and annual family income. (Reproduced from Anderson, *The Extension Service's Responsibility in Aiding Rural People To Improve Their Health and Medical Services*, p. 2.)

40 percent, the number of days spent in a general hospital would be increased by 155 percent and the number of persons using a dentist by 44 percent.”³²

The significance of these findings is emphasized by the following quotation from the *Report of the Commission on Hospital Care*: “Theoretically, from 25 to 50 percent of the annual deaths in the United States could be ‘prevented’ if the health of the entire nation could be made as good as that of the best state. In some states which now have high mortality rates, the possibilities for improvement are even greater.”³³ The states referred to in the last sentence are, of course, rural states. That thousands of rural people die annually because they do not have the resources and facilities of the urban popu-

³² Kaufman, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

³³ Commission on Hospital Care, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

lations is a motivating force to farm organizations who seek means of remedying the situation.

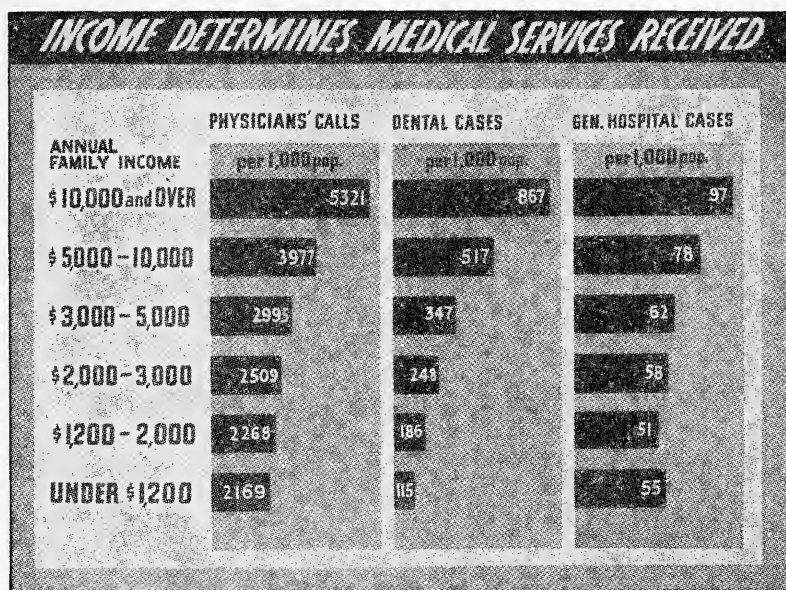


FIG. 190. The relationship between physician calls, dental cases, and general hospital cases per 1,000 population and annual family income. (Reproduced from Anderson, *The Extension Service's Responsibility in Aiding Rural People To Improve Their Health and Medical Services*, p. 2.)

LOCALITY GROUPINGS AND DISTRIBUTION OF PRACTITIONERS

In order to meet the need for individual preventive services, maternity services, and diagnosis and treatment of diseases and defects, the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care concluded that one physician is needed for each 742 people, or that 6,484 services from physicians per 1,000 population are required.³⁴ The Procurement and Assignment Service of the War Manpower Commission set the population-doctor ratio at one effective physician for each 1,500 people, a ratio which could not be increased without jeopardizing public

³⁴ See Roger I. Lee and L. W. Jones, *The Fundamentals of Good Medical Care*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933; and Samuel Bradbury, *The Cost of Adequate Medical Care*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937, p. 22.

health.³⁵ Since, according to this principle, the rural hinterland of trade centers furnishes a larger basis than the center, most places of

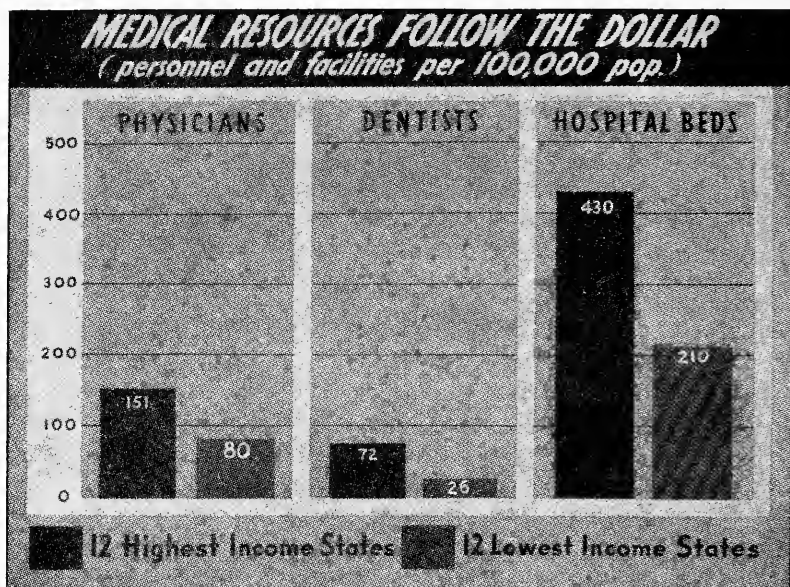


FIG. 191. Number of physicians, dentists, and hospital beds per 100,000 population in the 12 highest and 12 lowest income states. (Reproduced from Anderson, *The Extension Service's Responsibility in Aiding Rural People To Improve Their Health and Medical Services*, p. 6.)

500 or less need a physician unless they are in the orbit of larger centers with readily available services. In actuality, hundreds of these smaller places are without doctors. As Table 63 indicates, however, 14.5 percent of the population of the nation reside in counties with centers of 5,000 people or less and not bordering metropolitan centers.

Table 65 indicates the distances that families in three Michigan counties live from their family physician, dentist, and nearest general hospital. Seventy-eight percent live 10 miles or less from their family doctor, and 62 percent live 10 miles or less from their family dentist. An Arkansas study found that the average distance between patient

³⁵ A. R. Mangus, *Health and Human Resources in Rural Ohio*, Mimeograph Bulletin No. 176, Columbus: Ohio State University, May 1944, p. 43. See also Lee and Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

and the physician or dentist was approximately 8 miles.³⁶ Another Arkansas study³⁷ indicates that those rural people who live within one mile of a doctor use his services in a greater percentage of their illnesses than do those who live farther away. They also averaged more calls per illness. This difference was explained not only by the poor means of transportation and communication but also by the

TABLE 65

Distance Farm Families in Three Michigan Counties Live from Their Doctor, Dentist, and General Hospital, 1947

County and Distance	Percentage Living Specified Distance from		
	Family Doctor	Family Dentist	General Hospital
All Areas			
0- 5	39	20	19
6-10	39	42	34
11-15	14	21	23
16 and over	8	17	24
Kent County			
0- 5	48	15	7
6-10	38	44	32
11-15	7	22	25
16 and over	7	19	36
Shiawassee County			
0- 5	21	20	40
6-10	47	48	27
11-15	12	16	20
16 and over	3	16	13
Cheboygan County			
0- 5	21	23	19
6-10	21	23	21
11-15	33	37	28
16 and over	25	17	32

SOURCE: Hoffer, *Health and Health Services for Michigan Farm Families*, 1948, pp. 13, 17, and 18.

³⁶ T. C. McCormick, *Rural Social Organization in South-Central Arkansas*, Fayetteville: Arkansas AES Bulletin 313, December 1934, p. 29.

³⁷ I. C. Wilson and W. H. Metzler, *Sickness and Medical Care in an Ozark Area in Arkansas*, Fayetteville: Arkansas AES Bulletin 353, April 1938, pp. 37-38.

mileage charges. On the other hand, Kaufman³⁸ found that the average distance to doctors was 8 miles, and although families living close to a hospital used it more than those living farther away, distance did not make any difference in the use of physicians. He found that this held true for both office calls and home visits, proving that home visits are greater when ailments are more serious.³⁹ In Ross County, Ohio, Lively and Beck found that the greater the distance from the physician, the less his services were used by the families. They conclude that this situation was due to the inconvenience and added cost which distance makes.⁴⁰ Because poor farming areas are usually more isolated than good farming areas, there is frequently a convergence of such factors as low incomes, isolation, and lack of facilities, all of which serve to increase rural illness. Kaufman and Morse⁴¹ found that illness rates were from one and two-fifths to twice as great for persons living over 13 miles from a practitioner as for those residing closer than 3 miles.

Many factors lead to the piling up of medical facilities in the larger centers. A sample of informants in three Michigan counties, representative of excellent, medium, and poor facilities and concomitant health indices, was asked the question: "Would you say the kind of service you get here from doctors is good, poor, or both good and poor?" Sixty-one percent answered that it was good, 9.2 percent said it was poor, and 29.6 percent reported it to be both good and poor. The reasons for answering that medical services were not good are given in Table 66. These answers bring to light the critical nature of the rural health problem. The most important factor is the unwillingness of the doctor to come to the farm home. The concentration of specialists and other doctors and medical facilities in large centers poses a real problem to those who wish to improve rural health.

Many farm families prefer to obtain their medical services in smaller centers when they are available there. (See Figure 192.) Cities of 5,000 and over cease to be farmers' cities, and farm people may not feel at home there. There are reasons for believing that the presence and availability of one's loved ones hasten recovery for many kinds of illnesses. When poor people are taken out of the orbit of the social

³⁸ Harold F. Kaufman and Warren W. Morse, *Illness in Rural Missouri*, Columbia: Missouri AES Research Bulletin 391, August 1945, pp. 32-33.

³⁹ Kaufman, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁴⁰ Lively and Beck, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

⁴¹ Kaufman and Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

system from which they derive satisfactions of the familistic Gemeinschaft-like variety, hurdles are being placed in the path of the patient's recovery. On the other hand, many rural doctors enjoy rural

TABLE 66

Reasons Given by 114 Informants for Medical Service Not Being Good, Three Michigan Counties, 1947

Reason	Number of Informants	Percentage of 114 Informants
Doctor will not come to farmhouse	33	28
Doctors are too busy	28	24
Lack of medical doctors	21	19
Doctors not well trained (i.e., not trained as medical doctors)	12	10
Have to wait too long at doctor's office	7	6
Medical service poor since war	6	5
Other reasons	7	6

SOURCE: Hoffer, *Health and Health Services for Michigan Farm Families*, 1948, p. 29.

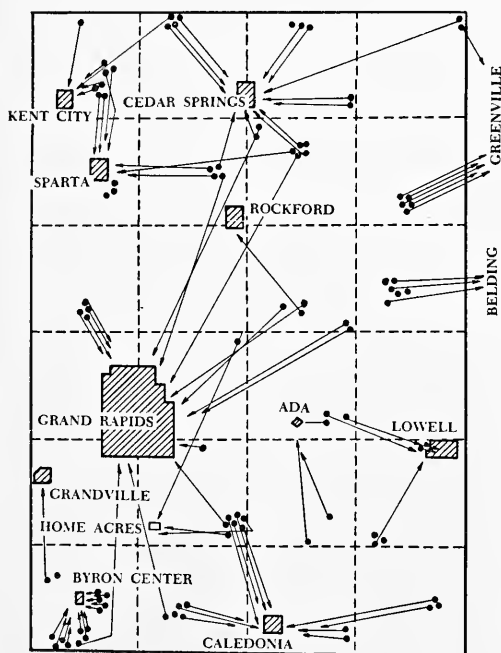


FIG. 192. Centers to which farmers in Kent County, Michigan, go for medical services. Although Grand Rapids, a city of 164,000 lies within the county, many persons make use of the medical services of the small centers. (Reproduced from Hoffer, *Health and Health Services for Michigan Farm Families*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 352, September 1948, p. 22.)

life and rural people. If incomes and facilities were available in rural areas, there seems to be no reason why farm trade-centers could not attract medical doctors and other medical personnel. In relation to getting physicians to stay in rural areas, the Report of the Commission on Hospital Care indicates that physicians, like other professional people, "want the best in cultural and educational advantages for themselves and their children. These are not available in rural communities. . . . Direct subsidies to practicing physicians have helped in some areas. The municipal doctor plan in certain rural Canadian provinces seems to have been successful and might be tried in similar areas in the United States. Perhaps inducements to rural physicians should include not only an adequate income and a good hospital, but also certain perquisites, such as transportation allowances, a home and/or an office."⁴²

HOSPITALS AS SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Nelson has called the hospital the "workshop for the doctor" and suggests that it is a "key" to the redistribution of physicians.⁴³ A large hospital represents a social system in the sense that we have used this term in Chapter 1. Like the church, which has as its most important function that of helping individuals and groups over the regular crises of the life cycle, the hospital, which has as its function helping individuals through sickness, must strive to embody in its social structure and value orientation some of the attributes of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*. Mention has already been made of the religio-humanitarian origin of the nursing profession. Along with the physicians, the nurses form the basic staff of the organization. The Commission on Hospital Care stresses the religious nature of the origin of the hospital, as follows: "The basic character of hospital service was molded from the elements of early religious doctrines. . . . Church hospitals extended care to the poverty-stricken, victims of pestilence, casualties of war, and friendless travelers alike. The missionary zeal with which both Catholic and Protestant faiths were carried to all parts of the New World accounts for the rapid and widespread growth of church-sponsored hospitals in America. The first hospitals on the North American continent were in the French and Spanish settlements where Catholic orders played an important role in colonization. The

⁴² Commission on Hospital Care, *op.cit.*, p. 158.

⁴³ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

establishment of hospitals was probably influenced in part by the effectiveness with which they demonstrated the principles upon which the Christian religion was founded."⁴⁴ Hospitals attempt to merge those elements of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*, such as the sacred, traditional, personal, and blanketed responsibility, into the contractual *Gesellschaft* traits of functional specificity and rationality which generally characterize a bureaucracy.

The importance of retaining the elements of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* value orientation and social structure is stressed in the following quotation: "However, professional service may be coldly efficient and unsympathetic. Though the patient's needs may be adequately served as far as diagnosis and therapy are concerned, the attention given to his personal needs and to his human relationships may leave much to be desired. It is incumbent upon the governing authorities, administrator, and personnel in all categories (professional, technical, and general service) to see to it that a kindly, humanitarian spirit pervades the entire atmosphere of the institution. The most proficient professional service will be unsatisfactory to the patient in an environment which is cold and unresponsive to his personal needs and desires."⁴⁵

The following quotation implies the necessity that rural hospitals incorporate familistic *Gemeinschaft* features when serving rural people:

The demands of an agricultural existence tend to give the farmer a psychological make-up quite distinct from that of the city resident. Typically, his contacts with people tend to be fewer and he is thrown more completely on his own resources. . . . He is more attached to the traditional, the "tried and true" way of doing things. His closeness to nature and his relative helplessness against the ravages of drought or flood or windstorm make him somewhat fatalistic and, at the same time, rather stoical about the misfortunes of life. Obviously these attitudes have a bearing on the farm family's reaction to illness, injuries, or impairments and to the need for medical services.⁴⁶

Perhaps the ease with which people go to hospitals is one of the best indicators of the difference between lower- and middle-class status. In the more isolated rural areas, even for those lower-class

⁴⁴ Commission on Hospital Care, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴⁶ Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

families who might have some type of hospital insurance, leaving friends and family to go to a strange, professionalized city hospital often creates anxiety and dread.

On the other hand, at least one investigator has reported that lower-middle-class, and some upper-lower-class people are found in general hospitals in much greater proportions than would be expected from their numbers in the general population. Loeb⁴⁷ relates the following incident to explain this tendency. Mrs. X. found that her husband was not paying as much attention to her as he had in the past. She slipped and broke her leg. While in the hospital the husband's attentions were restored to her. He came regularly to visit her in the hospital and was very sympathetic. In due time she left the hospital but kept coming back with the complaint that the leg would not heal. Loeb explains that the personal satisfactions and the symbols of the class status toward which Mrs. X. aspired—cleanliness, respectability, attention, and companionship—were found in the hospital. If Loeb's thesis is correct, the hospital is truly a middle-class social system both in staff and in patronage. The social structure and value orientation of hospitals offer a rich field for sociological and anthropological investigation.

LACK OF HOSPITAL FACILITIES IN RURAL AREAS

The more isolated and rural the area, the fewer hospital beds are available. This is illustrated by Table 63. The 11 million people living in the most isolated counties have an average of only 0.8 beds per 1,000 persons. Those residing in counties having one or more towns of 2,500 to 5,000 population have 1.4 beds per 1,000 population. Notwithstanding the fact that rural ailments require hospitalization in a larger proportion of cases than urban ailments, these two residence groups together have only 1.1 beds per 1,000 population. The remainder of the nation has about 4.0 beds for each 1,000 population.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Martin Loeb, "Social and Cultural Concomitants of Illness and Convalescence," paper read before the Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, New Haven, Connecticut, 1947. For additional statements of the thesis that hospital commitments and sickness rates are related to social factors, see Ruesch, Harris, Loeb, *et al.*, *Chronic Disease and Psychological Invalidism*, Psychosomatic Medicine Monographs, New York, 1936.

⁴⁸ The Commission on Hospital Care, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149; see also Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-229.

Actually about 19 to 20 million rural people are located in areas outside the influence of urban communities.⁴⁹

Table 67 indicates that a much smaller proportion of deaths and

TABLE 67

Percentage of Deaths and Births in Institutions and Hospitals in the United States, by Urban and Rural Residence, 1937-1944

Year	Percentage of Deaths in Institutions			Percentage of Births in Institutions		
	Total	Urban	Rural ^a	Total	Urban	Rural ^a
1944	45.4	*	*	75.6	89.1	56.9
1943	44.1	*	*	72.1	86.9	51.2
1942	42.3	*	*	67.9	84.4	44.8
1941	40.8	49.0	32.5	61.2	84.0	42.3
1940	39.0	48.0	30.0	55.8	80.5	36.5
1939	37.7	47.6	28.1	51.1	77.6	31.5
1938	37.0	47.3	27.1	48.0	74.3	28.4
1937	36.7	47.1	26.5	44.8	71.3	24.9

^a For the years 1941 and before, rural in this table includes all cities up to 10,000 in population; but for 1942 and after, rural includes only places up to 2,500 population.

* Not available.

SOURCE: *The Commission on Hospital Care*, p. 153, computed from *Vital Statistics of the United States*, Part II.

births in rural than urban areas occur in hospitals. However, as rural incomes increased from 1937 to 1944, the percentage of rural babies born in hospitals more than doubled, from 24.9 to 56.9.⁵⁰

Using the variables, (1) days hospitalization per 100 people, (2) percent of the population which is rural, and (3) average income of the people, Figures 189, 190, and 191 indicate through partial correlation that the availability and use of hospital beds are in large part determined by income. Hamilton argues that if rural states had as high incomes as urban states, which they do not, they would probably use as much or more hospital service than do the urban states.⁵¹

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁵¹ C. Horace Hamilton, "Size of the Hospital Community," *Hospital Survey Newsletter*, October 1945.

Since a large percentage of rural children are born outside a hospital (13 percent in rural areas as compared with 2 percent in cities of over 10,000), it is to be expected that maternal and infant mortality rates are higher in rural than in urban areas. The maternal mortality rate was a fifth greater in rural areas than in cities with populations of more than 25,000. That low proportions of births and deaths in hospitals are related to buying power and lack of available facilities is demonstrated by Table 68. A young population, of course, will

TABLE 68

Relation of Hospital Size to Buying Power, Use of Hospital Facilities, and Distribution of Physicians, Michigan, 1944

Class of County by Size of Largest Hospital	Per Capita Buying Power Index 1944	Percentage of Deaths in hospitals ^a 1944	Percentage of Births in hospitals ^a 1943	Active Physicians per 100,000 Population 1943
All Counties	\$1345	48.4	84.3	99
Wayne County (Detroit area) 100 or more beds	1589	58.4	88.8	112
Other Counties				
100 or more beds	1245	48.2	87.4	99
40 to 99 beds	1139	39.8	79.4	82
Less than 40 beds	1019	34.3	68.4	74
No Hospitals	1020	26.3	40.0	68

^a By place of residence.

SOURCE: *The Commission on Hospital Care*, p. 150, computed from *Vital Statistics of the United States*, Part II.

need fewer hospital beds than an old population, but a population with a high birth rate will need more hospital beds than a population with a low birth rate.

The number of general hospital beds needed per 1,000 population is thought to be directly proportional to the crude birth and death rates.⁵² Using a formula based on the assumption that all births and

⁵² Horace Hamilton discovered the remarkably close relationship between deaths in hospitals and total days of hospitalization. From this he developed a formula based upon vital statistics which makes it possible to calculate quite accurately the amount of hospitalization required. See *Hospital Resources and Needs*, Battle Creek: The W. K. Kellogg Foundation, 1946, pp. 101-109.

half of the deaths should take place in hospitals, the Commission on Hospital Care recommends that 195,473 beds be added to those currently available in the nation's general hospitals.⁵³ Because of the passage of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, the hospital shortages in rural areas may be relieved. An appropriation of \$3,000,000 is authorized for state surveys and for the drafting of long-range planning programs. Furthermore, \$75,000,000 is authorized for hospital construction every five years. The program is to be administered by the United States Public Health Service.

Hospital insurance plans such as the Blue Cross have increased hospital usage tremendously in both rural and urban areas. However, only 4.2 percent of the populations of states that were over 70 percent rural in 1945 participated in Blue Cross plans. The comparable percentage for states that were over 70 percent urban was 18.7.⁵⁴

THE ECOLOGY OF HOSPITALS

Since studies show that the greater the distance people live from hospitals the less they use them,⁵⁵ it may be expected that a high correlation exists between population density and average percentage of hospital occupancy. In the sparsely settled regions, the hospital service area is greater than in the more densely settled areas. This relationship is indicated by Figure 193. The Commission on Hospital Care designated that community hospitals, that is, the smallest hospitals, should serve at least 15,000, or preferably 20,000 people. For such centers, it was recommended that no hospitals of less than 50 beds be constructed, because smaller units could not be adequately equipped and staffed. Figure 194 demonstrates that even when smaller hospitals having only 25 beds are allowed, a considerable proportion of Louisiana's population falls outside the range of the 30-mile radius. Although there is no hard and fast rule as to the size of the community hospital, the 30-mile limit, which is assumed to be an hour's drive, is somewhat generally accepted. Between 2 and 3 million Americans were not within 30 miles of a hospital in 1938.⁵⁶ To bring the rural people in isolated areas into hospital plans and to organize facilities for the greatest efficiency of operation will require great effort and a knowledge of population analysis and rural ecology.

⁵³ The Commission on Hospital Care, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-411.

⁵⁴ Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

⁵⁵ Kaufman, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 222.

Figures 195 and 196 describe the hospital plans as developed for Michigan by the Committee on Hospital Care.⁵⁷ Since the development of the Michigan hospital plan makes use of demography and rural sociology, the methods employed in designing Figures 195 and 196 will be sketched. First, the experts on requirements indicated

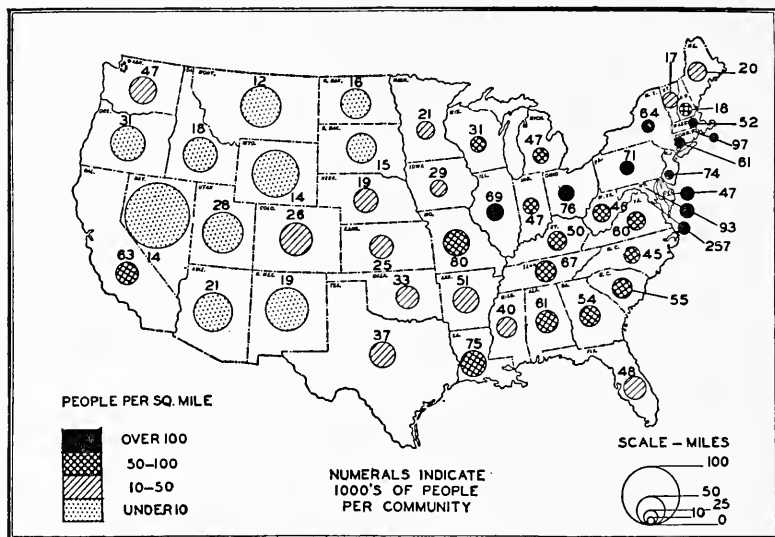


FIG. 193. Average size of hospital communities in each state, 1940. The areas of the circles are in direct proportion to the average size of hospital communities. (Reproduced from The Commission on Hospital Care, *Hospital Care in the United States*, p. 276.)

the type of organizational system that medical standards required. Medical standards and the ecology of the state demanded four types of units:

(1) *Medical centers*. These units are the centers for medical education which require large hospitals and conduct complete programs of medical and hospital care. These hospitals are located at Ann Arbor, the seat of the University of Michigan Medical School, and Detroit, the seat of the Medical School of Wayne University. The centers were designed to supply services beyond the confines of their immediate regions.

(2) *Regional hospital centers*. Because of their size or location, these centers serve as focal points for coordination and integration of

⁵⁷ The Commission on Hospital Care, *op. cit.*, pp. 380 ff.

hospital service over an area of several counties. Such centers, except in isolated areas, should have one or more hospitals with a capacity of 200 beds or more. A regional center should never have less than 100 beds. Regional centers provide special services which smaller

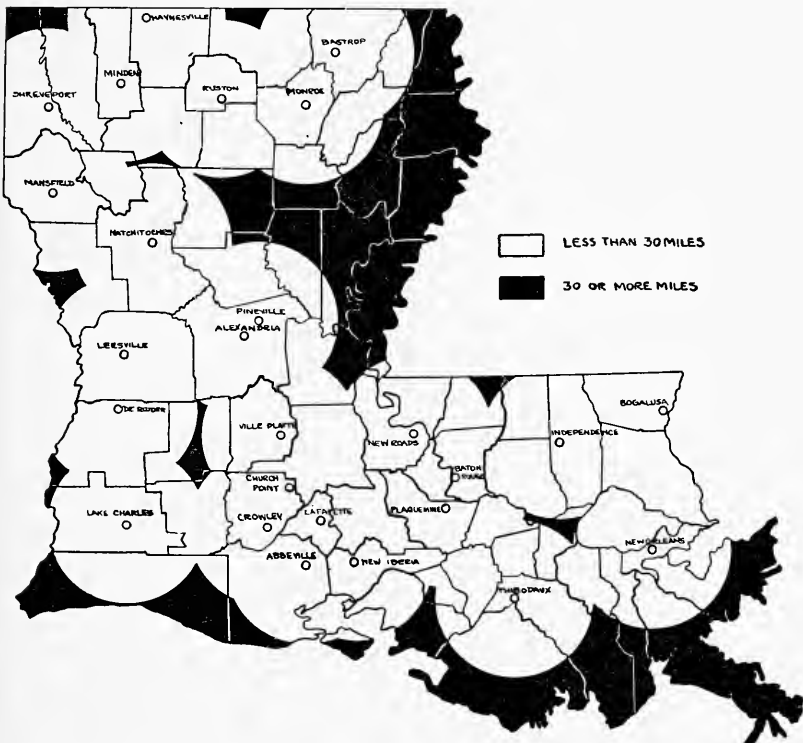


FIG. 194. Distance from general hospitals of 25 or more beds, Louisiana. (Reproduced from Hitt and Bertrand, *Social Aspects of Hospital Planning*, p. 25.)

community hospitals cannot afford to maintain. Twenty-one such centers were recommended for Michigan.

(3) *Community trade-center hospital centers.* Because of size or location, the trade-center hospital needs 50 or more beds. Only in exceptional cases are smaller units recommended. The population of such service centers may range from 15,000 to 20,000, but the upper limit is recommended unless people would have to drive more than 30 miles to reach the center. Since many residents of such centers go to larger hospitals, these centers are expected to provide only 50 to 70 percent of the hospital service needed within the trade-center com-

munity. Therefore, some of the beds for these centers are allocated to the larger regional and medical centers. A few small but densely populated rural communities within 15 or 20 miles of regional cen-

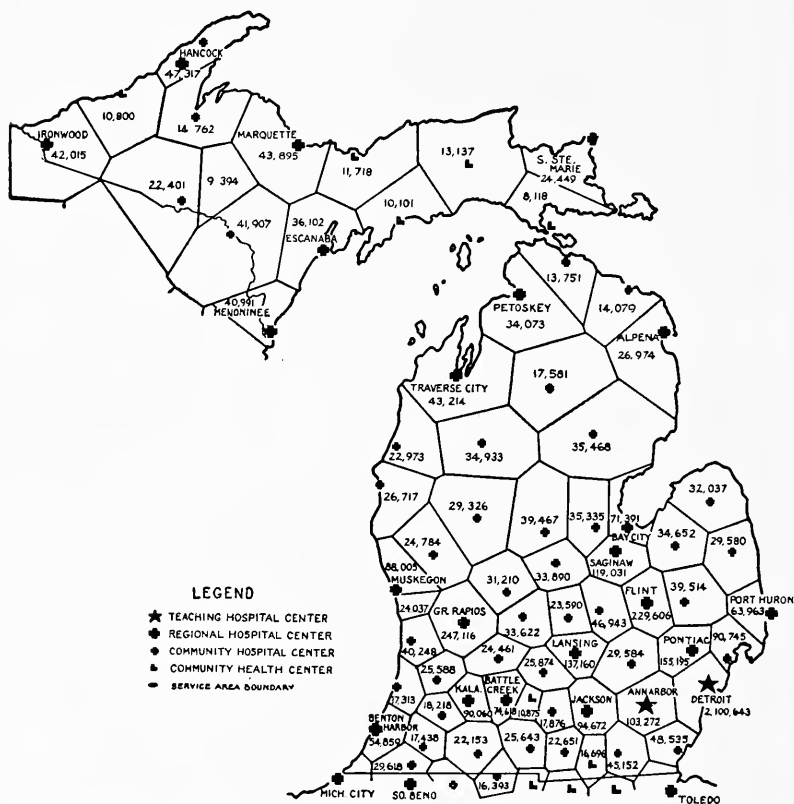


FIG. 195. Proposed hospital service areas in Michigan. (SOURCE: Commission on Hospital Care, *Hospital Care in the United States*, pp. 380-381.)

ters have been recommended as trade-center community hospitals because of the unusual need. A total of 81 centers of this type were recommended for Michigan. The facts that 53 percent of all general and allied hospitals are in communities of less than 10,000 and that most of these have less than 50 beds indicate the magnitude of change required to effectuate the plan. The American College of Surgeons approved 93 percent of the registered hospitals of 100 and more beds as compared with 40 percent of those with 25-50 bed units. Graham Davis is of the opinion that the best index of the quality of

professional service rendered by a given hospital, and of the medical service that is generally available in the community is probably the performance of autopsies.⁵⁸ Mott and Roemer cite data to indicate

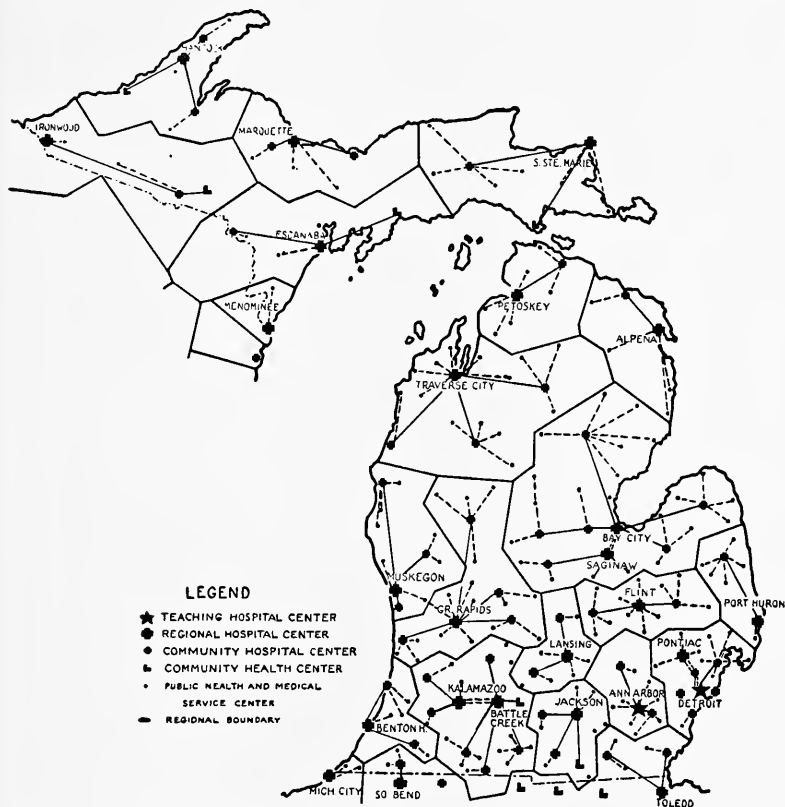


FIG. 196. Suggested regional integration of hospitals and medical service centers in Michigan. (SOURCE: Commission on Hospital Care, *Hospital Care in the United States*, pp. 382–383.)

that the percentage of hospital deaths which came to autopsy in rural hospitals is much greater than for urban hospitals with more beds and facilities.⁵⁹

(4) *Public health and medical service centers.* This type of unit was recommended for places too small and/or isolated to justify 50-bed

⁵⁸ Graham L. Davis, *A Survey of El Dorado, Kansas, as a Postwar Medical Center*, Chicago: American Hospital Association, 1945, p. 18.

⁵⁹ Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

establishments. Size of center and distance from center determine whether a place needs a service center. In rare instances, a village of 500 people or smaller, located more than 25 miles from a hospital, would need a center of this type. Larger centers in isolated areas must assume some of the functions of small hospitals; those closer to hospitals are expected to serve mainly as out-patient and diagnostic centers. A total of 181 public health and medical service centers were recommended.

The authors believe that the latter unit will be the most difficult to develop and to regularize in rural America. With the trend toward bigger and more efficient units, there seems to be a tendency of modern society to sacrifice the neighborliness of the locality group in order to attain the trappings of efficiency.

Once the general pattern for the four types of service units was decided upon, it was necessary to use population and ecological data to determine the boundaries of the various centers and sub-centers. The trade-area maps of the Hearst Marketing Service were used in the initial step. Delineation of regions and trade-center communities was developed on a trial-and-error basis. Lines were drawn between cities by placing them relatively far from big centers but relatively close to smaller centers. When these lines cut across minor civil divisions, the fractions of these were used to assign the population as listed in the census or as indicated on the road map. Natural barriers such as lakes and rivers and the type and layout of roads and highways were also considered. Unfortunately, trade-center community lines do not coincide with county lines.

Correlational analysis of vital statistics revealed a very close relationship between the number of births and deaths in hospitals and the total number of patient days of hospital care. Thus, to estimate the number of beds needed in an area, it was necessary to estimate the number of births and deaths which normally occur in each area. From data available in hospitals, it was found that for each death and correlated sickness cared for in a general hospital, 250 days of general hospital care were used. By dividing the number of days in the year into this number, it was ascertained that each death and the attendant sickness was equal to 0.7 beds per year. This figure was called the bed-death ratio. In the correlation problem, it was ascertained that the hospital death rate accounted for 90 percent of the variation in beds used. Since not all deaths can occur or should occur in hospitals, the arbitrary decision was made that at least 50 percent

of the deaths should occur in general hospitals. In Michigan in 1944, 48.2 percent of all deaths occurred in hospitals of one type or another.

Using these figures, it is an easy matter to determine the number of beds needed. A similar procedure was used to determine a bed-birth ratio of 0.03. To take care of the fact that double counting might occur if the two were added together, adjustments were made; the adjusted bed-death ratio was found to be 0.06 and the bed-birth ratio 0.03. Thus, if we assume that 50 percent of all deaths and 100 percent of all births should occur in hospitals, the formula for estimating the number of occupied beds for an area may be stated as follows: Occupied beds needed equal 0.6 times 50 percent of the deaths plus 0.03 times the births.

Beds were assigned to the three types of hospitals in this manner: the larger the trade-center community being considered, the fewer of its beds were assigned to the regional centers. Five percent of all the assigned beds of communities and regions were assigned to the teaching hospitals. No beds were assigned to public health and medical service centers because these are considered as departments and outposts of community hospitals. On this basis, it was possible to recommend the type of hospital adjustments needed in the state. The general types of agencies are indicated in Figures 195 and 196. The adjustments are indicated in the report of the Committee on Medical Care.⁶⁰ The estimate for future needs is based upon population projection techniques.

FACILITIES FOR THE MENTALLY ILL

The Commission on Hospital Care is authority for the statement that "Probably no single type of institutional care is so lacking in competent and sufficient personnel as are the nervous and mental hospitals throughout the country."⁶¹ The Commission recommends that greater use be made of the general hospitals in the care of some types of psychiatric patients and that the general hospital integrate its service with nervous and mental institutions.

That rural areas are practically without professional services for mental sickness cannot be explained on the ground that no potential psychiatric patients are residing in rural areas. Mangus and Seeley feel that their study in Miami County, Ohio, "confirms the conclusion

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 368 ff.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 416; see also Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, pp. 245-247.

of many other studies which show that personality disorders occur as often among farm people as they do among non-farm residents, and perhaps more often.”⁶² This study revealed that at least 10 percent of the men of military age had personality disorders sufficiently severe to disqualify them for military service. Furthermore, about 21 percent of the sixth-grade pupils in Miami County exhibited evidence of poor mental health. Such problems, this study indicated, were more prevalent among boys than girls.⁶³

Draft boards generally show higher rejection rates for farm workers than for other registrants.⁶⁴ With regard to mental health, Mangus and Seeley feel that “farm residence is probably an advantage for younger children, but that the advantage is lost with increasing age.”⁶⁵ Even though Mott and Roemer admit that it may be easier for one suffering from some mental ailment to “get along” in a rural environment without treatment, they have marshalled data from draft rejections and studies in rural-urban areas which they believe prove that the incidence of mental ailment is equal to or greater than that of urban areas.⁶⁶

In his study of first admissions to hospitals in Michigan, Lemert⁶⁷ found that incidence was much higher for the isolated rural areas, particularly the upper peninsula, than for the urbanized areas. Foreign-born and second-generation immigrants were found to have higher mental disease rates than did the native-born populations.⁶⁸

⁶² A. R. Mangus and John R. Seeley, *Mental Health Needs in a Rural and Semi-Rural Area of Ohio*, Mimeographed Bulletin No. 195, Columbus: Ohio State University, January 1947, p. 12.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13; see also Lawrence M. Hepple, *Veterans and Rejectees in Randolph County, Missouri, 1940–1946*, Columbia: University of Missouri Bulletin, Arts and Science Series No. 3, November 1947, pp. 52–53.

⁶⁵ Mangus and Seeley, *op. cit.*, p. 13. In a study of 1,229 third- and sixth-grade children in Ohio, Mangus found that the personality adjustment of farm children was significantly better than that of urban children. There seemed to be few significant differences in the mental health of rural-farm and rural-nonfarm children. On most items, however, both groups had adjustment scores superior to those of the urban children. In all three groups there was a surprising amount of personality maladjustment. See A. R. Mangus, “Personality Adjustment of Rural and Urban Children,” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 5, October 1948, pp. 566 ff.

⁶⁶ Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, pp. 140–143.

⁶⁷ Edwin M. Lemert, “An Exploratory Study of Mental Disorders in a Rural Problem Area,” *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, March 1948, pp. 48–64.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 60–64. See also the discussion of this paper by A. R. Mangus.

The lack of facilities for mental care in the United States is most pronounced in rural areas. Figure 197 shows the number of beds per

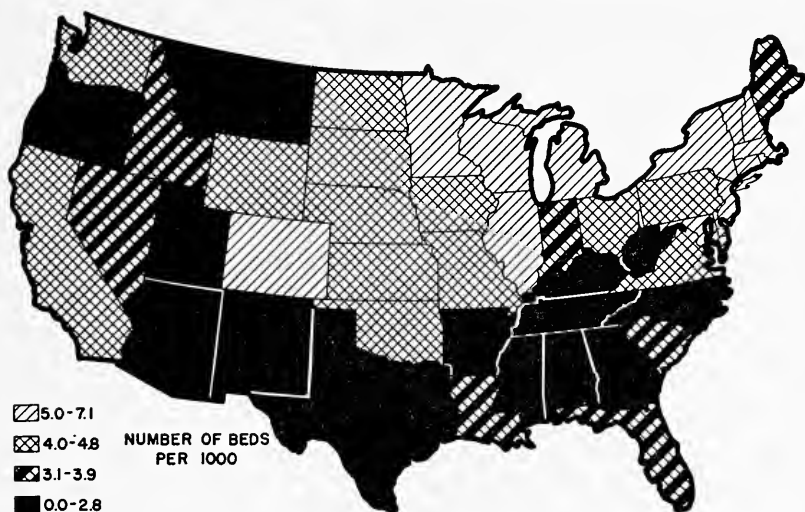


FIG. 197. Number of beds per 1,000 population in hospitals for mental disease, by states, 1945. (SOURCE: Commission on Hospital Care, *Hospital Care in the United States*, p. 314.)

1,000 population in hospitals for mental diseases for the 48 states. Note that the greatest need for this type of hospital care is in those southern and western states that are substantially rural.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES

The federal and state governments cooperate in the prevention of disease through the Public Health Service. From the general welfare point of view, perhaps the most unpardonable omission of organized medicine is the failure to support the public health agencies and legislation. The doctor, of course, may be said to have a vested interest in sickness. He is not paid for preventing disease but for curing it. However, the opposition of the medical profession to various practices carried on by the public health departments, such as the early hospital insurance plans or cooperative, prepaid, voluntary hiring of medical service can probably be ascribed more to the effort to retain the free-enterprise aspects of private medicine than to the attempt to monopolize sickness and perpetuate it.

In general, an effort is made to separate disease prevention from treatment and to assign the former to public health agencies and the

latter to private practitioners. Progressive public health departments, however, are no longer content with impersonal control of the environment and are giving attention to the needs of the individual.⁶⁹ Mott and Roemer have gathered data which show that rural people are very much disadvantaged when compared with urban people in respect to services rendered by public health agencies. In 1940 a study of low-income farm families showed that only 37 percent of the children up to 8 years had received smallpox vaccination, whereas 89 percent of the children in these ages had been vaccinated in 28 large cities studied by the National Health Survey of 1935-36. This national survey showed that 60 percent of low-income children, living in large cities, had been vaccinated, as compared with 52 percent in another survey of low-income farm families. Examinations of infants and children either under public or private auspices are much less common in rural than in urban areas. In 1945, two out of three rural counties provide no regular "well baby" or "child health" conferences or clinics under health department auspices. Three out of four rural counties provide no regular monthly prenatal clinics for expectant mothers despite the higher rural birth rate.⁷⁰

As summarized by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, the functions of a public health service are: (a) the collection and analysis of vital statistics; (b) the control of water, milk, and food supplies; (c) the control of sanitation; (d) the control, through quarantine and supervision, of communicable disease; and (e) the provision of laboratory services. In addition to these functions, the Committee believes that the following activities are also proper public health activities: (a) the promotion of maternal, infant, and child hygiene, including medical and dental inspection and supervision of school children; (b) popular health instruction; (c) the provision of preventive dental care of children; and (d) the provisions of special services for the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of tuberculosis, venereal diseases, malaria, hookworm, or any other disease which constitutes a special health problem that cannot be solved adequately and effectively by the other available medical and health agencies in the community.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, p. 334; and Wilson G. Smillie, *Public Health Administration in the United States*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940, pp. 3-10.

⁷⁰ Mott and Roemer, *ibid.*, pp. 348 and 349.

⁷¹ Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 510-511. Quoted from *Medical Care for the American People*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932, p. 43.

Federal aid to states and localities has been available for the enforcement of quarantine laws and health regulations for many years. With the passage of the Social Security Act of 1935, however, 10 million dollars of federal funds were made available to assist state and county health districts and other locality groupings in establishing and maintaining health services, in training personnel for state and local health work, and in conducting research in the administration of public health services. Grants-in-aid are made when the state or territory has an adequately organized public health program and when federal funds do not displace, but rather supplement, state funds.

In addition to these funds, others were made available under the same act for the expansion of maternal and child health programs and for aid to crippled children. This work is administered by the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor. Over 10 million dollars are available for maternal and child health, crippled-children, and child-welfare services. All states are now cooperating in these programs. Through the use of the funds, prenatal clinics are held, public health nurses are employed, and the services of local practicing physicians are engaged for mothers' and children's clinics. Medical and home nursing hospital care for needy maternity patients and children are also provided. The program increased the number of public health nurses in the United States to 23,705 as of 1940, and has been responsible at least in part for reductions in maternal and infant mortality rates.⁷²

Figure 198 indicates the distribution of the full-time health officers in the United States. Table 69 indicates how the public health services reach the children through vaccination and examination. Some private practitioners have objected to this service, but it is coming to be an accepted function of public health. How the various health agencies can be improved and coordinated so that all work together in an effective manner is one of the main problems of modern administration. Many believe that the Agricultural Extension Service has the responsibility of assisting in the organization of services and direction of health programs.⁷³

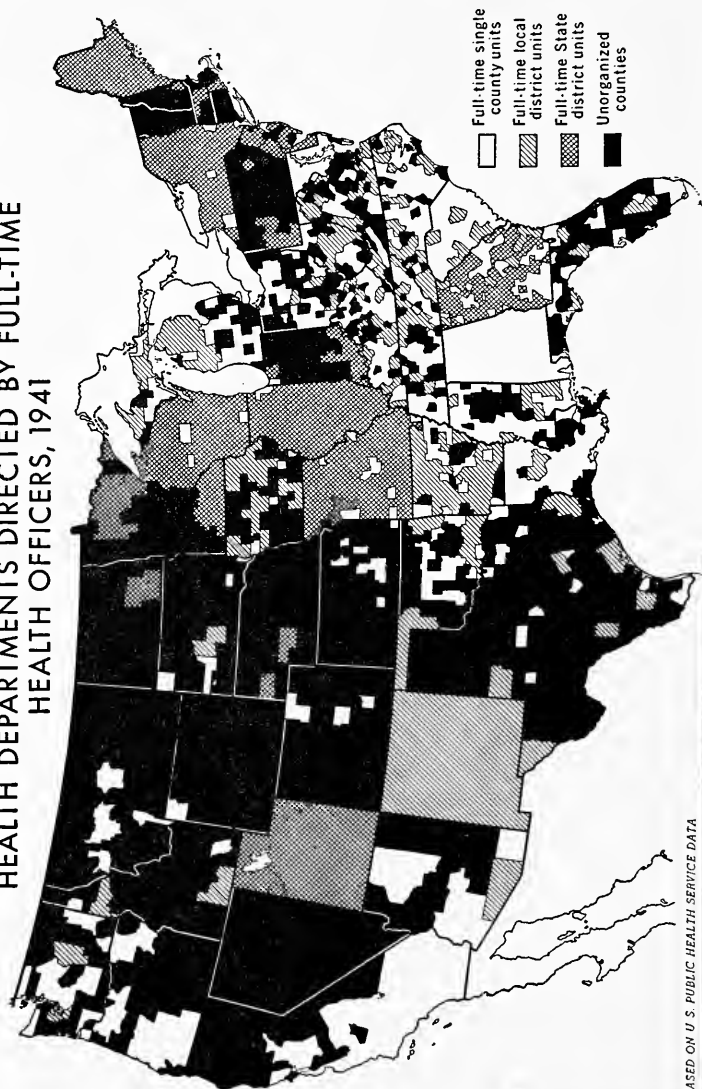
PLANS FOR IMPROVING RURAL HEALTH

Figure 199 dramatizes the need for improved services in strictly rural areas. A National Opinion Research Center survey of public opinion in 1944 asked the following question: "Do you think it

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 513.

⁷³ Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES: COUNTIES AND DISTRICTS WITH HEALTH DEPARTMENTS DIRECTED BY FULL-TIME HEALTH OFFICERS, 1941



BASED ON U. S. PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE DATA

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

NEG. 45642

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

Fig. 198. Counties and districts with public health departments directed by full-time health officers, 1941.

would be a good idea or a bad idea if the social-security law also provided paying for the doctor and hospital care that people might

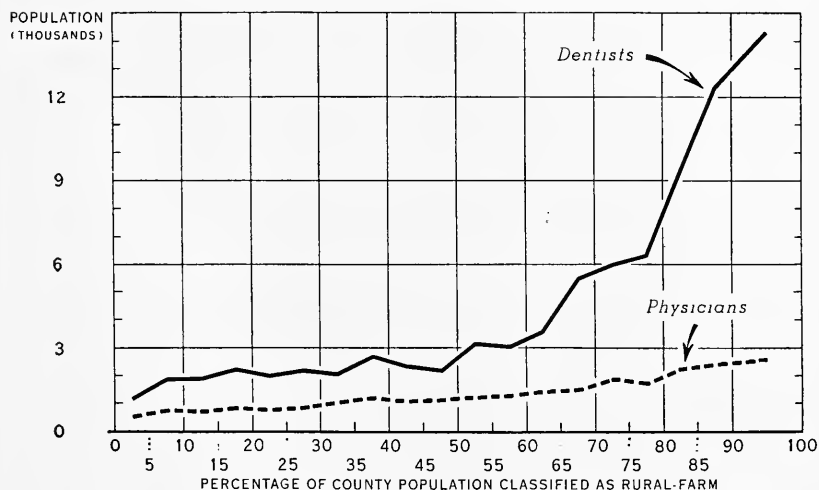
TABLE 69

Number and Percentage of Children over 3 Months and under 16 Years of Age That Were Vaccinated for Small Pox, Diphtheria, and Examined by a County Public Health Nurse during the Preceding Year, 1946

County	Number of Children	Percentage Vaccinated for Small Pox	Percentage Vaccinated for Diphtheria	Percentage Examined
Kent	158	68.0	60.0	60.0
Shiawassee	143	80.0	80.0	57.0
Cheboygan	121	73.0	70.0	61.0
All Areas	422	71.0	69.0	59.0

SOURCE: Hoffer, *Health and Health Services for Michigan Farm Families*, 1948, pp. 43-44.

POPULATION PER PHYSICIAN AND DENTIST BY
DEGREE OF RURALITY, UNITED STATES



BASED ON A SAMPLE OF 372 COUNTIES OF THE UNITED STATES. NUMBER OF PHYSICIANS TAKEN FROM AMERICAN MEDICAL DIRECTORY 1942 EDITION. NUMBER OF DENTISTS TAKEN FROM AMERICAN DENTAL ASSOCIATION DISTRIBUTION OF DENTISTS IN THE UNITED STATES (DATA AS OF 1941-42)

FIG. 199. Relation between population per physician and dentist, and the degree of rurality in the United States. Note that the more rural the counties, the larger the population to be served by physicians and dentists.

need in the future?" Sixty eight percent replied in the affirmative, 19 percent replied that it was a "bad idea," and 13 percent said they "didn't know."⁷⁴ Table 70 indicates how 306 Michigan farmers

TABLE 70

Number and Percentage of 306 Michigan Farm Families Expressing Preference for Different Methods of Paying for Health Services, 1946

Method of Payment	Number of Families	Percentage of Total
Paying after service is received	53	17.0
Each family decides for itself whether or not to buy health care insurance	131	43.0
Paying for health care insurance from public funds, like we pay for roads or schools or social security	115	38.0
No comment	7	2.0

SOURCE: Hoffer, *Health and Health Services for Michigan Farm Families* 1948, p. 40.

thought medical payments should be made. Although considerable publicity has been given to various types of voluntary plans offering physicians' care without government control or financing, only 3 percent of the population in the 20 predominantly urban states and 0.5 percent of the population in the 28 predominantly rural states were covered by such medical society plans. Therefore we turn to the most important experiment in group medicine, that of the United States Department of Agriculture.⁷⁵

In view of the critical nature of the rural health problem at present, the following description of the most important experiment in rural health plans is presented. At the peak of its rehabilitation program, the Farm Security program carried 117,000 farm families, or over 600,000 individuals, in various types of medical programs. These smaller experiments involved various means of payment to physicians: fee for service, flat monthly payment, and employment of a

⁷⁴ *What Do the American People Think About Federal Health Insurance?*, p. 3.

⁷⁵ Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

salaried staff. The following quotation from the *The Experimental Health Program of the USDA* summarizes this program:

A number of nongovernmental agencies, such as farm organizations, have done valuable pioneering work in the field of rural medical and hospital care. However, the most direct and extensive attack on the problem of providing better rural health services has been made through the Farm Security Administration of the Federal Government. In November 1941 the Interbureau Committee on Postwar Programs, United States Department of Agriculture, called upon the Farm Security Administration, because of its previous experience in setting up prepayment plans among rural families, to help develop rural health service programs for all farm families. This was conceived as an experiment in applying prepayment medical plans to rural areas.

The plan for setting up experimental health programs for rural people in a few selected counties grew out of the growing consciousness of health needs brought home to many people by the large number of rejections for military service and the acute shortage of health-service personnel during the prewar and war periods.⁷⁶

Final selection of the counties in which the experimental health program began was guided by the following conditions existing in each county:

1. An active county agricultural planning committee or similar local organization.
2. Known local interest in medical care needs.
3. A rural county representative of the general area.
4. Farm income approximately the same as the state as a whole.
5. Medical, dental, and hospital facilities reasonably adequate and accessible to all farm families in the county.
6. Receptive attitude on the part of professional groups.
7. Desirable: A full-time public health unit.

The seven counties reasonably meeting these requirements included: Cass County, Tex.; Hamilton County, Nebr.; Nevada County, Ark.; Newton County, Miss.; Taos County, N. Mex.; Walton County, Ga.; and Wheeler County, Tex.

All of these experimental health associations began operations during 1942. Taos County was not chosen on the basis of these requisites because of its more or less spontaneous growth out of an adult education program. However, it met all the stipulated requirements fairly well.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ *The Experimental Health Program of the USDA*, pp. 6-7.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

The device used by the people of each county to get for their families more adequate medical and dental services was a health association based upon the following principles:

1. Prepayment for health services, or the health-insurance principle based on pooling risks and resources of the group.
2. Family contributions based on ability to pay.
3. Supplementation of membership fees by use of Federal-grant funds.
4. Voluntary membership.
5. Local administration of the program.

Furthermore, the organization of these associations was fairly uniform throughout all seven counties, the major difference being in the method of paying for services. Five of the health associations paid for professional services on the conventional fee-for-service basis. An example of this kind of health association is the Nevada County Rural Health Services Association, Inc. The Wheeler County Rural Health Service operated on the capitation basis for general practitioner care, i.e., families are allowed to select a physician who is cooperating with the association and a flat monthly sum is paid to the physician to "keep the family well." The Taos County Cooperative Health Association operated with a salaried medical, dental, and nursing staff.

Local consumers of health services were organized into nonprofit corporations under the laws of their respective States. Each association adopted a charter and bylaws and elected a lay board of directors. The governing board selected a manager and treasurer to execute the program and to make and carry out agreements for medical and dental services with local physicians, dentists, druggists, nurses, and hospitals. Services were provided by independent private practitioners in all but the Taos County plan, where there is a salaried medical, dental, and nursing staff, supplemented by local practitioners.

Each family paid a membership fee based on its net cash income for the year before, with certain fixed minimum and maximum fees. Estimates on the annual cost of service per family were made by the board of directors, after consultation with local professional groups who were cooperating in the program, and this served as the basis for anticipating the over-all costs of the group plan. The amount settled upon varied by association from \$36 to \$57 for the first year, or averaged about \$50 for all associations, and from \$41 to \$51, or averaged \$48 for the second year of operation. Any family membership fee not sufficient to pay the over-all cost was supplemented by grant funds from the Farm Security Administration. This came to 81 percent of total funds the first year and 62 percent the second year of operation.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.

All families who obtained most of their livelihood from farming were eligible for membership. Membership in the 7 health associations covered 9,287 families, or 41,700 persons during the first year of operation.⁷⁹

Before the associations were formed, 1942, the 7 counties had a total of 74 physicians. But if age is taken into account there were only 58.6 effective physicians, or 2,261 persons per physician. Such a population-physician ratio compares very unfavorably with the generally accepted standard of not more than 1,000 per physician and the actual United States ratio of about 800 per physician in 1942. Population per effective physician varied by county from 1,377 in Wheeler County to 4,130 in Taos.⁸⁰

Experimental health programs of the United States Department of Agriculture have effectively demonstrated certain strong and weak points in operations of tax-assisted voluntary county health associations. The plan's main element of strength was the provision for supplementing family contributions through Federal grant funds, thus recognizing the principle of ability to pay in the financing of the program. Without this outside assistance none of the associations could have operated, nor can they be expected to continue to operate without it. Through the organization of these health associations many farm families have benefited from medical, dental, and hospital services not ordinarily received. They have expressed overwhelming approval of the principle of paying for their health services in advance on a group basis.

"Most weak points are encompassed under two heads: (1) Incomplete population coverage, and (2) inadequate scope and quality of care."⁸¹ The plans were costly to the federal government because they were voluntary, and the better-to-do families frequently formed no part of the experiments. Mott and Roemer say that "Only a broad distribution of costs over families of all levels of income, rural and urban, could eliminate the need for all or most of the subsidy with its attendant limitations."⁸² They conclude: "Thus, while the experimental health program of the Department of Agriculture has demonstrated the advantages of health insurance over private laissez-faire rural medicine, it has likewise underscored the deficiencies of plans built within county lines on a voluntary basis, even with financial subsidy. . . . Perhaps the most compelling conclusion must be that the difficulties of voluntary health insurance plans among rural

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁸² Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

people dictate the need for a nation-wide program for financing medical care for the entire population."⁸³

See Tables 71 and 72 for a range in amount of money allocated by health associations to different types of services, and the proportions of funds from membership fees and Federal-grant funds for experimental counties.

TABLE 71

Range in Amount of Money Allocated by Health Associations^a to Different Types of Services, 1942-43 and 1943-44

Service	1942-1943	1943-1944
General practitioner	\$16-\$22	\$16-\$19
Surgeon — specialist	6	6- 7
Hospitalization	8- 12	9- 12
Drugs	5- 7	0- 6
Nursing	0- 3	0
Dental	6- 7	0- 7
Contingent ^b	0- 3	0- 3
Administration	2- 4	3- 5
Total	50- 57	41- 50

^a Does not include the Taos County association since it operated with a salaried staff and this made strictly comparable allocations by service impractical. However, over-all costs were \$35.59 in the first year and \$51.48 in the second year of operation.

^b A contingent fund was used in some programs to correct for inadequate budget estimates.

SOURCE: *The Experimental Health Program of the USDA*, Subcommittee Monograph No. 1, 1946, p. 13.

SOCIAL INSURANCE PLANS

In addition to the plans with which the U.S.D.A. has experimented, there is the social insurance plan. Such a plan is comparable to old-age or survivors' insurance and unemployment compensation. The principle of the plan involves compulsory contributions from employee and employer for wage workers. The self-employed person would be required to pay the full amount of the premium. Nelson has listed the objections and advantages of the plan as follows:

The objections to compulsory sickness insurance are chiefly these:

- (a) there is a decided tendency to object to anything that is compulsory;
- (b) the physicians object that it may mean the control of the medical

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 421-422.

TABLE 72

Percentage of Funds from Family Membership Fees and Federal-grant Funds for Experimental Health Counties, 1942-43, and 1943-44

County	Family Member- ship Fees		Federal-grant Funds		Total Receipts	
	1942-43	1943-44	1942-43	1943-44	1942-43	1943-44
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Cass	19.0	47.9	81.0	52.1	100.0	100.0
Hamilton	44.7	(^a)	55.3	(^a)	100.0	100.0
Nevada	14.6	38.3	85.4	61.7	100.0	100.0
Newton	11.7	39.2	88.8	60.8	100.0	100.0
Taos	9.8	20.5	90.2	79.4	100.0	100.0
Walton	23.5	45.4	76.5	54.6	100.0	100.0
Wheeler	40.1	71.2	59.9	28.8	100.0	100.0
All associations	19.4	38.4	80.6	61.6	100.0	100.0

^a Hamilton County Association terminated at end of first year.

SOURCE: *The Experimental Health Program of the USDA*, Subcommittee Monograph No. 1, 1946, p. 25.

profession by politicians; and (c) the plan might promote malingering—a lot of people would insist upon services beyond their actual needs. The arguments for social insurance usually boil down to these: (a) the compulsory feature would make family heads, who otherwise would not do so, provide security for their families; (b) it spreads the risk over the entire population and reduces total costs, at the same time making for improved services; (c) improved services result from ability to plan services on a national or state, rather than a local community basis; (d) administrative cost is reduced below that of the cooperative, in that less expense is involved in securing members; and (e) it guarantees comprehensive coverage because benefits are not limited to the prosperous, the foresighted, and the frugal.⁸⁴

STATE MEDICINE

The state medical plan involves the payment of the costs of medical care from the public treasury. This being the case, it may be said that we already have state medicine in many state and federal institutions and more generally through some of the functions of the public

⁸⁴ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 515.

health services. If the public health services, of course, were to take over and bureaucratize the professional medical personnel into a state-supported agency, we would have state medicine. At the present time 30 countries have systems of compulsory health insurance for at least some of their workers. No nation which has established compulsory health insurance has withdrawn such a program once it was started, rather, the general trend has been in the direction of expansion of coverage and benefits.⁸⁵ Usually the plans include sickness benefits, maternity care, funerals, and medical care. Prior to 1900, such systems were established in Germany, Austria, and Hungary.⁸⁶ Several provinces of Canada have legislation which permit a municipality to engage a doctor to take care of the medical needs of a community. The provinces control the general plan through their health departments. As would be expected, the Soviet Union also has its form of socialized medicine. In the plans at least, this service extends from birth to the grave. Medical supervision begins with the pregnant woman, proceeds to the infant, the pre-school and school child, the adolescent, and finally the man and woman at work. The plans for socialized medicine need not be "compulsory" in the sense that all must contribute and that few services are available outside.

Kolb and Brunner⁸⁷ describe the New Zealand plan, which includes complete coverage for all unemployed workers and is supported by a special social security tax of 5 percent on all salaries, wages, and all income, including that of companies. One of its greatest achievements is not a public system but a private nursing organization, the Plunket Society. Seventy percent of the babies born come under the supervision of this organization. The low infant mortality rate in New Zealand may be attributed, at least in part, to this society. The New Zealand experience shows that there is no reason why a publicly supported agency such as the Extension Service could not be instrumental in organizing effective rural medical units.

THE FUTURE OF MEDICAL SERVICE

Medical care, if it is to provide up-to-date services, specialization,

⁸⁵ Joseph W. Mountin and George St. J. Perrott, "Health Insurance Programs and Plans in Western Europe: A Summary of Observations," *Public Health Reports*, Vol. LXII, March 1947, pp. 369-399.

⁸⁶ J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, p. 605.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 606-607.

professionalism, and efficiency, requires larger units into which smaller units are integrated. This trend, however, makes for large-scale operation and the development of bureaucracy, or what we have called the contractual *Gesellschaft*. Whether or not these units are controlled by the state or by private and semi-private agencies, there is an almost irresistible tendency for service to become cold, efficient, and unsympathetic. With the possible exception of the ministrations to the spiritual and religious needs, efficiency, when coupled with the impersonal and secondary contacts, defeats the objective of the agencies serving man's health needs. Except for persons with a special mentality of "rationality" (which Parsons says is "unnatural" in the sense that it is a highly "exceptional state" in the matter of getting well), such elements of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* as personal attention of a responsive and sympathetic nature are ordinarily essential needs and desires. The authors feel that the best argument that organized medicine has against state medicine is its almost inevitable assumption of the traits of the contractual *Gesellschaft*. Large-scale private or charitable organizations go in the same direction, and much of modern personal maladjustment on all levels is related to the passing of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*. This study has stressed throughout that the key problem of the age is that of attaining efficiency in the organization of human effort while retaining elements of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*. At least a minimum of these traits is necessary to normal human mental and physical health. The social systems which provide teamwork in furnishing rural and urban people the healing arts are no exception. The generalization holds for all areas of human endeavor.

ADEQUACY OF RURAL MEDICAL CARE MEASURED IN TERMS OF REJECTION RATES

Table 73 indicates the relatively high rejection rates for farmers and farm managers in World War II.⁸⁸ From a careful study of Selective Service data Mapheus Smith drew the following conclusions concerning rural-urban differences: "If the rejection rates could be computed accurately, for physical defects separately from mental and educational defects, the rural and farmer rates would be clearly

⁸⁸ *The Experimental Health Program of the USDA*, p. 2. See also the excellent section on this subject by Mott and Roemer, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-124. These authors have marshalled facts, including rejection rates, which indicate that rural health, in general, is not as good as that in cities.

smaller than the urban and non-agricultural occupation rates. It, therefore, appears that the evidence from Selective Service experience in World War II shows that the rural population was at least

TABLE 73
*Rejection Rates per 100 Registrants Examined in the United States
by Occupation, April 1, 1942, to December 31, 1943*

Occupational Group	Rate per 100 Registrants
All occupations	42.6
1. Domestic service workers	59.6
2. Emergency workers and unemployed	56.5
3. Farmers and farm managers	56.4
4. Farm laborers and foremen	52.8
5. Service workers, except domestic and protective	49.1
6. Laborers, except farm and mine	46.6
7. Proprietors, managers, and officials, except farm	46.4
8. Protective service workers	42.7
9. Professional and semiprofessional	42.2
10. Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	40.7
11. Clerical, sales, and kindred workers	37.5
12. Operative and kindred workers	37.2
13. Students	25.7
14. Others	44.5

SOURCE: *Physical Examinations of Selective Service Registrants During Wartime*, Medical Statistics Bull. No. 3, 1944, Table 3, p. 12.

slightly superior to the urban in physical status, and that agricultural workers were superior to non-agricultural workers.”⁸⁹ On the other hand, the same author states that the farmers and rural population had higher rejection rates than those for urban areas when mental and educational causes for rejections were included. However, there was no clear difference between urban and rural counties in the incidence of all defects. Thus, in spite of many deficiencies in health facilities and health care, “the advantages of rural life in America seem to have offset the disadvantages, leaving a small margin of superiority for the rural population’s physical status.” This condition,

⁸⁹ Mapheus Smith, “Selective Service Contributions to Knowledge of Rural-Urban Differences in Physical and Mental Status,” *Rural Sociology*, forthcoming; also Mapheus Smith, “Occupational Differentials in Physical Status,” *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, February 1948, pp. 72-82.

resulting from the rural assets of sunshine, fresh air, outside work, lack of congestion, and the like is in line with findings for other wars.⁹⁰

ADEQUACY OF FACILITIES AS REFLECTED BY MORBIDITY FIGURES

The problem of relative healthiness of rural and urban populations has held the attention of scholars for many years. As early as 1662, John Graunt analyzed the bills of mortality for the city of London and adjacent territories and came to the following conclusion: "As for unhealthiness it may be supposed, that although seasoned Bodies may, and do live near as long in London, as elsewhere, yet newcomers, and Children do not, for the Smoaks, Stinks, and close Air are less healthfull then that of the Country; otherwise why do sickly persons remove into the Country Air?"⁹¹ With much more refined data, numerous modern scholars are still examining the same question.⁹²

One of the most revealing approaches to differential mortality is the examination of age-specific mortality rates. Figure 200 shows mortality rates at all ages for white males and females residing in cities of 100,000 or more and for those residing in rural territory. Although mortality rates for the rural population of the country are lower than for the urban at most ages, some noteworthy exceptions occur. At nearly all ages under 35, rural mortality rates are either higher than the urban, or else the difference is very slight. The most favorable urban showing appears at all ages under 4.

Perhaps the best idea of relative mortality in rural and urban areas is to be gained from an examination of life tables. The life table is a measure of mortality which shows the average number of years an individual at any age may expect to survive. Figures 201 and 202

⁹⁰ Pitirim Sorokin and Carle C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929, Chapter 5.

⁹¹ John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations Made Upon the Bills of Mortality*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1939, pp. 55-56.

⁹² See for example Louise Kemp and T. Lynn Smith, *Health and Mortality in Louisiana*, Baton Rouge: Louisiana AES Bulletin 390, May 1945; Homer L. Hitt and Alvin L. Bertrand, *The Social Aspects of Hospital Planning in Louisiana*, Louisiana Study Series No. 1, Baton Rouge: Health and Hospital Division, Office of the Governor, August 1947; Harold F. Dorn, *Maternal Mortality in Rural and Urban Areas*, Public Health Reports, Vol. LIV, No. 17, April 28, 1939; and Paul M. Houser, *Mortality Differentials in Michigan*, Michigan State College, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1948.

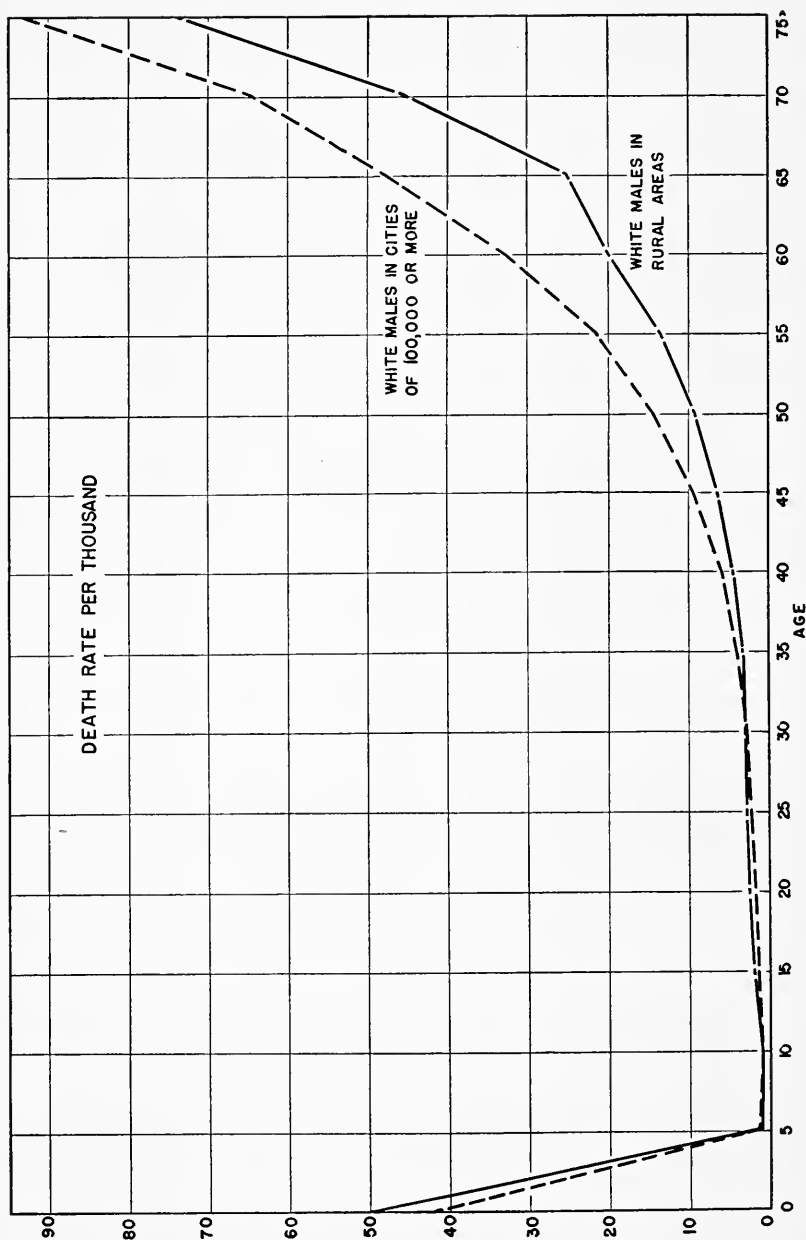


FIG. 200. Annual rate of mortality per 1,000 urban white males and rural white males, by age, United States, 1939. (SOURCE: *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. XXIII, No. 15, p. 308–9.)

enable one to make comparisons of rural and urban expectancy for white and non-white males and females residing in the various regions.

It would appear from Figure 201 that the chance of survival to age

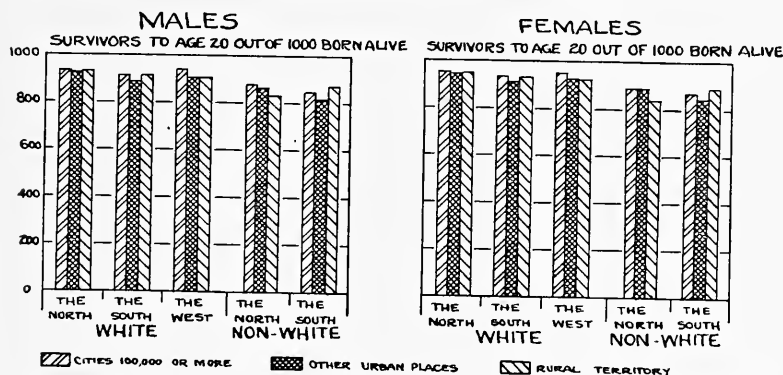


FIG. 201. Survivors to age 20 out of 1,000 born alive, classified by residence, region, color, and sex, 1939. (SOURCE: *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. XXIII, No. 15, pp. 306-307.)

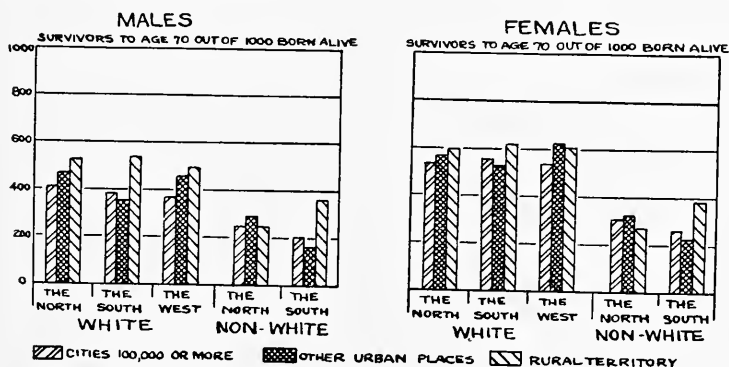


FIG. 202. Survivors to age 70 out of 1,000 born alive, classified by residence, region, color, and sex, 1939. (SOURCE: *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. XXIII, No. 15, pp. 306-307.)

20 is generally more favorable in the large cities, and least favorable in the smaller urban places. The unusually high survival rate in the rural South may be due to under-registration of births. A further exception occurs in the non-white population of the North, where survival rates are lowest in rural areas. This is probably due to poor medical facilities and less active educational and public health work

than in the largest cities.⁹³ In general, both Negro and white females have higher survival rates in all regions. Fewer Negroes than whites may expect to survive to age 20. In general, residents of the North have a better chance of surviving to age 20 than persons living in either the South or the West.

The chances of surviving to age 70, as indicated in Figure 202, are generally best in the rural areas, decreasing as one moves into the more densely populated centers. Only for non-white males and females residing in the North are survival chances better in urban centers under 100,000. The only other exception is for white females residing in the West, where survival rates are superior for residents of cities under 100,000.

Major Causes of Death. Diseases of the heart cause more deaths in both rural and urban areas than any other single cause. As a matter of fact, the seven leading causes of death are identical in both urban and rural areas. They include the following: diseases of the heart, cancer, diseases of the nervous system, nephritis, pneumonia and influenza, accidents (other than motor vehicle), and tuberculosis. (See Table 74.) In this group of causes, only for pneumonia and influenza does the rural white rate exceed that for the urban whites.

As indicated in Table 74, rural rates for some minor diseases exceed those for urban residents. Those causes for which the rural whites suffer more heavily than the urban whites are the following: premature birth, diarrhea and enteritis, homicide, puerperal causes, whooping cough, malaria, typhoid and paratyphoid, pellagra, and diphtheria. Those causes for which rural Negroes have higher rates than urban Negroes include: puerperal causes, hernia, whooping cough, malaria, typhoid and paratyphoid, pellagra, and diphtheria.

Infant Mortality. As we have noted in the preceding paragraphs, the chances for infants to survive in urban areas are greater than in rural areas. Because infant mortality is an especially severe problem in rural areas, and because "infant mortality is the most sensitive index of social welfare and sanitary improvements which we possess,"⁹⁴ it deserves special attention.

In 1945, the infant mortality rate for the country as a whole was 38.3, one of the lowest rates in the nation's history. The rural rate,

⁹³ *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. XXIII, No. 15, June 30, 1947, p. 300.

⁹⁴ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 168, quoting Sir Arthur Newsholme.

however, was 39.1 as compared with 37.7 for urban places.⁹⁵ Although this disparity may not seem great, regional and state differences are tremendous. Rhode Island, a highly urbanized state, had an

TABLE 74

Mortality Rates from the Common Causes of Death, the United States, by Race and Residence,^a 1940

Cause of Death	Rates per 100,000 Population			
	Rural		Urban	
	White	Colored	White	Colored
Diseases of the heart	243.6	187.3	337.5	314.8
Pneumonia and Influenza	70.0	117.6	59.5	133.8
Nephritis	74.1	109.2	78.5	141.6
Cancer	97.7	53.9	145.2	105.0
Diseases of nervous system	88.0	97.4	89.0	127.2
Tuberculosis	34.0	93.7	38.5	116.5
Accidents other than motor vehicle	46.0	51.6	47.2	55.4
Premature birth	23.2	32.0	23.0	43.5
Syphilis	8.8	45.6	10.7	63.7
Motor vehicle accidents	26.4	12.1	26.6	26.5
Diarrhea, enteritis, etc. ^b	8.4	19.7	5.4	12.2
Diabetes	20.5	11.1	32.8	25.3
Homicide	3.3	23.1	3.1	44.4
Puerperal Causes	6.0	18.6	5.3	14.9
Hernia	7.6	8.2	9.6	14.0
Appendicitis	8.5	7.5	10.8	13.5
Cirrhosis of the liver	5.5	3.6	11.4	8.2
Congenital malformations	10.2	5.5	10.5	6.8
Suicide	13.3	3.0	17.1	6.4
Whooping cough	2.5	7.5	1.2	4.1
Ulcer of the stomach	5.2	4.0	8.0	9.0
Malaria	1.0	8.5	.3	2.4
Typhoid and paratyphoid fever	1.2	3.9	.6	2.4
Pellagra	1.7	7.8	.6	4.7
Diphtheria	1.5	2.3	.7	1.2
All Causes	949.6	1218.6	1109.4	1561.0

^a Based on populations enumerated as of April 1, 1940.

^b Under two years only.

SOURCE: Adapted from Kemp and Smith, *Health and Mortality in Louisiana*, Louisiana AES Bulletin 390, p. 23.

⁹⁵ *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4, August 19, 1947, p. 53.

infant mortality rate of only 23.0 per 1,000 live births. New Mexico, a highly rural state, on the other hand, had a rate of 110.3 per 1,000 live births.

Variations in the rural infant mortality rate, by states, may be seen in Figure 203. Note that the mountain states and southern states have high infant mortality rates.

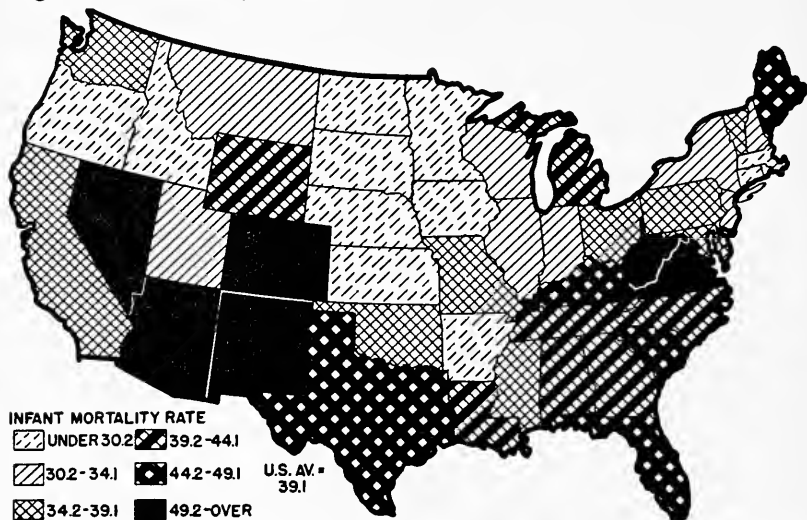


FIG. 203. Infant mortality rates (number of deaths under 1 year per 1,000 live births) in rural areas, by state, 1945. (SOURCE: *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, Table 4.)

SUMMARY

Despite the natural advantages of rural life, in many respects rural people in the United States are less healthy than urban. In general, the mortality statistics and draft-rejection rates indicate that the advantages rural areas once had no longer exist or are disappearing. This condition is to be explained by the fact that with respect to personnel and prevention in the healing arts, the rural areas are disadvantaged when compared with the urban areas. Thousands of people suffer and die in rural areas only because they are deprived of the kind of facilities accessible to those living in metropolitan centers.

As in the fields of education, government, and religion, there seems little chance of ironing out these differences without organizing the professionals involved and making a thorough effort to eliminate the disadvantaging conditions. Large-scale organization and bureauc-

racy are feared by private practitioners. On the one hand, the problem is that of retaining those features of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* necessary to establish individual security patterns and an atmosphere in which people can get well. On the other hand, it is the problem of developing the efficiency and rationalization necessary for the effective teamwork and the advancement of science and practice.

Realistic plans for hospitals, based upon technical requirements and ecological factors, have gone farther than plans for most services. Rural sociologists have furnished the basic research for these plans. Similar plans must be developed for other services if health and medical care parity for rural people is to be attained. Since the hospital is a necessary forerunner of other services and is the "workshop" of the doctor, the serious lack of hospital facilities in rural areas must be attacked in a forthright manner.

One of the great services of the U.S.D.A. has been to provide experience in the advantages and disadvantages of various types of group medical plans. These experiments demonstrate that such organizations can save lives and that voluntary plans have serious weaknesses.

CHAPTER 22

RURAL WELFARE AND SECURITY

SUMMARY OF DEVELOPMENTS

The development of rural social security and welfare in the United States may be summarized as follows:¹

(1) In colonial America, just as in the simpler societies, the care of the helpless and dependent was largely the responsibility of the family and the locality. The formal welfare process began with the growth of cities.

(2) The great depression of the 1930's brought modern welfare systems to rural people in the United States for the first time. Previously, when family, friendship, and neighborhood groups did not furnish the aid, it was furnished by the local county or township. The basic elements of this system, brought from England, where it was introduced in 1601, had changed very little. There were those who were "on the town" or those who had to go to the "county poor house." Whether the system was financed by the township, county, or by a combination of the two depended upon the prevailing form of local government.

(3) Since 1935, four different aspects of support and administration have been important:

(a) Complete local responsibility for direct relief; (b) federal-state-county responsibility for old-age assistance and for grants for the blind and for dependent children; (c) old-age and survivors' insurance supported and administered directly by the federal government; and (d) the Farmers' Home Administration program described in Chapter 20.

(4) The pattern of social work that has grown up in the cities, having most of the features of the contractual *Gesellschaft*, is often ineffective and disliked in rural areas. Rural life has familistic *Gemeinschaft* features which a professionalized and impersonal welfare service may fail to meet.

¹ Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1948, pp. 487-488.

SPECIAL CONSIDERATIONS IN RURAL WELFARE
AND SECURITY RELATED TO SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND VALUE ORIENTATION

The rapid growth of American industry, commerce, and the concomitant urban growth is a phenomenon unparalleled in history.² This growth is associated with what some writers have called the rise of capitalism. Max Weber and his school³ attempted to relate the peculiar bureaucratic development that lies at the foundation of modern large-scale business and industry to a peculiar value orientation or set of attitudes which developed among particular religious groups. Although this theory cannot be adequately treated here, we may say that the general value orientation that made each individual responsible for his own acts and status lies at the root of the theory. Thus, although the Calvinistic dogma maintained that one's destiny in the hereafter was preordained, the belief came to be accepted that this state of redemption would be reflected in one's condition on earth. Since tremendous emphasis was placed on one's prospective hereafter, almost everyone did his best to appear to be among the "saved."

There are many other aspects of the theory, such as the divine nature of one's "calling," the universalistic standards by which one operates in one's "office," and an ideology preventing "dependence" upon others. Although the particular ethic approved of giving and charity, it is obvious that the need for taking alms would not place one in a complimentary light. Generally, and especially in New England and the northern states where the "Puritan ethic" is probably strongest, rural people stress thrift and hard work as virtues in and of themselves.⁴ According to this ethic, the individual is considered a weakling or even immoral if he accepts aid which may be considered as charity. The ideal individual was "beholden" to no one, stood on his own feet, and worked out his own salvation.

Some believe that the individualistic spirit of the frontier carried with it a sense of individual responsibility for failure or misfortune,

² For a treatment of city growth in general, see Howard Woolston, *Metropolis*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937, Chapter 2.

³ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (translated by Talcott Parsons), London: Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1930.

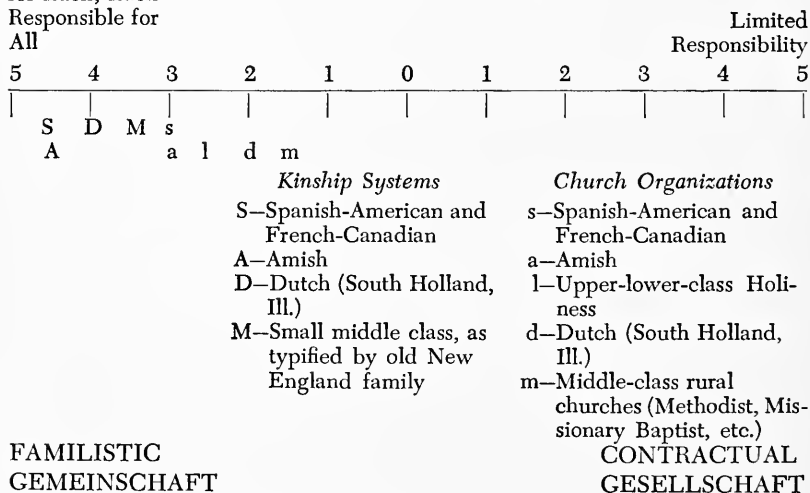
⁴ Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937, Chapters 14-18; see also C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 385 ff.

and placed a general stigma upon those who fell by the wayside.⁵ Until the turn of the century, the frontier always offered an opportunity for those who were restless or for those who had failed in the settlements to the east.⁶

Whether it was religious ideology, the frontier, or both, which lead farm people to place high value on individual initiative and to disparage dependence, this attitude is relatively more in keeping with the familistic *Gemeinschaft*. (See Chapter 1 and Appendix A.) This unique combination of independence and sociability is emphasized in a *Fortune* poll of March 1943. When asked what things they liked most about being an agriculturist, farmers placed "being one's own boss" highest. On the other hand, 70.7 percent of the farmers said they believed country people were kinder neighbors than either small-town or city persons.⁷ Diagram 1 indicates the approximate positions of various social systems with which the authors are familiar in regard to degree of responsibility among members. That there is considerable difference in the extent to which society requires that the individual be independent is shown in this diagram.

Complete Com-
munity of Fate:
All Responsible
for Each; Each
Responsible for
All

DIAGRAM 1



⁵ Frederick J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921.

⁶ Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942, p. 481.

⁷ Cited from *Fortune*, March, 1943, p. 8, by Carl C. Taylor, "Attitudes of American Farmers—International and Provincial," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. IX, No. 6, December 1944.

It is impossible, without further study, of course, to place the systems accurately in this manner. That the extent to which social systems accept responsibility for members varies in times of misfortune and crisis is not to be doubted. We may observe, for example, that a given Spanish-American Catholic church assumes less responsibility for its members than does a middle-class Methodist church. However, the representative, typical, or average social system would, we believe, fall on the continuum as we have described it.

The greater the familistic *Gemeinschaft* nature of a system and the more that system accepts responsibility for its members, the more the system is expected to accept that responsibility and the more individual members assume responsibility for one another. Such a value orientation is different both from that of the typical bureaucracy and from an organization characterized by the social structure and value orientation of the contractual *Gesellschaft*, with limited responsibilities of the group to the individuals and vice versa.

GROWTH OF THE DEMAND FOR SOCIAL SECURITY AND RURAL WELFARE

Even in the cities that began to overshadow the countryside, some felt that they were at the bottom of the heap, so to speak, because of some fault of their own. The complexity of the forces operating in the cities, however, emphasized the point that no matter how diligently a person worked, he might be unable to extricate himself. Factors such as technological improvements and fluctuations in the business cycle made it clear that individual deficiencies were not always the reasons for unemployment and related ills. High mobility and widespread unemployment often lead to a condition in which one's own group could not always look after one. How the farm economy was brought into an interdependence with the total economy through the price and market regime, and the relationship of this element to the rise of the farmers' movements have been described previously. Heretofore, the urban masses had placed the blame for their misfortune on the employer, political gang, government, and business cycle. In more recent decades, farmers have been more prone to blame the board of trade in a distant city for their predicament.⁸

Social security and protective legislation began, not upon the insistence of farm groups, but rather upon that of the city workers, who were pushing for more and better coverage through their organized groups. The rural areas, on the other hand, have often reluctantly

⁸ Paul Landis, *Rural Life in Process*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, p. 514; and J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946, p. 633.

taken to the idea of outside support in times of need. In some areas, during the depression, it was actually necessary to use persuasion in order to get people in dire need to accept relief.⁹ An incident related to one of the authors by a field worker in the Appalachian Highlands illustrates this point. Shortly after the establishment of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, few people in the Kentucky county where the incident happened would make use of the goods and money available, because only the "no accounts were on relief." However, the local worker eventually was able to remove the stigma so successfully that everyone wanted to have his share. This situation, however, placed the worker in a precarious position. People in the whole area assumed that the local official was responsible and demanded that the supply of goods and cash continue. When he was forced by his regional and federal offices to publicize a decrease in support, he was confronted by a lynching party, and narrowly escaped being hanged.¹⁰

Brunner and Lorge found that many small village leaders were definitely critical of relief as such, but admitted that relief grants actually supported the villages.¹¹ The rural attitudes toward relief and legislation related thereto lag behind those of the urban.¹² The same holds for attitudes toward child labor, which although probably more harmful in urban situations, is more prevalent in the rural areas. The depression brought rural welfare agencies into the rural communities to stay. If they are to be effective, the agency functionaries must use somewhat different techniques and have different backgrounds from those of their fellow workers in the cities. Rehabilitation in a rural neighborhood, where everyone knows everyone else and where the persistence of reputation is great, demands techniques quite different from those in a locality where a family may get a new start in a new environment.¹³

RURAL SOCIAL WORK AS A PROFESSION

In the past, it is true that rural people have depended in governmental affairs on the ordinary politician rather than on the trained

⁹ Landis, *ibid.*, p. 470.

¹⁰ Charles P. Loomis and Linden Dodson, *Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties*, Social Research Report No. XI, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, 1938.

¹¹ Edmund deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. 347-348.

¹² Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

specialist. Some rural religious groups depend upon lay members for the administration of all religious rites. In rural areas there is a tendency to believe that "good horse sense" and "a soft heart" will qualify one to be an effective public servant. Insofar as local people consider the matter of the qualifications of those who do welfare work, the same has held for those who have dealt with relief and charity cases. The professional social worker, entering a rural neighborhood and following the dictates of his training, attempts to get all the facts so that each case will be handled on its individual merits after all factors are understood. Actually, the older members of the community know the details of the situation better than any outside case worker may hope to learn them. Furthermore, people feel that a social worker is "prying," especially when he attempts to discover details, however well known they may be to intimates of a family.

In a study of opinions toward the Emergency Relief Administration in Michigan, Harper and Gibson¹⁴ discovered interesting rural-urban differences. Replies to the following questions were combined into a score: "Do you think 'the relief' has become an important part of this community (or county) like the school?"; "Has relief been handled more efficiently by E.R.A. visitors than it was by the superintendents of the poor?"; "In employing new workers would it be better to hire local persons?"; "Does a case worker in this county (community or town) need special training?"; "Do you believe that elected officials, such as township supervisors, should distribute relief?"; "Should the state contribute toward relief costs?"; "Should the federal government pay any part of the expense?"; "Can relief be handled better on a township rather than a county basis?"; and "Should the state supervise county relief?" Low scores indicate attitudes more favorable to the traditional forms of relief, while high scores indicate attitudes more favorable to the E.R.A. Scores for the 918 rural residents were significantly lower than for the 1,058 urban residents in the sample.

"The techniques of the social worker," Landis says, "are scientifically designed and may be more intelligently used than primary-group devices simply because the trained worker, although making a personal approach to the case, handles it on an impersonal basis."¹⁵ This statement brings out some of the aspects of the professionaliza-

¹⁴ Ernest B. Harper and Duane L. Gibson, *Reorganization of Public Welfare in Michigan*, East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 318, June 1942, pp. 38-39 and 77.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

tion of social work. These include a rational consideration of needs and an impersonal or universalistic consideration of procedure and rewards. The process must be based upon factors determined by technical competence. The professional, after he has made his diagnosis, and not knowing the "true character of a local good-for-nothing, may treat him as though he were an important person, in that way making more of him than the community conceives possible."¹⁶

Without using, but by implying the terms familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft*, Landis sums up the problems of professional adjustment of the social worker as follows: "The critical problem faced by the rural worker is not in the realm of technique, but in the realm of his own adjustment to the rural psychological environment. He will most likely succeed or fail, be accepted or rejected, not because of technique or lack of it, but because he possesses or lacks a sympathetic insight into the life of the people whom he serves. Success in the primary group is and always will be determined as much by one's attitudes as by one's skills."¹⁷

After describing routine affairs in her office, a local relief administrator says, "If any social workers used to big city set-ups should happen to read this record, it may occur to them to think that ours was a very informal office. . . . Insistence upon strict formality would have been regarded by our clients and other local citizens as 'high-hat' and we could not have won the confidence of our cases with such technique."¹⁸

THE HISTORY OF RURAL PUBLIC WELFARE WORK

Before World War I there was little public welfare work in the rural areas of this country.¹⁹ There had been poor offices in the townships of the northeastern states, and in other rural areas county officials doled out relief. Rehabilitation was not a part of the ideology of early relief. Actually, most relief was in the nature of cooperative life. If a farmer's house burned, his neighbors helped him erect a new one;

¹⁶ Bird T. Baldwin, *et al.*, *Farm Children*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1930, pp. 163-168.

¹⁷ Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 532; see also Paul H. Landis, "If I Were a County Relief Director," *The Survey*, Vol. LXXI, July 1935, pp. 208-209.

¹⁸ Louise V. Armstrong, *We Too Are the People*, Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1938, p. 468.

¹⁹ As Sanderson points out, rural social work was organized in the National Conference on Social Work for the first time in 1917. See the *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1917, pp. 611-648.

if he were sick, friends and relatives helped his wife "put away" the crops. Families in poverty were helped by friends and neighbors or by the churches. Charity was sometimes used as a political instrument whereby those holding offices remained in office.

Possibly the State Charities Aid Association in New York, an organization that brought together children's agencies in cooperation with the county governments in 1907, was the first concerted professional attention given rural welfare work. In 1912, the United States Children's Bureau was established and became an important agency for child welfare. In the rural counties of the South and West, the bureau found such deplorable conditions that publication of the results led to the development of state legislation for county boards set up to administer pensions to widowed mothers. Such pensions enabled mothers to keep their families intact. Rural social workers first concerned themselves with child welfare. Several states, notably New York, Minnesota, North Carolina, and Alabama, developed state and county agencies.

The disruption of family life by the enlistment of millions of men in World War I brought modern social work to the rural areas through the Home Service of the local Red Cross chapter. After the close of the war in 1919, it was reported that there were some 4,000 Home Service sections with 10,000 branches and 50,000 volunteer workers.²⁰ At the close of the war, the service was extended to civilian families in rural areas. Unfortunately, however, the national organization, because of a shift in policy, no longer supported the work.

Welfare systems in rural areas are modeled after those that developed in the cities as a result of the Industrial Revolution and the massing of large numbers of people in factory populations. The American colonies inherited their systems of public relief from the English poor laws, the features of which included the public almshouse and "outdoor relief." Such outdoor relief became common in the United States as millions of aliens streamed into the rural and urban areas of the country. Departments of charity also grew up in the municipal governments during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in most of the larger cities. Sickness, accidents, desertion by the father, marital difficulties, juvenile delinquency, charity, relief, and public welfare led to the necessity for specialized training in the twentieth century. The old term "charity," which seemed to give an unnecessary stigma to

²⁰ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 487; and J. F. Steiner, *Home Service of the Red Cross*, Proceedings of the First National Country Life Conference, pp. 30-35.

those who through no fault of their own had to take public aid, was gradually replaced by such terms as social welfare and public welfare. The New York School of Social Work was established in 1904, and since then about 40 recognized graduate schools for social workers have been established in the United States. Thus, at the beginning of World War I, there was a trained core of urban workers available even to carry social work into the rural areas.

Concerning the rural social service worker, Sanderson summarizes the situation as follows: "Persons with a rural background will, other things being equal, be the most successful social workers in rural territory. There tends to be an over-sophistication of those who have received their training only in the large cities, and professional schools of social work have not, in the main, been able to meet this difficulty. There are hardly half a dozen of these schools throughout the country which are training effectively for rural social work, and many of them are unwilling to acknowledge that a somewhat different content of training is needed for rural work. This has been equally true of theological seminaries and teachers colleges. There is need for a new approach to the training of social workers for rural territory."²¹

Social workers, like most other professional people, tend to be concentrated in cities where salaries and facilities are better. Figure 204 shows how relatively few workers live in rural and farm areas. The greatest concentrations of workers, as indicated by Figure 204, are in New York, Illinois, California, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and other states near metropolitan areas. Figure 205 shows that salaries are better in urban areas. The training of those on duty varies greatly, as do salaries and working conditions. The standard training requires graduate study involving field training and professional academic courses beyond the four-year preparatory course.

THE NEED FOR WELFARE AND SECURITY

The Great Depression. Rural welfare work really became a part of rural culture with the depression. The years 1931–1937, the "seven lean years" as they were called by Woofter and Winston,²² found 3,500,000 rural families—one in four—dependent on relief at some time.

²¹ Sanderson, *ibid.*, p. 501.

²² T. J. Woofter, Jr., and Ellen Winston, *Seven Lean Years*, Raleigh: University of North Carolina Press, 1939; see also Rupert B. Vance, *Rural Relief and Recovery*, Social Problems Pamphlet 3, Washington: Works Progress Administration, 1939; and Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 616.

There were also 4,000,000 urban families on relief. At the depth of the depression, in 1935, there were 2,500,000 rural families or about 10,000,000 persons dependent on some form of relief. The cost of rural relief reached \$3,500,000,000 and the total cost paid by both public and private agencies in the seven years is estimated at \$13,000,000,000 for both rural and urban areas. The rural figures do not include many public expenditures for agriculture designed to keep farm families off relief.

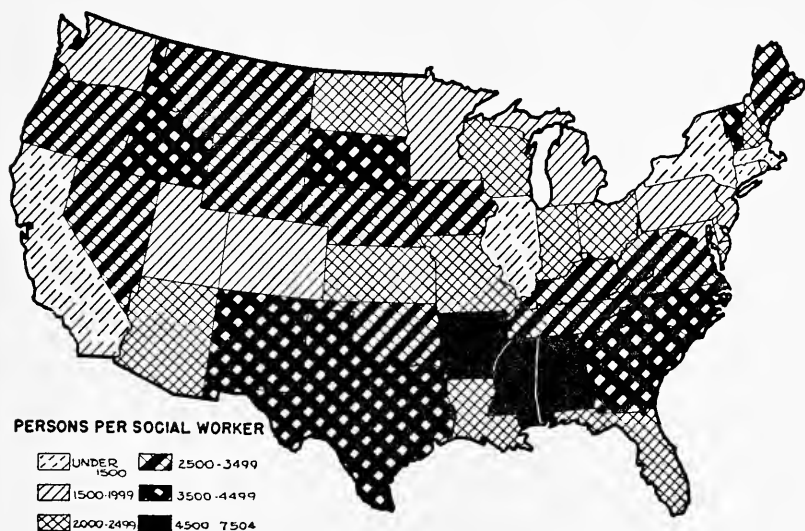


FIG. 204. Number of persons per social worker, by state, 1940. (SOURCE: Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, p. 484.)

Figure 206 presents a picture of the impact of the depression upon the various occupational groups of the nation. Although farm laborers and farm operators are represented in this chart, it fails to depict the gravity of rural conditions. Many rural villages are built around mining, lumbering, fishing, and similar industries. Whole areas became "sore spots" or "stranded" communities in which most of the families were on relief.²³ Almost half of the heads of rural families that were reported to be on general relief in February 1935 had non-agricultural occupations or lived in villages without an occupation. Both industrial

²³ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 617.

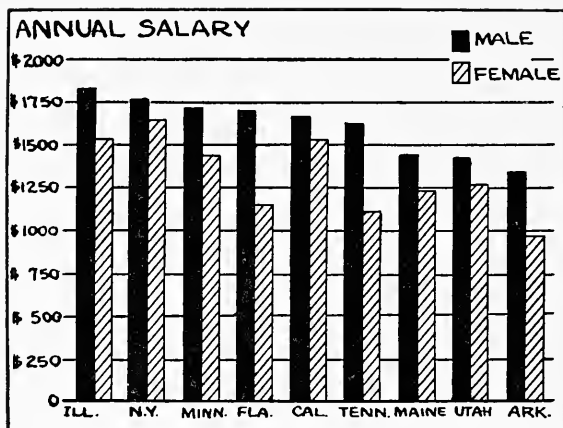


FIG. 205. Median salary for social and welfare workers in nine selected states, 1940. Only those who worked twelve months are included. (SOURCE: Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, p. 485.)

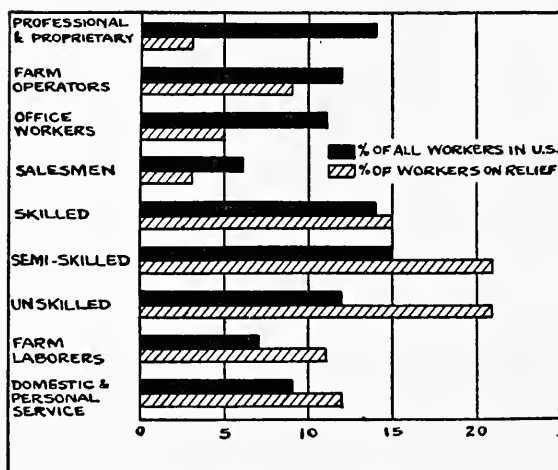


FIG. 206. Relative representation of occupational groups on relief in 1935. (SOURCE: Landis, *Rural Life in Process*, 1948, p. 473.)

workers and part-time farmers were thrown on relief in huge numbers.²⁴

Regional Aspects of Relief. One study²⁵ revealed that the highest relief rates were in the Southern Appalachians, Ozarks, Lake States Cut-Over region, the Spring and Winter Wheat Areas of the western Great Plains, and the eastern and western Cotton Belts. In the first three areas, the principal difficulty was exhaustion of natural resources and the attempt to maintain subsistence farming on poor land. In the short grass Wheat Areas, there had been an over-tillage of land that should have remained in grass, so that when the droughts descended, a veritable "dust bowl" was formed. In the eastern Cotton Belt, tenancy rates were high and soil was depleted. In the southwestern cotton area, mechanization had thrown thousands out of work.

General Conditions. The six problem areas described, however bad their conditions, do not have a monopoly on poverty in rural America. Taylor found²⁶ that "at least three and a half million, or more than one out of four rural families, had received public assistance some time." Speaking of the depression years, Taylor states that, "it is a conservative estimate that one-third of the farm families of the Nation are living on standards so low as to make them slum families." In 1942 Taeuber reported that about one-fourth of the counties of the United States were "problem counties." Most of these are in the southern and southeastern states. These counties include 39 percent of the farms, about one-third of the farm land, and approximately one-third of all the farm people in the country. In 1937 the Census of Unemployment found that 31 percent of the males in rural-farm areas in these counties were unemployed or working on emergency projects.²⁷

VULNERABLE POPULATION GROUPS

Various studies have revealed that those at the upper and lower ends of the age-sex pyramid are particularly vulnerable.²⁸ In our

²⁴ Cited by Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 619, from John Useem, "A Study of Social Security in the Rural Communities of Massachusetts," University of Wisconsin Ph.D. Thesis, 1939.

²⁵ P. G. Beck and M. C. Forster, *Six Rural Problem Areas*, Research Monograph I, Washington: F.E.R.A., Division of Research, Statistics and Finance, 1935.

²⁶ C. C. Taylor, H. W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, Social Research Report VIII, Washington: The Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics cooperating, 1938.

²⁷ Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

²⁸ Kolb and Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 620.

society, the aged are often in a precarious position. Similarly, widows, especially if they have children, often find it difficult to manage without aid.

One of the most significant trends in this country is the aging of our people. If present trends continue, increasing numbers of people will be too old to work. Since the life span for women is consistently longer than that for men, we may anticipate an ever-increasing proportion of widows in our population.

Population projections indicate that the median age of the American will have risen from 29 in 1940 to 34 by 1975. Thus, in a period of 35 years, the age of the average American will have advanced by 5 years, a phenomenal increase. By 1975, it is estimated that nearly one-sixth (15.8 percent) of our population will be 60 years old and over. In 1940, about one-tenth (10.3 percent) of our people were 60 years and older.²⁹ If such predictions preview the future, larger and larger numbers of people, both rural and urban, will be entering those ages which are particularly vulnerable.

The average age of farm operators in 1945 for the 48 states is shown in Figure 207. The oldest farmers, it will be noted, reside in the Northeast, Middlewest, and Pacific Coast states. The youngest farmers are to be found in the Southeast and in the Plains states. Although the average farmer in the United States was 49.8 in 1945, the variation was relatively great. Average age of farmers ranged from 45.3 in North Dakota to 53.2 in New Hampshire.

It was suggested previously that widows often require outside aid. This problem, to be sure, is not solely a problem of rural welfare. As a matter of fact, it is well known that farm widows characteristically leave the farm for the city.³⁰ In 1940, the Bureau of the Census indicated that 12.4 percent of all urban women were widowed. At the same time, only 8.8 percent of all rural-farm women were so classified.

Figure 208 indicates variations in the proportions of all farm women who are widowed. The largest proportions of farm widows are found in the Northeast and in the Southeast. The high proportions

²⁹ P. K. Whelpton, Hope T. Eldridge, and Jacob S. Siegel, *Forecasts of the Population of the United States, 1945-1975*, Washington: Government Printing Office, Bureau of the Census, 1947, p. 81. These data assume medium fertility, medium mortality, and a net immigration of 500,000 persons during each 5-year period after July 1, 1945.

³⁰ T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 85.

in the Southeast are due in large part to the heavy concentration of Negroes. Since mortality rates are high for Negro males, high pro-

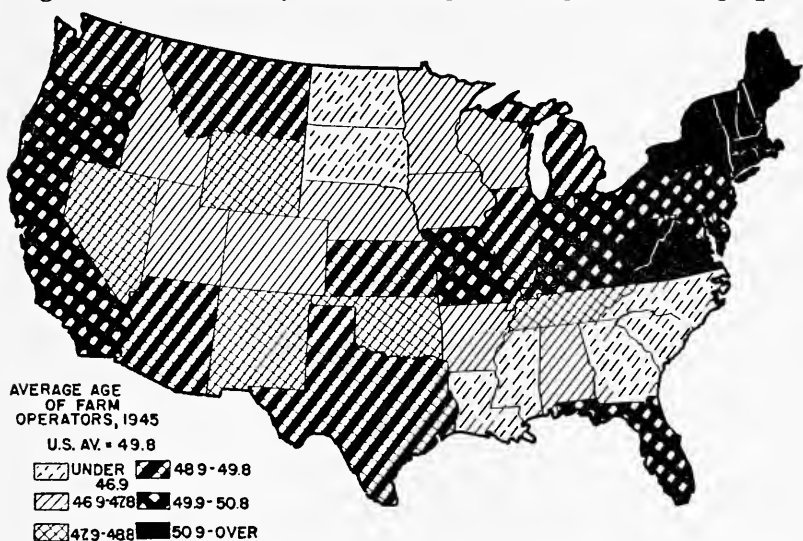


FIG. 207. Average age of farm operators, by state, 1945. (Data from 1945 Census of Agriculture.)

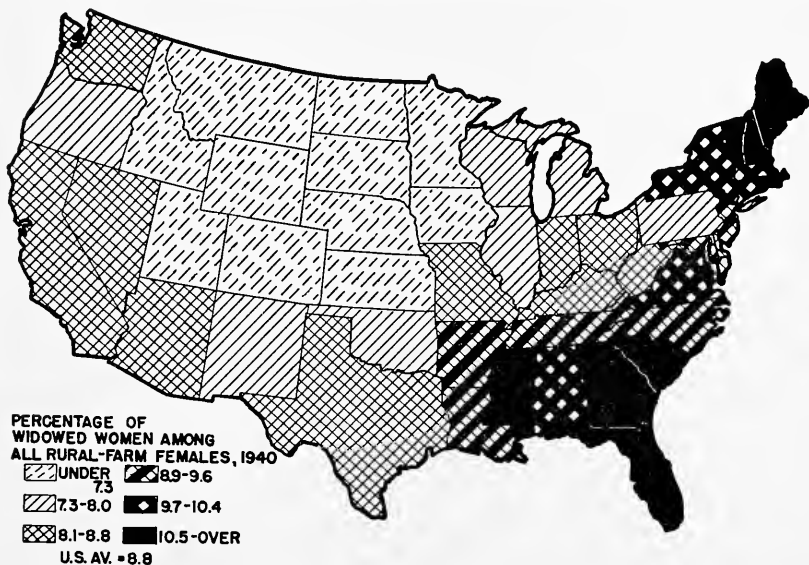


FIG. 208. Percentage of widowed females among all rural-farm females, by state, 1940. (Data from Sixteenth Census of the United States.)

portions of widowed Negroes are found in this section of the country. Small proportions of widowed females are to be found in West, North, Central, and Mountain states.

Since the birth rate is negatively correlated with socio-economic level, the probability is extremely great that the high-birth-rate areas will also be rural welfare problem areas. (See Figures 5, 6, and 7 in Chapter 4.) The presence of many children and many older widows in the population of the Southeast potentially makes for an extremely serious rural problem area.

PRESENT PATTERNS AND AGENCIES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

The manner in which welfare and relief were handled in largely rural counties, and the manner in which they are handled now in urbanized societies, differ vastly. The change might be called the "bureaucratization of charity." As society became more secondary, the impossibility of a system built on the ideology of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* became obvious. One began to hear stories of crippled and blind persons becoming wealthy through an effective appeal to sympathy. On the other hand, there were many who were in dire need. The growing *Gesellschaft* nature of society made it possible for people to starve without anything being done about it, a possibility which would have been improbable in the familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like rural community, except in cases of large-scale catastrophe.

To meet some of the difficulties involved in equitable distribution of relief in a secondary society, large-scale private agencies have been organized. Examples of these are the Community Council of Social Agencies and the Community Chest or Fund. Such organizations usually have paid professional staffs and are incorporated by the state as nonprofit organizations. The solicitation of funds is coordinated, and various types of appeal and advertisement, such as motion pictures which appeal to the sympathy and intelligence of the citizens of the community, are used. A coordinated approach prevents oversolicitation and fosters a distribution of funds more in line with need. Such campaigns usually collect funds for agencies such as the Boy and Girl Scouts, Red Cross, Travelers Aid, and many other special social agencies.

Cooperative Government Action. Since 1935, public welfare in the United States has been largely a cooperative federal, state, and county government enterprise. The vast amount of relief and other legislation

during the depression brought federal aid to the communities in amounts greater than most had ever dreamed of before. The Social Security Act in 1935 was the culmination of the federal relief and welfare legislation.

Federal-State-and-Local Organization. The federal government had come to the assistance of populations that had suffered from the great Mississippi flood of 1927. At that time, Congress appropriated 6 million dollars for relief. Funds were loaned to farmers for the purchase of seed, feed, and fertilizer. When the drought of 1931 struck the nation, 67 million dollars were made available to farmers of the drought-stricken states through the Department of Agriculture. As the months passed, the depression brought the need of the rural as well as of the urban populations to a critical state. In 1932, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was organized with authority to loan up to 300 million dollars to states for emergency relief. The Red Cross assisted in distributing wheat and cotton holdings of the Federal Farm Board to the needy. These measures were taken by the Hoover administration, prior to the New Deal legislation under Franklin D. Roosevelt.

With the Roosevelt administration, a national program of direct relief and rehabilitation began. In 1933, the Civil Works Administration was established, and direct disbursements of federal funds were made to the states and counties. In late 1933, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, financed mostly from federal funds and partly from state funds, began to handle all kinds of public assistance. Great emphasis was placed upon projects on which unemployed people were given jobs. In 1935, the responsibility for direct relief was returned to the states and local governments. Provision was made to supplement state funds for the care of the aged, the blind, and dependent children. Provision was also made for a program of public works called the Works Progress Administration.

The Social Security Act of 1935 provided that grants-in-aid be given to the various states to assist the aged, the blind, and dependent children. The federal funds contributed half of the total amount spent; the states and counties made up the other half. Since the Social Security Act specifically designated the county as the unit through which these funds were to be administered, and since relief had previously been handled by townships in some states, the county became the unit of administration. In some instances federal funds were handled on the county basis and non-federal funds on the township

basis. Professionally trained personnel and effective administrators brought with them the various elements of rationality, efficiency, and functional specificity. But at the same time the personal, primary, traditional, and functionally diffuse procedures and relationships that had prevailed in smaller, less bureaucratic administrative units were largely lost. As Nelson³¹ states, the change to the county and state levels of administration constituted a break with the tradition established by the Elizabethan Poor Laws and their local orientation. This shift toward a more contractual Gesellschaft-like set-up might have been expected to bring with it special difficulties for local workers. One local worker who attempted to enforce the federal and state rules for conducting the work and handling the money said, "By the time the first six months were over I began to feel that I could qualify as a G-man."³²

Direct Federal Aid. In addition to the cooperative program for the aged, the blind, and dependent children, the Social Security Act provided for unemployment compensation and old-age and survivors' insurance, which was administered directly through state or local agencies. Unfortunately, farmers and farm laborers along with domestic help were exempted from the social insurance program. This program is financed by a pay-roll deduction amounting each month to 1 percent of the worker's salary. This amount is then matched by the employer. This was to be increased until a maximum of 6 percent was reached, but Congress has been slow to make increases. The provisions call for a retirement age of 65, at which time the worker begins to receive monthly benefits equal to 50 percent of his average monthly wage, plus an additional 1 percent of this amount for each year of coverage. Total payments to the aged in the United States are 60 million dollars a month. This amount would certainly be increased greatly if farmers or farm laborers were included in the program.

The inequity of tax monies going in this manner to some occupational groups and not to others is striking. It is to be explained in large measure by the difficulty which would be encountered in collecting

³¹ Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 473.

³² This writer goes on to say that "What they all wanted, apparently, was to have all this Government money handed over without any strings tied to it. . . . The thing they wanted to know was, . . . How much can the county get out of this? Or, in the more flagrant cases, How much can 'me and my buddies' get out of this?" Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

payments from employers and employees in the farm economy.³³ Here we have concrete evidence of a fundamental but frequently ignored difference in rural and urban existence. Whereas most urban people, with the exception of domestics, can be reached through the companies and agencies for which they work, this is not true of the 6 million farm families. Therefore, it is of great importance to study the congeniality and locality groupings of farm and rural-nonfarm people. No social worker, specialist in education, or rural administrator can ignore such channels of communication or the media which can be used so that those involved might more easily be brought into social systems.

SUMMARY

With the last depression, rural welfare agencies became permanently fixed in the rural areas of the United States. The Farm Security Administration of the United States Department of Agriculture, later to become the Farmers' Home Administration, carried on the most important rehabilitation program in rural areas. The work of the various agencies that followed the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Works Progress Administration, however, are considered to be the bulwark of the rural welfare agencies now centered in the Federal Security Agency. With their establishment in rural areas, the professional social worker, previously confined largely to the cities, learned that the social structure and value orientation in rural areas was different from that in cities. The independence and sympathy which rural people had for the unfortunate were insufficient to withstand the depression. In this period public welfare became a cooperative federal, state, and county enterprise with many professionalized services.

³³ Although millions of federal tax monies have been spent for slum clearance and other housing projects in urban areas, relatively little of such monies has been expended for housing in rural areas. The problem of administering and collecting for such projects throughout the vast rural areas of the country where the isolated homestead prevails is thought by some to be prohibitive. The difficulty of establishing community housing developments in rural areas in the United States is in large measure explained by that element of social systems which we have called territoriality. The problem would be somewhat simplified if American farmers lived in villages.

GLOSSARY

Abstract Social System. (*See* Social System)

Authority. The legitimized right of individuals to influence others.

Achieved Status. That position attained by persons through their individual abilities and efforts.

Ascribed Status. That status assigned to persons without regard to their abilities and qualifications.

Bureaucracy. In the typical case, "bureaucracy" as used in the text implies an administrative staff, each member of which occupies an office or station which prescribes a sharp segregation of the sphere of the official from his private and family affairs and designates a specified delimitation of powers. The fixed salary, preferably in money form, is the typical form of remuneration. A stringent hierarchy of higher and lower levels of authority in such a way that each lower level is subject to control and supervision by the one immediately above it, constitutes the organizational arrangement between the offices. Power of appointment, promotion, demotion, and dismissal over the incumbents of lower offices is in the hands of those above. Technical competency constitutes the basis for holding an office. This rests upon evidence that the candidate has undergone a long period of formal training of a specific kind, and/or a rationally designed system of testing may be used. The office tends to limit the authority of the individual to the sphere of his competence. Out of this sphere, he is treated as a private individual. Where property is involved, the incumbent of the office is required by virtue of his office to segregate that which belongs to the bureaucracy or organization from that which belongs to him personally. These and other rules which govern the actions of individuals in office are universal and impersonal, applying under specific conditions in definite manners irrespective of the personality or background of the office holder.

Caste. A class that is somewhat strictly hereditary.

Center Activities. Those non-agricultural and other non-field pursuits concerned with the processing of raw materials (*see* Field Activities).

Checkerboard. (*See* Rectangular System of Land Division.)

City. A population center of 2,500 or more persons.

Class. A group of persons having approximately the same social status in a society, and united by many bonds. In most societies, the most important bonds are those of family, clique, and occupational organizations.

Clique. A non-kinship group membership varying from two to approximately 30 persons. *Note:* Sometimes part of the membership of clique groups are related by blood ties, but it is not a kinship group in the sense that the family is. This is the group next to the family in terms of intimacy.

Compulsory Gesellschaft. (*See also* Contractual Gesellschaft and Gesellschaft.) The idea of a Gesellschaft-like group being compulsory instead of contractual emphasizes the non-voluntary or one-way aspects of relationships. In this type of group the individual has very little to say about what he will or will not do. Chain gangs and concentration camps are examples of compulsory Gesellschaft-like groups.

Community. (*See* Trade-Center Community)

Concrete Social System. (*See* Social System)

Conjugal. A family organization consisting of parents and children, the central core of which is husband and wife.

Consanguine. A family organization consisting of relatives, the central core of which is blood relatives.

Continuum. A total which is continuous and uninterrupted. As used here, it represents a range from the ideal type, Familistic Gemeinschaft, to Contractual Gesellschaft. See these terms as they are used in Appendix A. Following are a few continua as related to hierarchical action:

Blanket, Unlimited Responsibility for Authorities versus Responsibility Limited to Office or Station. The difference here may be illustrated by an example. The parent of a sick child is responsible in a general and unlimited manner for the child's welfare. The superior of a sick employee in a government bureau is responsible for the welfare of the sick employee only in certain specific situations and ways such as in the payment of accident compensation. (*See* Authority.)

Blanket, Unlimited Rights for Authorities versus Rights Limited as Specified by Station. This is the counterpart of the previous continuum. The rights of the wife to her husband are much more blanket and unlimited in nature than the rights of the secretary to her superior in a government bureau. (*See* Rights.)

Influenced by Emotion versus Rational, Designed, Planned. The parent may be guided in his treatment of the child by love or other emotions. In planning a military campaign, there is less place for such emotions and rational action is supposed to prevail.

Personalized Authority versus Impersonal Authority. The leader of boys' gangs or individuals who, by dint of personal charm or other personal characteristics, get others to do their bidding are operating with personalized authority. Impersonal authority is characteristic of the "office" in the bureaucracy or in the army, where it is said that one salutes the uniform, not the man.

Sacred versus Secular. That which is sacred is so because of the attitudes of the people toward it. The sacred is set apart by a particular attitude of respect and reverence. It is thought of as having peculiar virtues and special powers. Those coming in contact with the sacred must assume special attitudes, respect, and precautions. Things which do not have these characteristics and/or are used for utilitarian purposes are secular.

Short, Face-to-Face versus Long, Secondary. Short, face-to-face relationships imply familiarity because communication can convey, by word and gesture, feeling and meaning. Secondary communication is relatively devoid of intimacy, as when messages are sent by telegraph.

Solidary versus Antagonistic. When relationships are solidary, the parties involved have recognized mutual interests which the relationship furthers. When they are antagonistic, the opposite is true. The relationship between the warden in a concentration camp and his inmates is usually antagonistic.

Traditional versus Rationally Efficient. Traditional action, permitting no alternative ways of operating, stand merely because they were the ways of the fathers. The principle of maximization of results for effort spent is the chief determining factor in rationally efficient action.

Two-way or Two-sided versus One-way or One-sided. In two-way or two-sided action, both parties involved contribute to the direction of the action, as when decisions are made among a "company of equals." In one-way or one-sided action, only the superior initiates and the inferior terminates but never suggests or in any way determines policy or direction of action. An extreme case is the hypnotist who initiates and the subject who terminates action.

Voluntary versus Compulsory. In voluntary action the individual's desires as related to his means of satisfying them, as embodied in his relations to his superiors, are small, and/or the superiors permit great freedom as related to the desires of the inferior. In compulsory action, on the other hand, in relation to the desires of the subordinates, the means of satisfying permitted by the superiors are small and the inferior must do many things which he does not desire to do, and cannot do what he wishes to.

Contractual Gesellschaft. As we have used the concept, contractual Gesellschaft represents a combination of the term Gesellschaft as used by Toennies and the concept contract or contractual as used by Sir Henry Maine and Pitirim Sorokin. The idea of contract specifies that the norms by which the action is carried out and the penalty for failing to execute the contract are defined somewhat according to the choice and wishes of agreeing parties and are less controlled by tradition, so that the ends and means of the agreeing parties are differentiated. The idea of contractual adds to Gesellschaft the idea that norms, ends and means, and the

way in which they are to be combined, are functionally specific and subject to the choice of the actor, independent of others. (*See* *Gesellschaft and Continuum*.)

Correlation Coefficient. A statistical measure of the degree of relationship between two variables.

Cross-Cousin Marriage. The marriage of children of siblings of the opposite sex.

Crude Birth Rate. A measure of the rate of reproduction which expresses the relationship between the number of births in a population and the total population. The formula is as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Number of births in a year}}{\text{Total population}} \times 1000$$

Dispersed Settlement. (*See* *Isolated Form of Settlement*)

Duties. The required obedience of individuals to authority.

Ecology (Human). That branch of sociology which deals with the relationship between man, his social groupings, and his physical environment.

Ends. (*See* *Objectives*)

Ethos. The dominant or distinguishing characteristic of a society.

Familistic Gemeinschaft. In order to combine the concepts of Toennies and Sorokin, familistic Gemeinschaft is used in the text as a counterpart of contractual Gesellschaft. The adjective is used only to convey the nature of the groups and may not add to the concept, but will make it more meaningful for those unfamiliar with German social theory. The loving attitudes of the mother toward her young child, the spontaneous behavior of the child toward its mother, the solicitous disciplining and planning of parents for children, are concrete examples of the motivation which Toennies called "natural will" and specified as the basis for Gemeinschaft. We use familistic Gemeinschaft not to mean that all groups characterized as belonging to this type are kinship groups. Cliques and other similar groups are motivated by familistic Gemeinschaft-like sentiments, and may have no members who are related by blood. The concept familistic added to Gemeinschaft conveys the meaning that responsibilities and loyalties of members of a group characterized by familistic Gemeinschaft relationships are functionally diffuse. The father's responsibility for and loyalty to his child are not limited in the manner in which the large factory employer's responsibility to the worker is limited. (*See* *Gemeinschaft and Continuum*.)

Family of Orientation. That family into which one is born.

Family of Procreation. That family established at one's marriage.

Farm. Lands on which some agricultural operations are performed and which contain at least three acres or which yield \$250.00 worth of produce.

Fertility Ratio. A measure of the rate of reproduction which expresses the relationship between the number of young children and the number of women in childbearing ages. The formula frequently used is as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Number of children under 5}}{\text{Number of females aged 15-44}} \times 1000$$

Field Activities. Those pursuits concerned with agriculture, mining, and forestry.

Friendship Group. (*See* Clique)

Fringe Population. That segment of the rural-nonfarm population located outside the incorporated limits of cities.

Gemeinschaft. This term may best be defined by relating it to its opposite, *Gesellschaft*. For both terms we rely upon the usage of Ferdinand Toennies, who made the greatest contribution to the development and diffusion of the concepts, both within Germany, where the concepts originated, and outside Germany. Social action which is *Gemeinschaft*-like in nature is characterized by what Toennies calls "natural will" or spontaneity as used by the sociometricians. In action which is motivated by natural will, it is scarcely possible to differentiate end or goal from the means. Thus the relationship between true friends persists not because they accomplish more because of the relationship than they could separately, although this may well be the case, but rather because the relationship is an end in and of itself. Thus groups which are *Gemeinschaft*-like in nature have their basis in the "natural will" motivation which may be sacred, traditional, spontaneous, and/or emotional, as contrasted with the *Gesellschaft*, characterized by "rational will," which is by nature secular, rational, efficient, and planned. Groups controlled by *Gemeinschaft*-like sentiments value persons, especially the members, as ends in and of themselves, whereas the *Gesellschaft*-like group relations are impersonal, and members are means to ends. The authority pattern in *Gemeinschaft*-like organizations may be either of the authoritarian or the fellowship or democratic type. The latter type has existed in the type of "group of equals" known as brotherhoods; the former is a patriarchal family. (*See* Familistic *Gemeinschaft* and Continuum.)

Gesellschaft. The motivation which controls groups dominated by *Gesellschaft*-like characteristics has been called by Ferdinand Toennies "rational will." In this type of action means and ends are sharply differentiated and the means are chosen according to norms of efficiency, with a minimum interference of the sacred, traditional, emotional, or personal involvement resulting in such sentiments as loyalty. In the *Gesellschaft*-like group, associates combine to attain specific objectives and inter-personal relationships are means to ends, not ends in and of themselves. The authority pattern of the *Gesellschaft* may, as in the case

of the *Gemeinschaft*, be either of the authoritarian or the democratic or fellowship type. The former type might be represented by a government bureau, the latter by a "company of equals," as some hospital staffs of physicians or departments of college teachers. (*See Contractual Gesellschaft, Compulsory Gesellschaft, and Gemeinschaft.*)

Hamlet. A population center of 250 persons or less.

Ideal or Pure Type. A theoretical construct which assumes characteristics not to be found in reality, but as a "fiction of the mind," helps to explain reality. *Gemeinschaft* is an example in the social sciences. The atom or vitamin are examples in the natural sciences. No one has experienced all the features of these "constructs."

Incest Taboo. The prohibition of sexual intercourse between members of a family.

Informal Group. (*See Clique*)

Isolated Form of Settlement. That form of agricultural settlement in which the farmers' residences are located on the land farmed and away from a village.

Latifundia. Originally the large land-holdings of the Romans. Now widely accepted to designate any large land-holding or estate.

Level of Living. The actual goods and services used and consumed in living, including both those which are material, such as housing, clothing, and the like, and those which are non-material, such as music and security. (*See Standard of Living.*)

Life Table. Tabulation of the average number of years that an individual may expect to live at any given age.

Line Village Form of Settlement. That form of agricultural settlement in which the farmers' residences are arranged in "string" fashion along a river or other natural barrier, and in which the resulting land-holdings are long and narrow.

Matriarchal. A family form in which more authority is vested in the female than in the male line. The term is too general to be very useful.

Metes and Bounds (Indiscriminate Location). A system of land division in which trees, rivers, and other impermanent natural phenomena are used to delimit land-holdings.

Monogamy. A form of marriage in which one male is married to one female.

Morale. That characteristic of social systems associated with efficiency in attaining objectives and/or satisfactions on the part of members, derived from the association within the system. Systems with high morale usually have solidarity and integration of roles. Norms, ends, bases of stratification, and leadership are usually accepted as values worthy of great personal sacrifice.

Mutual-Aid Group. (*See Clique*)

Neighborhood. An area containing a small number of families characterized by "neighboring" and mutual aid. The neighborhood is usually re-

- garded as the smallest of the locality groups. It may be composed of several clique, friendship, or kinship groups. There are many rural areas, especially in the fringe areas of cities, where people have no identification with a specific rural neighborhood, but where they usually belong to overlapping and intertwined clique, friendship, or kinship groups.
- Net Reproduction Rate.** A measure of the rate of reproduction that balances the birth and death rates against each other. This rate represents the number of daughters a cohort of one thousand female infants beginning life together would have during the course of their lives if the cohort were subject to both the birth rates and death rates that prevailed at the time specified.
- Norms.** The rules which govern the application of means in order to accomplish the social system's ends or objectives. In sports they are the "rules of the game" plus such general standards as those associated with "fair play" or "sportsmanship." In some systems they are specified as "ethical principles," as medical ethics. All social action is related to such norms as folkways, mores, and laws.
- Objectives.** Those changes (or perhaps the maintenance of the status quo) which members of a social system expect to accomplish through the system's operation.
- Open-Country Settlement.** (*See Isolated Form of Settlement*)
- Paired Interaction.** That condition existing between two persons in which action on the part of one is followed by action on the part of the other.
- Parallel-Cousin Marriage.** The marriage of the children of siblings of the same sex.
- Patriarchal.** A family form in which more authority is vested in the male than in the female line. The term is very general.
- Patriarchal (Le Play family type).** That type of family in which the individual is subordinate to the family group. Dominance of the father, strong tradition, great solidarity, and continuity from generation to generation are characteristic.
- Polyandry.** A form of marriage in which two or more males are married to one female.
- Polygamy.** A form of marriage designating either polyandry, polygyny, or both.
- Polygyny.** A form of marriage in which two or more females are married to one male.
- Primary.** A term introduced by Cooley to designate groups such as the family, play, and neighborhood groups. These groups are intimate, face-to-face, and are basic in the formation of the social nature and ideals of the individual.
- Rectangular System of Land Division.** A system of land division based upon permanent and definite longitudinal and latitudinal lines, thus yielding rectangular land areas.

Rights. The immunity of individuals from authority.

Rites of Intensification. Action of a ritualistic nature performed in response to a crisis which arises from changes specifically affecting all the members of a group in concert.

Rites of Passage. Action of a ritualistic nature performed in response to a crisis which arises from changes specifically affecting a single individual.

Roles. That which is expected of individuals in given situations.

Rural. That residence group comprising rural-farm and rural-nonfarm persons. Thus, all farmers and villagers living in places under 2,500 are included.

Rural-farm. That residence group comprising all persons living on farms.

Rural-nonfarm. That residence group comprising non-farming persons living in places under 2,500. This is a residual group after the rural-farm and urban residents have been counted.

Scattered Settlement. (*See* Isolated Form of Settlement)

Secondary. A term used by Cooley to designate non-primary groups. The chief characteristics are superficiality, indirectness, and casualness of contact.

Set Interaction. That condition existing between two or more persons in which action on the part of one is followed by action on the parts of the others.

Sex Ratio. The relationship between the number of males and females in a population. The formula is as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Number of males in a population}}{\text{Number of females in a population}} \times 100$$

Social Structure. A basic type-part of all social systems comprising primarily roles, status, and authority.

Social System. A cooperative social structure consisting of two or more individuals who interact with each other at a higher rate than with non-members when the system is in operation (Concrete Social System); patterns of relationships persisting from generation to generation and from region to region (Abstract Social System).

Stem (Le Play family type). That type of family which combines characteristics of the patriarchal and unstable types. Parts of the family maintain the core while the remainder migrate, but retain some contacts with the core.

Standard of Living. The goods and services which a person or family of a given culture aspires to have for living. (*See* Level of Living.)

Status. The ranking of individuals resulting from a consensus among the members of a system as to what traits are to be rated high and low.

Taboo. A term used to indicate that certain kinds of social interaction and acts are forbidden.

Tenancy. A term denoting the nature of man's relationship, in terms of property rights, to land.

Territoriality. The locus or space requirements of a social system.

Town. A population center of 1,000 to 2,499 persons.

Trade-Center Community. An area consisting of a trade center and surrounding farm population in social interaction, often of a business as well as a non-business, character. The term "community" has been used in many different ways. Perhaps the most useful is that of MacIver, who defines the community as "any circle of people who live together, who belong together, so that they share, not this or that particular interest, but a whole set of interests wide enough and complete enough to include their lives."

Unstable (Le Play family type). That type of family in which the individual is of vital concern. Relative equalitarianism, weak tradition, little solidarity, and little continuity from generation to generation are characteristic.

Urban. That residence group living in places having a population of 2,500 or more.

Value Orientation. A basic type-part of all social systems comprising primarily norms, ends, and objectives.

Village Form of Settlement. That form of agricultural settlement in which farmers reside in a center, surrounded by their lands. The generalized pattern of the village, beginning at the center, is as follows: (1) the core of the village, consisting of homes, barns, and other out-buildings; (2) small garden plots; (3) larger cultivated lands; (4) pasture lands, and (5) waste land and forests. The New England, Germanic, and Spanish villages discussed assume modified ecological forms.

APPENDIX A

Profiles of the Value Orientation and Social Structure of Ninety Families and Ninety Military Units of World War II Veterans, Two Rural Groups, and a Government Division, as Related to the Familistic Gemeinschaft, Contractual Gesellschaft, and Compulsory Gesellschaft Three Ideal Types

THE ELEMENTS OF SYSTEMS

As indicated in Chapter 1, we assume that most important activities of mankind are carried out in social systems. In that chapter we described the elements of social systems, namely, the roles, authority, rights, stratification, ends, norms, and territoriality. The Gestalt configuration, ideal type, *leit motiv*, or central theme of a social system, of course, is determined by the relative emphasis and different components of the elements of social structure and value orientation. To continue the discussion of the ideal types—familistic Gemeinschaft, contractual Gesellschaft, and compulsory Gesellschaft—we shall first consider the nature of authority patterns. In this treatment, we still make use of the Amish family, the El Cerrito ditch association in New Mexico, and the United States Department of Agriculture division systems which were described in Chapter 1. We shall also use the mean average scores obtained when ninety GI students in classes of rural sociology compared their families of orientation with the military units they knew best. (See Table I.)

One-way or Two-way Interaction. Sorokin has called attention to variations in direction of response-provoking activity.¹ If one is con-

¹ P. A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, pp. 106 ff. The importance of bureaucratic organization, especially as it evolved out of the feudal economy, has been emphasized. See also Reinhard Bendix, "Bureaucracy: The Problem and its Setting," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XII, No. 5, October 1947, pp. 493-507. Bendix quotes J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *The Town Laborer, 1700-1832*, London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1925, in support of the compulsion entering bureaucracy from the feudal system.

TABLE I

Average Scores That Ninety Veterans Who Were Students of Rural Sociology During the Winter and Spring Terms of 1949 at Michigan State College Gave the Military Units They Knew Best and Their Families of Orientation When These Veterans were 5 to 15 Years of Age, as Related to Continua That Are Used as Components of the Types: Familistic Gemeinschaft, Contractual Gesellschaft, and Compulsory Gesellschaft.

HIERARCHICAL RELATIONS

	Average Scores*	
	Families	Military
FAMILISTIC GEMEINSCHAFT VS. COMPULSORY GESELLSCHAFT		
1. Two-way or Two-sided versus One-way or One-sided	7.3	3.0
2. Voluntary vs. Compulsory	8.3	3.2
FAMILISTIC GEMEINSCHAFT VS. CONTRACTUAL GESELLSCHAFT		
3. Solidary vs. Antagonistic	9.4	5.0
4. Short, face-to-face vs. Long, secondary	9.4	3.5
5. Sacred vs. Secular	7.1	4.1
6. Non-rational vs. Rational, i.e.		
a. Traditional vs. Efficient	6.4	4.6
b. Emotional vs. Planned	7.4	3.2
7. Personalized Authority vs. Impersonalized Authority ..	8.1	2.7
8. Blanket Rights and Responsibilities vs. Limited Rights and Responsibilities	7.9	3.8

NON-HIERARCHICAL RELATIONS

**9. Highly Integrated Roles in System vs. Conflicting Roles	7.9	5.8
10. Required Integration of Roles In and Out vs. Irrelevance of Roles in and Out of System	7.3	4.3
11. Complete Community of Fate vs. Limited Responsibility	9.8	3.9
**12. Interaction Confined to System vs. Interaction Distributed to Many Systems	5.4	5.4

GENERAL VALUE ORIENTATION

**13. Norms:		
a. Functionally Diffuse vs. Functionally Specific	7.2	3.3
b. Determined by Tradition vs. Rationally Determined or by Contract	6.9	6.0
c. Sacred vs. Secular	7.3	3.8
**14. Ends:		
a. Functionally diffuse vs. Functionally Specific	6.9	2.9
b. Determined by Tradition vs. Rationally Determined or by Contract	6.5	5.7
**15. Sacredness of Symbols vs. Secular Nature of, or Lack of Symbols	7.5	5.3

(See opposite page for explanation.)

trolling a robot or hypnotized person, the action is one way. The person in authority remains relatively little influenced by the person under his control. This is, however, extreme. According to accounts from internees interviewed by one of the authors, when extreme punishment was dealt out in the Nazi concentration camps, wardens had to be transferred to other camps, since even the most hardened warden would often sympathize with inmates, thereby precipitating two-way action.

* Items 1 through 11, with the exception of item 9, are calculated for ninety rural sociology students who were veterans of World War II. On the instruments as used by the students, the terms familistic Gemeinschaft, contractual Gesellschaft and compulsory Gesellschaft were not used. The instrument used by the ninety students and filled out in the fall and spring terms of 1949 carried definitions of the extremes on each continuum. The instructions given the students are included in footnote 6 above. Item 1 is reproduced below to indicate how the continua were set up on the instrument filled out by the students.

1. Two-way or Two-sided						1. One-way or One-sided					
5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	

Position No. 5 represents a condition in which there is no difference in individuals of the system in response and response-provoking and/or requesting and granting of permission.

At the No. 5 position only one party in the interaction responds as in the case of hypnosis or a robot being manipulated.

The scores are calculated on the basis of arbitrarily assigned numbers running consecutively from 1 to 11 from right to left, so that position 5 at the right is numbered 1; 0 in the middle, or the neutral point, 6; and position 5 at the left, 11. Thus the higher the average score, the nearer the social system under consideration was placed toward the familistic Gemeinschaft, and the farther from the Gesellschaft types. As stated above these types were not used on the instrument.

Standard deviations, F ratios and t scores were calculated for the items and the differences between family and army scores on each item. Only items 6a, 12, 13b, and 14b were found to have insignificantly different scores for family and army unit at the 5 percent level. Standard deviations for the separate items ranged from .15 to .35.

** Items 9, 12, 13, 14 and 15 were used on a different sample of veteran students attending rural sociology classes in 1948. The following number of students filled out the respective items: Item 9, 72 students; Item 12, 73 students; Item 13, 42 students; Item 14, 43 students; and Item 15, 68 students. When these items were used there were no definitions of position 5 as above, and there were no specific situational definitions given.

With Chapple's invention,² it is possible to measure the extent to which interaction is one-sided by working out what he calls origin-response ratios. The greater the number of times the authority gets someone to respond to him in relation to the times he has to respond to this person, the more one-sided the action.

Co-workers of the authors, who were familiar with at least two of the systems ranked on the continua that follow, were requested to rate the systems with which they were familiar. Olen Leonard³ knew the El Cerrito ditch association and the government division intimately. Walter Kollmorgen⁴ knew the Amish culture and a comparable government division. Wilson Longmore⁵ knew comparable government divisions and Latin-American social systems. These rankings, which were made independently, were used in placing the systems on the diagrams that follow. In general, there was very little disagreement among these co-workers. Others familiar with comparable situations were also requested to place the systems in a similar manner and comparable results were obtained.

In comparing the three systems as a means of illustrating the important components of social types, it is admitted that the extent to

² E. D. Chapple and G. Donald, "A Method for Evaluating Supervisory Personnel," *Harvard Business Review*, Winter 1946, pp. 197-214.

³ See *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, El Cerrito, New Mexico*, by Olen Leonard and Charles Loomis, reprinted in Charles Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization*, East Lansing: State College Book Store, 1945, pp. 265-338. Leonard not only lived in the village of El Cerrito but was a staff member of the Division of Extension and Training in the Technical Collaboration Branch of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations in the United States Department of Agriculture.

⁴ Walter Kollmorgen, *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community, The Older Order Amish of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, Rural Life Studies, Washington: United States Department of Agriculture, September 1942. Kollmorgen made the original study cited here. The senior author lived with an Amish family in the community studied and acted as general supervisor of this study under the direction of Carl Taylor, Head of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the United States Department of Agriculture.

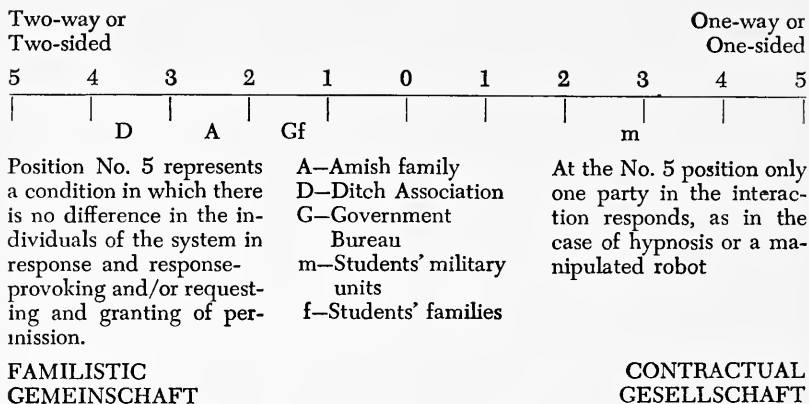
⁵ C. P. Loomis, J. A. Beegle, and T. W. Longmore, "Critique of Class as Related to Social Stratification," *Sociometry Monographs*, No. 19, 1948. Longmore studied the Spanish-American culture of the Southwest, and under the direction of the senior author studied villages in Peru. He worked for many years in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life and consequently has had experience with bureaucracy as well as Latin-American social systems.

which interaction is one-sided does not determine whether the relationship is of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* or compulsory *Gesellschaft* type. Thus, a formal organization chart that shows the proportion of the actions that are controlled by an Amish father and a similar chart of any small army unit may be quite similar. A similar chart that shows the proportion of the activities of a child which are under the control of a loving mother may resemble a chart showing the same characteristic of the relationships between an inmate in a concentration camp or chain gang who is being worked to death.

Although the Amish father's interactions with other members may superficially resemble that of an authoritarian system such as an army unit, as indicated above, they are by nature quite different. When an Amish father orders a son to do something, one always knows that the father truly believes the act will not be to the son's disadvantage. The son is an end as well as a means in this means-end scheme. Nevertheless, the relative amount of two-way action was used in placing the systems.

As will be noted, the terminal points of most of the continua which are presented on the following pages are familistic *Gemeinschaft* at one extreme and contractual *Gesellschaft* at the other. The two continua most closely related to authority, namely, two-way or two-sided versus one-way or one-sided, and voluntary versus compulsory action, are different in this respect. For these, the compulsory *Gesellschaft*, a mixed form having aspects of both the other two, is the extreme set off against the familistic *Gemeinschaft*.

In the government unit, such communication as there is with the lowest level or echelon of employee comes down through the line, and such communication as these employees have with the chief is up through the line, i.e., through the section and division or branch head. Directives which must be carried out, whether the subordinates have suggested them or not, are much more common than in the case of the ditch association. Most of the directives of the ditch boss are really not directives at all in that they are decreed by custom. At a specific time each season the ditch is cleaned under the direction of the boss. If the dam washes out, the whole village expects the boss to call together all workers who own land to make repairs. A ditch boss who tried to get the villagers to do things very different from those to which they were accustomed would find that his directives were disobeyed.

DIAGRAM 1⁶

⁶ Instructions used in comparing the continua were as follows:

We should like to have you help us analyze the components of some organizations.

Below are listed various continua which are believed to be characteristic of organizations of some types such as Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft, primary, secondary, familistic, contractual groups and the like. Please follow instructions closely.

In each case please assume the following conditions: A sudden emergency about which no member of the group had any warning requires that the permanent location (residence of the family, and offices or quarters of the other group or groups) be moved within twelve hours. All possessions and equipment used by the group and its individuals must be moved by the group itself to a new location several miles away.

1. Please place an *F* on each of the continua which indicates approximately the correct description of the relationship between your own father and yourself which would have existed under the crisis situation if it had occurred during the 5-year period before you were 15 years old.

2. Assuming that the above-described crisis occurred, please place an *M* on the continua which would represent the position of the relationship between yourself and your immediate superior in the unit of the armed forces with which you are most familiar. If you have had no military experience, assume your immediate superior to be a second lieutenant and yourself a private and rely on your reading and general knowledge.

Note: Place all relationships on each continuum or line before proceeding to the next. Thus below place the father-child (your father and yourself) and military relationship on each line so that their relative position may be noted on each continuum before going to the next continuum. Do not attempt to place the parent-child relationship separately on each continuum and the other relationships separately.

Diagram 1 shows the rating of the ditch association, the Amish family, the government bureau, and the students' families and military units with regard to one-way or two-way interaction. Note that the ditch association is rated as the least one-sided, while military units are considered the most one-sided.⁷

Voluntary Versus Compulsory Hierarchical Relationships. The difference between the interaction pattern of the typical mother and her children and between the warden in a concentration camp and his subjects illustrates the difference between one-way versus two-way interaction on the one hand and voluntary versus compulsory interaction on the other. The mother-child interaction may involve considerable one-way activity, with the mother directing the actions of the children. However, considerable of the child's activity results from his attempts to satisfy his own needs and desires. In a typical slave labor situation the proportion of the subject's activity which is directed toward satisfying the individual's needs and desires is relatively small.

Sorokin has described freedom through the use of the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{Sum total of means (S.M.)}}{\text{Sum total of desires (S.D.)}}$$

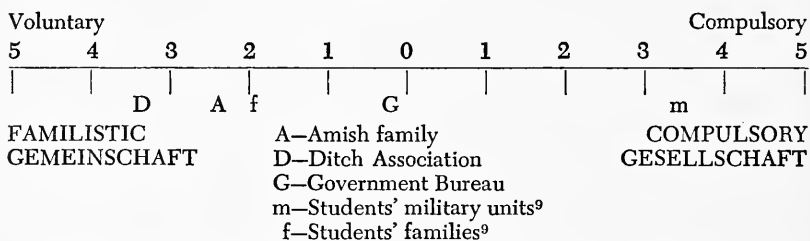
He indicates that "when the numerator exceeds or is equal to the denominator, one is free; otherwise one is unfree."⁸ If the desires exceed the sum of the means for their satisfaction, one is unfree. Thus one can "free" oneself by decreasing one's desires. Using this formula one may study the amount of compulsion or lack of freedom in the hierarchical relationship of the Amish father with other members of his family, the ditch boss and the other members of the association, and the government division chief and his subordinates.

⁷ Among the many limitations of the data, the reader should be aware of the following: In interpreting the continua beginning with Diagram 1 above and in Chapter 1, comparisons between the relative positions of the ratings the students gave their families as compared with the military units they knew are more valid than comparisons between either of these and the ditch association, Amish family and government bureau. The four investigators who rated these latter systems did not at the time they made their comparisons compare their families or army units. Therefore, these latter three systems may be compared one with another but comparisons between these and the students' rankings are less valid. If the five systems had been ranked by the same informants concomitantly, comparisons among all the systems would be more meaningful.

⁸ Sorokin, *op. cit.*, p. 469.

We have attempted to consider the proportion of activity under the direction of the superior in each system which would have been voluntarily engaged in if the members were "freed" from the authority under consideration. Thus the authors know that the Amishman's son was not "free" to court girls in his father's covered carriage, but we also know that he did not want to do this. To be sure, the Amish boy does work hard cleaning stables and other tasks which he is told to do by his father, but such tasks do not run counter to his expectations and he does not object. Real restraint or compulsion, of course, will lead the individual to attempt to get away from the system. Consequently, the desire to free oneself from the control of the superior was also used as a criterion in placing the systems on the continuum. See Diagram 2.

DIAGRAM 2



Group Solidarity Resulting from Convergence of Interests and Sentiments of Subordinate and Superior Versus Antagonistic Interests. If people try to stay in a system through both favorable and unfavorable conditions, the indications are that individual and group interests harmonize. Other measures of solidarity such as attitude and opinion analysis are available as criteria to be used in placing social systems on this continuum. Wrangling, fighting, and controversy within the system can be used as measures of solidarity or antagonism in the authority pattern of systems. In this as well as in other comparisons, better measures than desire to leave or remain in the system undoubtedly will be developed.

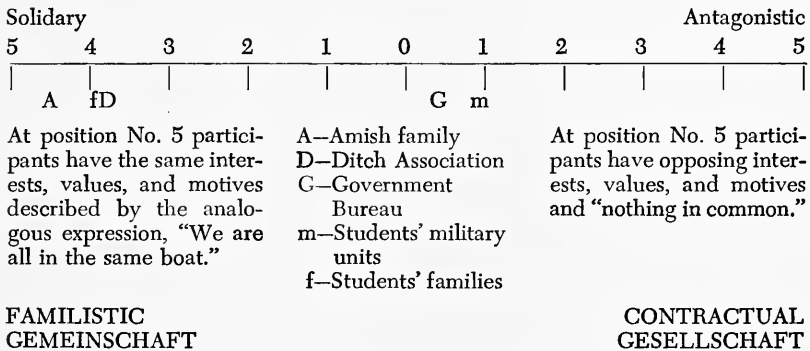
The authors have attempted to rate the three systems under discussion on the solidarity-antagonistic continuum as expressed in re-

⁹ These ratings are for seventy students who had had military experience in World War II. They took the rural sociology course during 1948 at Michigan State College. The instrument these students used had no description of position No. 5 on it. Later position No. 5 was defined as on most of the other diagrams.

relationships of superiors to subordinates and vice versa as developed by Sorokin.¹⁰

Paternalistic as they are, few families have members who are more satisfied and less anxious to leave their homes than the Amish. Indeed, it would be a heart-breaking experience for any of the children to have to leave the family completely. Many wanted to and have left the government unit, in part at least, because of the lack of solidarity with superiors. The Amish family is the most solidary and the German concentration camp is the least solidary unit known to the authors. As here used, group solidarity is synonymous with group morale. Willingness to sacrifice for the good of the group and its perpetuation was also used in placing the systems on the continuum. Graphically, the relative positions of ninety students' military units, ninety students' families, the Amish family, the ditch association, and the government division are portrayed in Diagram 3.

DIAGRAM 3



Short Primary¹¹ Versus Long Secondary Channels of Communication. Any experienced administrator knows that morale, other things being equal, may be improved if the person in authority and those whom his authority influences can see "eye to eye." Of course, the expression "seeing eye to eye" connotes a great deal more than face-to-face relationships. In particular, it implies that relationships are solidary. However, there is the implication that face-to-face relation-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 93 ff.

¹¹ C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909. Cooley's category was broader than that used here, resembling more the familistic Gemeinschaft type used in this text.

ships are important and necessary for complete understanding.¹² That most differences and conflicts are due to faulty communication is no profound observation. It is common knowledge that many, if not most, of the frustrations in modern bureaucracy grow out of the secondary nature of communication.

If contacts between superiors and subordinates are to be classified as to whether they are face-to-face and by telephone (ear-to-ear), one would have an index of the extent to which communication is primary. In modern bureaucracy another index would be the prevalence of procedure manuals directing how communication is to be carried on. It is obvious that this continuum is related to the extent to which authority is personal or impersonal and the proportions of communications which are two-sided, as discussed previously. However, meanings of communications in their situational context are important. A short, curt communication from a relative or friend whose practice it is to send such messages would be received differently than would a similar communication from a stranger.

It is quite easy to indicate the differences in the three systems under consideration on a face-to-face versus secondary continuum, using the above criteria of merely computing the proportions of the communications or time consumed in communication of supervisor and supervised in actual person-to-person contacts. See Diagram 4.

These categories are discussed on the basis of Cooley's¹³ dichotomy, primary and secondary groups. In the sense here used, the headings at the extremes of this continuum could be changed to familiar versus strange. As Mannheim¹⁴ has shown, these differences are in part due to the magnitude and nature of the organizations involved. Because of specialization and division of labor, most members of a bureaucracy do not know many persons outside their own office and

¹² For an account of how a company was able to double in size in seven years and according to some measures increase morale, see: F. L. W. Richardson, Jr. and Charles R. Walker, *Human Relations in an Expanding Industry*, New Haven, Conn.: Labor and Management Center, Yale University, 1948, pp. 32 ff. Through reduction of levels in the hierarchy, informal association, and other devices, face-to-face relationships between people on different levels were increased.

¹³ Cooley, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940, pp. 52-60. Mannheim differentiates between "substantial" and "functional" rationality. Employees who are extremely competent in their work may not understand the first principles of the basis of their operations. Such rationalization makes for a "secondary" atmosphere not known to persons working in the crafts and guilds or on a family farm.

DIAGRAM 4

Short, Face-to-face					Long, Secondary					
5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5
A		Df				G		m		

At the No. 5 position participants have perfect communication, being influenced by word of mouth in all interaction by tone of voice, facial expressions, gestures, and all other conscious or unconscious manifestations of emotions, desires, motives and concerns.

A—Amish family
D—Ditch Association
G—Government Bureau
m—Students' military units
f—Students' families¹⁵

At position No. 5 all communication is in the form of formal and conventionalized symbols, as when truck drivers signal when passing or when orders are sent by telegraph.

FAMILISTIC
GEMEINSCHAFT

CONTRACTUAL
GESELLSCHAFT

level. Most do not see their own operations as a part of the whole. They and their work are "strange" and separated from the whole. As stated previously, in the concentration camps in Nazi Germany, where it was the policy to punish inmates through various types of cruel treatment, it was necessary to move normal officials frequently to avoid their becoming familiar with the inmates whom they often hated as a group, but for whom they developed sympathies when they became acquainted.

Compulsory relationships require secondary contacts. If contacts are primary, familiarity develops and the nature of the relationship may cease to be compulsory. An index of the extent to which contacts are primary or secondary in a given community may be the span of acquaintanceship of individuals in that local community. In urban neighborhoods, particularly those which are quite mobile, investigators sometimes find that the average adult person knows several other persons in his block or locality. Some Amishmen are acquainted with almost all adult members in the Amish settlement of some 3,500. The authors know of Spanish-American towns in which the range of acquaintanceship is even greater. In some instances, the acquaintanceship range developed from ordinary everyday living and visit-

¹⁵ In this and the diagrams that follow, if there are no footnotes, the data indicated by *m* and *f* are based on the information of the ninety students with military experience. See footnote 9 above.

ing is as great as that of the urban politician. As will be indicated later, the politician, whether rural or urban, may attempt to make capital of his wide range of acquaintances. The connotation of this tendency will be discussed under the various continua involving rationality.

RATIONALITY AND EFFICIENCY

In the operation of a factory or business the factors of production, land, labor, and capital may be equated or substituted one for the other. "In a period when wages are high and machinery cheap, manufacturers use less labor if possible and substitute machinery for it at every turn." When the entrepreneur considers the elements of production rationally, "The efficiency in the utilization of one may be at the expense of efficiency in the utilization of the others."¹⁶ Of course, this means that people are equated to things, and all equated to money value. ". . . The entrepreneur is not interested in low costs as an end in themselves, but only as a means to an end, and that this end is the highest possible profit that he is willing to strive for. . . ."¹⁷

Assuming that the end of a given social system is the highest profit combination, the entrepreneur would be behaving rationally, as the term is used here, when he discharged workers during a depression if this would prevent losses. He would be acting irrationally if he retained workers under these conditions, even those who were his friends and relatives. As stated previously, the family farm as an enterprise does not adjust its labor supply by casting off its members merely because the price situation does not permit the unit to pay for their upkeep.¹⁸ Of course, this "inflexibility," as some economists call it, often keeps more people on the land than might otherwise be the case. The "irrationality" of this situation is deplored by some economists who seem not to understand the difference in the value orientation of a family on the one hand, and a bureaucracy on the other.¹⁹ With a family, the children and parents are ends in and of

¹⁶ John D. Black, *Introduction to Production Economics*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1926, p. 314.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

¹⁸ This is called "lack of flexibility" in one publication on the family farm. See Joseph Ackerman and Marshall Harris, *Family Farm Policy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946, p. 394.

¹⁹ See T. W. Schultz, *Agriculture in an Unstable Economy*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945, p. 201.

themselves. Rational entrepreneurs who operate efficient plants are in many ways not unlike effective military strategists. In the logistics of military campaigns, men and equipment must be equated. If there is a shortage of some item of equipment, more men may have to be sacrificed to take an objective than would otherwise be the case. Thus human beings become means through the use of which ends are obtained. Norms of this type are very different from those by which the typical family functions.

Modern psychology does not support a division of individual acts into the rational and non-rational, as Parsons²⁰ has noted. However, these concepts are still useful in the description of social action. Kardiner²¹ and his followers draw the distinction between "taught or rational" and "projective" systems. The former, as used by this group of scientists, is more compatible with processes dealing with

²⁰ A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons, *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 27.

²¹ Abram Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945, pp. 39-41. The Kardiner principle is perhaps best explained by the following quotation:

"These two types of mental process depend upon different orders of experience. The differentiating feature is not that one has an emotional constituent and the other not. Both have emotional components. Rational thinking is driven by curiosity and has such goals as mastery and utility. The emotional component of projective thinking is made up of all those affects which accompany human relations. In the systems built on a projective basis the conclusions drawn do not depend upon any fixity in nature, but on sequences which are contingent on institutionalized practices conveyed by parents or other people in the environment of the growing child. Hence our interest in the genetic aspects. The experimental base of a projective system is generally forgotten; its only remains in the personality are to be found in the conditioned perceptions, meanings, affects, psychosomatic reactions, and behavior. It is a feature of such projective systems that they are capable of extension upon situations which have no actual resemblance to the experiences on which they were based. This may be called symbolic extension. Projective systems are established under the influence of the pleasure principle, avoidance of pain, or expediency. The conclusions on which projective systems are based are not inherent but are the record of traumatic experiences. Projective systems are therefore excrescences developed from nuclear traumatic experiences within the growth pattern of the individual. Just as the character structure of the individual has a large component of these projective systems, so the basis personality in any culture contains them. The fewer the anxieties in the growth pattern, the simpler the projective system (Comanche). It is these systems which have given rise to the complaints about the 'irrational' factors in society. Their purpose is adaptive, to relieve the mutilating effect of painful tensions. In practice they often miscarry in ways which will be specified."

manipulation and making of tools and other comparable operations; the latter, with folklore and religion. The rational as well as the irrational or projective, in the context of Kardiner's frame of reference, may carry emotion. Nevertheless, the Weberian usage, which sets the rational as opposed to the emotional, has advantages and is employed here. Emotions may be manifest in technical operations, but for our purposes, the continuum influenced by emotion versus rational, planned, is meaningful and easily understood when interpersonal relations are being considered.

Three non-rational types of behavior are traditional, emotional or affectual, and sacred. Rational efficiency in operating a factory, the object of which is to make profits, would require that such attitudes as might prevent maximizing profits according to the legitimate norms be overcome. If inertia or a clinging to old ways just because of habit or custom prevented efficiency, traditionalism would have to be combated. For the sake of convenience, *traditionalism* is here thought of in a very narrow sense as merely inertia to change.²² Another type of irrationality results when authorities and symbols are thought of as sacred or as ends in and of themselves. It is recognized, of course, that the traditional and sacred aspects of activity are usually related, but on the other hand, new symbols and charismatic leaders sometimes acquire sacred characteristics. However, when authorities, acts, and symbols come to be thought of as means to ends and not ends in and of themselves, they become secular or rationalized. Another type of action that must be overcome if rational norms are to prevail is impulsive *emotionalism*. The subordinate or the authority who is guided by whims, fits of anger, compassion, and the like in his actions is irrational.²³ This is true unless he consciously uses these outbursts as a means of getting what he desires.²⁴ When all acts are planned, they tend to become rationalized.

However, "rationalized" administrations²⁵ require that the administrator be endowed with a peculiar value orientation. He must

²² Henderson and Parsons, *op. cit.*, Chapters 3 and 4.

²³ Henderson and Parsons, *op. cit.* As indicated by Weber and Parsons, the traditional form of authority is more compatible with whim and sacredness. However, for empirical procedure, rational is here compared with the three types of non-rational action, namely traditional, sacred, and emotional.

²⁴ Hitler's rage was often rational in that he was consciously using these "acted out" emotions to attain ends. These are not impulsive outbursts, here considered irrational.

²⁵ See Bendix, *op. cit.*, p. 496.

be committed to the faithful execution of his duties and devoted to the impersonal carrying out of his role which confines him to the limits of his professional competence. The administrator who cannot detach himself from obligations to friends, or is unable to utilize new processes, is not "rational," as the term is here used.

Sacred versus Secular Authority and Interaction Patterns. None of the three social systems under observation has authority patterns which are sacred in the sense that the Japanese emperor is sacred. In our considerations, we accept Durkheim's²⁶ definition of the sacred as being a property not necessarily related to the intrinsic properties of persons, thoughts, and acts, but rather to the attitude people have toward them. The sacred is set apart by a particular attitude of respect. It is thought of as having peculiar virtues and special powers. Persons who come into contact with the sacred must assume special attitudes, respect, and precautions. The sacred is hedged about by restrictions and taboos of all sorts. As Merton²⁷ pointed out, the more stress that is placed on norms in a system, other things being equal, the more action takes on a ritualistic, or what we here are thinking of as sacred, nature. The more ritual connected with the interaction of subordinates and authorities, the more sacred various types of authorities may become. The traditional leader, or the leader who rises to fame because of fortuitous circumstances and personal characteristics, becomes sacred for reasons different from those that account for the sacredness of the Pope or other leaders who take a traditionally sacred office. However, when sacred persons, things, or acts of any kind are used for utilitarian purposes, they become secularized, and people no longer hold the special reverential attitudes toward them that make them sacred.²⁸ Attitude analyses, perhaps with depth interviewing, would be required to indicate the sacred or secular quality of the interaction in many hierarchical relationships. The three systems have been placed on the sacred versus secular continuum as determined by the amount of both deference

²⁶ Emile Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (Translated by J. W. Swain), London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., p. 37.

²⁷ Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. III, No. 5, October 1938, pp. 672-682.

²⁸ Symbols such as pictures of semi-sacred charismatic leaders in the totalitarian states seem to be so widely distributed as to make them secular. However, in Nazi Germany, stores exhibited busts of Hitler made from soap and lard which were sold at low cost. Later, storekeepers were punished for attempting to increase sales in this way.

and reverence accorded the various leaders in the units discussed. The ninety students used similar criteria in placing their military units and families. Diagram 5 shows the relative position of the systems on this particular continuum.

DIAGRAM 5

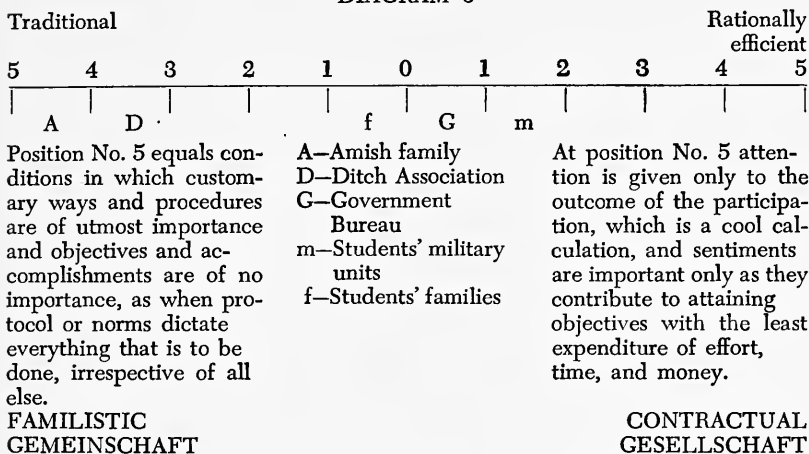
Sacred						Secular				
5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5
A		D		f		m		G		
At position No. 5 the participant who has the most authority is considered by other participants as being divine in some respects. Interaction of subjects and the emperor in prewar Japan approached the requirements of position No. 5.				A—Amish family D—Ditch Association G—Government Bureau m—Students' military units f—Students' families				At position No. 5 participants are shown no particular respect; any deference is only a means to specific ends, as in the case of haggling in the market or struggles for power.		
FAMILISTIC GEMEINSCHAFT				CONTRACTUAL GESELLSCHAFT						

The systems differ basically in the nature of authority as it is being discussed here. If one were to attempt to get the Amish father to change his interaction pattern with his family, one would have to argue that the recommended behavior was more godly. That it was more efficient would have little meaning. On the other hand, one might appeal to the bureau chief to change his interaction pattern by proving the recommended form was more efficient.

Traditional versus the Norm of Rational Efficiency. Possibly the inertia that prevents social systems from adopting more efficient methods of doing things is the best measure of the extent to which they are influenced by tradition. Of course, many social and psychological factors other than social inertia (comparable to habit in the individual) prevent change. Old ways may be revered, or may take on sacred aspects. Since this type of non-rational action has been discussed as a separate continuum in the preceding section, for purposes of analysis the traditional ways are here considered as customary ways that are not revered, but rather are followed by habit. Thus, if bureau chiefs have always had female secretaries but if it had been demonstrated that male secretaries would increase the bureau's efficiency, resistance to the hiring of male secretaries is thought of as related to traditional action.

Note that in the description of the social systems, the continuum does not extend from familistic *Gemeinschaft* through compulsory *Gesellschaft*. (See Diagram 2.) Compulsory *Gesellschaft*-like systems,

DIAGRAM 6



such as slave gangs and concentration camps, can be either traditional or rational in the sense that the terms are used here, and would consequently be designated as mixed if included in Diagram 6. The Amish family is most subject to inertia in adapting new relationships of authority. The military units and the government bureau are much less subject to tradition, but any stable organization may resist change.

Emotionality versus Rationality. It is seldom that impulsive outbursts, whether based on love, hatred, or other emotions, are compatible with the authority patterns of voluntary bureaucracies, such as those in government, education, and business.²⁹ If authorities are to express emotion at all when administering authority in such bureaucracies, they are usually rationalized or justified as having a rational end. With the family, which is the cradle of our sentiments and values, it is different. Here it is that one learns what to fear, love, and hate. If no emotion were shown by parents, children would never develop the feelings from parents that support and maintain the social structure and the group values. The projective systems that furnish the basis for religion are very greatly influenced by these early

²⁹ The incident of General Patton slapping a soldier and being required to make amends is called to mind.

relationships and experiences.³⁰ Perhaps emotionality, as related to attachment or interpersonal involvement, is dramatically illustrated in the feelings of grief and loss at the death of a loved one. There is considerable difference here in the extent to which individuals become attached to or infatuated with others and hence unable to respond rationally to them under all conditions.

For the sake of analysis, we are here considering all spontaneous emotions except those related to the reverence of the sacred.³¹ Thus considered, emotionality in authority patterns is closely related to the extent to which authority is personalized because, where emotions control actions, persons and personal relations have great value *per se*. Nowhere is emotion eliminated completely. But by comparing the systems in regard to the frequency with which authority is administered with feeling or emotion as versus absence of feeling (or rationality), it is not difficult to place the organizations on a continuum.

When considered in reference to familistic *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, the continuum can extend only through contractual *Gesellschaft*. This is true since the authority pattern in compulsory *Gesellschaft*-like systems may be characterized by either or both rationality and emotionality. This type is mixed, and for convenience in presentation is omitted from the diagram. Some slave camps are directed in such a manner as to obtain a maximum of work from the men and would thus be classified as rational. Other such arrangements permit authorities to employ punishment based on the personal grudges and emotions of the guards. (See Diagram 7.) Of the three systems, the military units are the most conspicuous in their lack of emotion on the part of the controlling authorities, and the Amish family is the most influenced by the emotions of the father and mother.

Personalized Versus Impersonalized Authority.³² Depersonalized

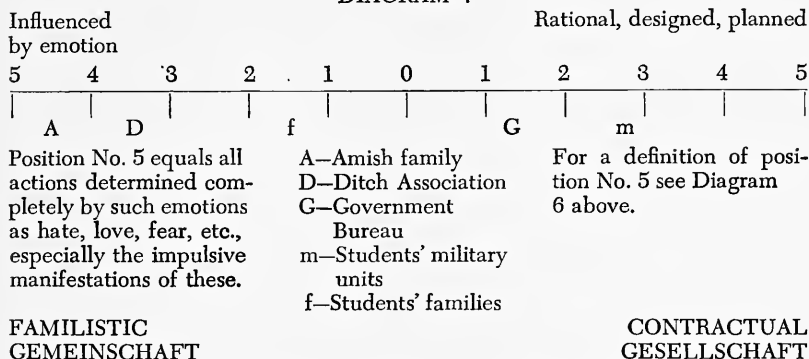
³⁰ Kardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

³¹ Max Weber used affectional as contrasted with *Wertrational* and *Zweckrational*. In his terminology, we are here contrasting affectional with *Zweckrational*.

³² R. M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook of Sociology*, New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1937, pp. 246 ff. and 336 ff. Here one finds an excellent treatment of these characteristics. For an important typological treatment of variations in authority, see Bendix, *op. cit.*, pp. 504-507. Authoritarian administration is contrasted with "democratic" administration. In the former, the employee is accountable to the organization, not to the public outside. In the latter, as in the case of the police, effective operation requires "responsibility" to the public outside the police system.

authority prevents nepotism, special favors, or concessions made to either relatives or friends. Possibly one of the most unusual features of an efficient bureaucracy is the elimination of the influence of the family as well as of other systems which require that relationships involving such factors as friendship or kinship be considered.³³

DIAGRAM 7



If one compares the interaction of persons of similar specified social rank with their subordinates in similar social systems, one finds that in some systems the personal factor is of relatively minor significance, whereas the office is much more important. Thus, the behavior of army camp commandants toward their subordinates is much more standardized than that of the leaders of boys' gangs or racketeers. The explanation is that the army authority is institutionalized or depersonalized, and to a considerable degree standardized. Other things being equal, if one finds that interaction between authority and subordinates in various organizations is the same, one may conclude that authority is depersonalized and not greatly influenced by the individual in the position.³⁴

Thus, if all Amish interaction patterns for families of the same size were the same on the continuum two-way versus one-way interaction previously discussed, one might assume that authority is depersonalized. Of course, several other measures may be used to indicate dif-

³³ By a process of differentiation, modern bureaucracy emerged from a familistic setting, according to Bendix, *op. cit.*, p. 496. He cites Otto Hintze, "Die Entstehung der modernen Staatsministerien," *Historische Zeitschrift*, C, 1907, pp. 60-64, 70-72, 91, and Ernest Barker, *The Development of Public Services in Western Europe, 1660-1930*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1944.

³⁴ Kardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Kardiner suggests that differences may be due to variations in endowment of child and parent where the institutionalized features are at a minimum.

ferences on the continuum, namely, personalized versus impersonal authority. Our measure of the extent to which authority is depersonalized is based upon the knowledge that individuals vary greatly in their manner of handling people. Any standardization results in large measure from institutionalization of the authority, or depersonalization. The social systems have been placed along a continuum of personalized authority versus impersonalized authority, as shown in Diagram 8. This has been accomplished by the use of the criterion of the extent to which the authorities in each system resemble one another in the manner in which they carry out their authority.

In the case of the bureau unit described here, authority is depersonalized. This is also true of the military units. Soldiers are sometimes told that they are saluting the uniform, not the officer. In effect, this is another way of saying that the relationships involved have been depersonalized. Not even in the army, however, is authority completely depersonalized; in the Amish family and the Spanish-American ditch association it is highly personalized. Fathers and ditch bosses differ greatly in the manner in which they exercise their authority. Military officials and division chiefs exercise depersonalized authority and, therefore, there is little variation from office to office.

DIAGRAM 8

Personalized Authority						Impersonal Authority					
5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	
D		A		f				G		m	
Position No. 5 equals a purely hypothetical condition in which the basis for authority is in no part institutional but entirely dependent upon purely individual qualities of the participant—the subject and hypnotist or gang leader who by physical force or charm dominates, approaches this condition.					A—Amish family D—Ditch Association G—Government Bureau m—Students' military units f—Students' families		Position No. 5 equals a hypothetical condition in which the qualities of the individual are unimportant in the "post" or station which are ideally so constituted that its symbols require obedient deference—as when it is said that it is the uniform, not the officer, that is saluted.				
FAMILISTIC GEMEINSCHAFT							CONTRACTUAL GESELLSCHAFT				

Limited Versus Unlimited Rights.³⁵ With increasing division of labor and the allocation of the individual's time and loyalty among

³⁵ Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," *Social Forces*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, May 1939, pp. 457-467.

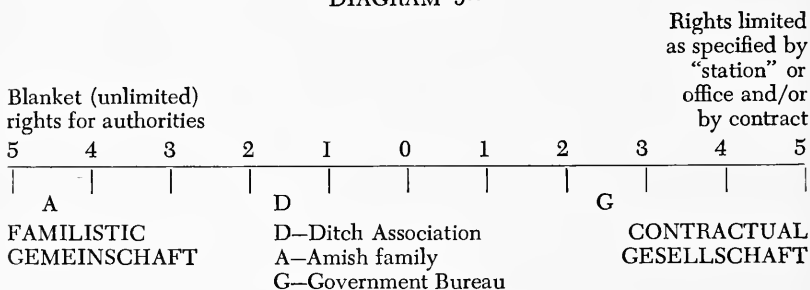
many social systems, it can be shown that segmented areas of activity and divided loyalties develop. One's responsibilities and rights in the various systems will depend in part upon the relative importance of a given organization to the individual, and the relative importance of the organization among the social systems.

With respect to the extent of blanket rights of authorities, there is great difference in voluntary bureaucracy or contractual *Gesellschaft*, and familistic *Gemeinschaft*-like systems. In the Amish family, the rights of the parent over the children are extremely great. In other groups characterized by compulsory and voluntary arrangements, the rights of authorities may be limited specifically. Possibly the most important characteristic of the contractual *Gesellschaft* is that the rights of the authorities are limited to specific areas of activity. To the bureau chief, what his subordinates do off hours or on vacation is, in the typical case, of no concern. His authority is limited to the system not only by the time but by the fact that other things are considered by the system to be irrelevant and, therefore, not under his influence. Probably this institutionalized pattern of limited authority on a hierarchical basis explains the prevalence and efficiency of bureaucracy as a cooperative system.³⁶ The many specialists and experts can by this device be encouraged to improve their competence and be brought into an effective cooperative pattern in large-scale public and private bureaucracies. Such structures require specific services of the individual and tend to disregard the familistic and other outside responsibilities which he has. In the typical case, an individual's status and responsibilities in a bureaucracy would not be changed by the state of health, position, or need of the spouse or other family members.

In the Amish family, very few acts of the children or their associates are irrelevant to the father, and he has the right to influence most of their behavior. Thus, when one calculates the proportions of the subordinate's acts which the authority has the legitimized right to

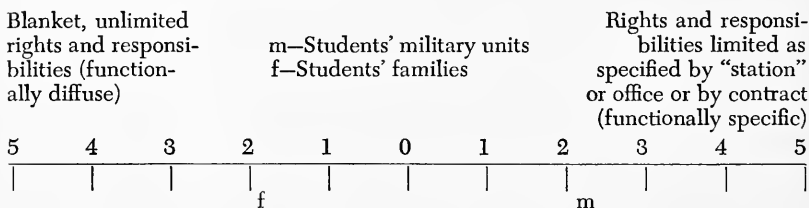
³⁶ See Bendix, *op. cit.* One of the best descriptions of bureaucracy known to the authors was written by Max Weber, who stressed the specific nature of the roles played in the "office" as separate and apart from the person's family and life outside his "office." Through such offices, "discipline" makes it possible to see that each official does the right thing at the right time and place. See also A. A. Lefas, *L'Etat et les Fonctionnaires*, Paris, 1931. Lefas stresses the importance of a hierarchy of professionals and maintains that the various ranks should be subordinated one to another in such a way as to place, without possibility of doubt, the responsibility for each act exactly where it belongs. See also Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937, pp. 506-507.

influence, the Amish father ranks as having more rights than does the division head. Because the rights of the latter are limited, the basic corollary becomes evident that the rights of the subjects are greater. In the case of a chain gang, in some instances at least, the authority has as many rights as the Amish father, but the antagonistic nature of his and his subordinate's interaction and the interest patterns make the situation very different. The relationships of the social systems under discussion are graphically described in Diagram 9.

DIAGRAM 9³⁷

Limited Versus Unlimited Responsibility. Many people who depend upon their occupations for security feel insecure because of the limited nature of the responsibilities of their bosses. Various types

³⁷ In the instrument on which the ninety rural sociology students with military experience in World War II placed their military units and families, this continuum was used as a combination of rights and responsibilities. The average placement scores were as follows:



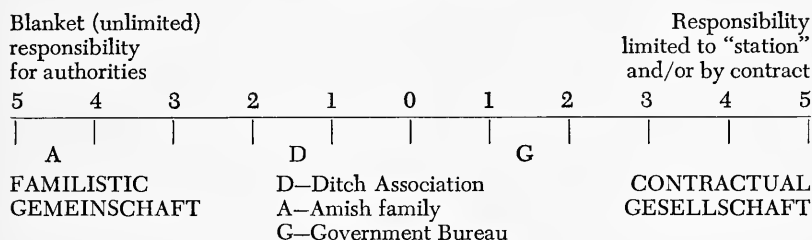
Position No. 5 equals a condition in which the person in authority has rights in all aspects of the life of the individuals whom he controls and comparable responsibilities—the subjects are responsible to the will of the authority in all aspects of life.

At position No. 5 the authority is limited narrowly and rigidly in his rights to control the subjects in both time and other conditions—conversely, the subject is responsible to the authority only at certain prescribed times and under certain narrowly prescribed conditions.

FAMILISTIC
GEMEINSCHAFT

CONTRACTUAL
GESELLSCHAFT

of insurance are designed to meet these needs, but the impersonal assistance offered thereby does not usually supply the personal type of security which characterizes the larger family. The ratings of the three social systems on the continuum can be made on the basis of the proportion of time the leaders are free from the responsibility of assisting subordinates with their personal problems, especially in times of sickness or misfortune. (See Diagram 10.)

DIAGRAM 10³⁸

NON-HIERARCHICAL INTERACTION

Although no groups have been found in which there is no variation in the authority which resides in the various members, there is great difference among social systems in the extent of pyramiding of authority. However, as has been demonstrated above, a patriarchal family may possess more of the features of familistic Gemeinschaft than a Rochdale cooperative does, even though authority is more pyramided in the former than in the latter. This is true chiefly because the family is a more solidary group.

In their discussions of democracy and dictatorship, many persons, among them sociologists and anthropologists, fail to realize that the means whereby authority is attained is not the final determinant of the manner in which it is used. Voting, if carried on according to the principles of those who idealize American democracy, may contribute toward preventing the authoritarian pattern from being entirely a one-way coercive system.³⁹ As has been demonstrated at home and abroad, voting without other institutionalized norms and limitations does not insure democracy in the sense that its chief proponents idealize it. The important consideration here is that there are many

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1942, p. 360.

groups, both of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft* types, where leadership is not of a coercive and highly pyramided hierarchical nature. Such groups as college departments with an elected or rotating head may be of the contractual *Gesellschaft* nature. Others, such as neighborhood cliques or play groups, may be of the nature of the familistic *Gemeinschaft*. The fellowship groupings described by Toennies⁴⁰ and "companies of equals" composed of professionals, as described by Parsons,⁴¹ are examples of the latter.

Friends vary in their influence over one another even in small cliques or congeniality groups. Organization members of the same rank have influential and uninfluential friends in the group, but their interaction among themselves may be discussed without reference to the authority pattern or to the manner in which some get others to do what they wish them to do. Indeed, in some groups the authoritarian influence seems almost nil. In many congeniality groups, what leadership there is may be quite spontaneous. For the relationships that follow, such existing authority or leadership is ignored for purposes of analysis.

Table II applies to the hierarchical relationships in the social systems; Table III applies to the non-hierarchical relationships. To use the continuum, the reader should try to think of the person in authority as being removed, or of only those aspects of his role as being included that are not related to his authority. Some may deny that this is possible, but in actual practice people often think in terms of what would happen if a given leader were not there. When members consider changing leaders, they imagine how the social system would work with the present leader divested of his office and the new leader in the position. When cooperatives discuss the relative merits of this or that organizational arrangement, variations of authority patterns are considered. Here we are merely carrying the process of abstraction one step further.

Many of our most meaningful interactions are with equals, with no authoritarian influence of any consequence present. To understand a system, the nature of these relationships must be analyzed. Since the first four categories were treated above under the discus-

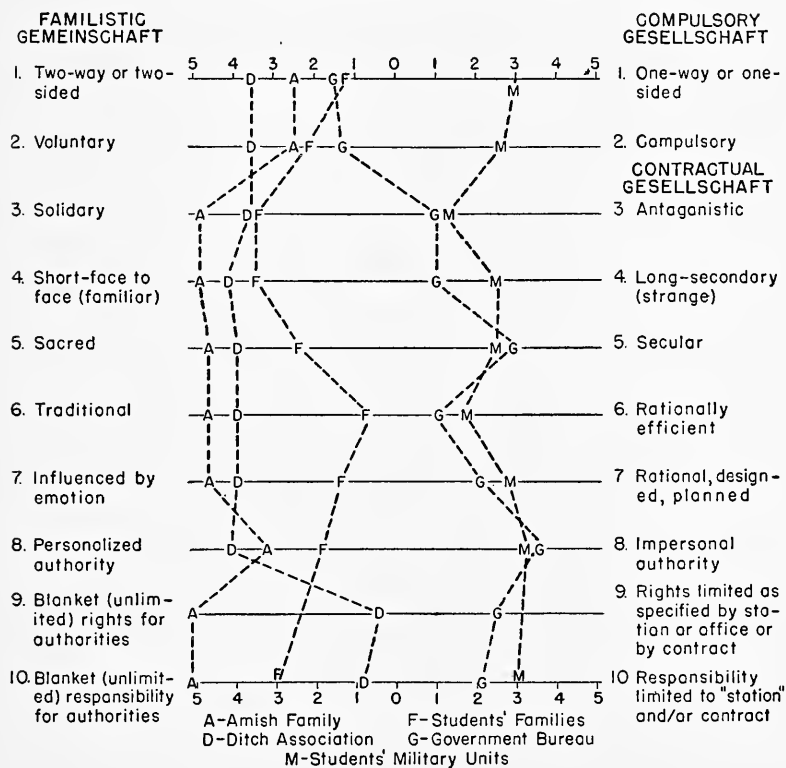
⁴⁰ See Ferdinand Toennies, *Fundamental Concepts of Sociology (Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft)*, translated by C. P. Loomis, New York: American Book Company, 1940, p. 21.

⁴¹ See Henderson and Parsons, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-60, for a discussion of variations of this type.

sion of hierarchical relationships, each item will not need additional illustration. Using the highly abstract means of viewing the familistic Gemeinschaft group, the Amish family, in comparison with the

TABLE II

Profiles Resulting When Social Systems Are Compared on Continua Which Reveal the Nature of Hierarchical Interaction



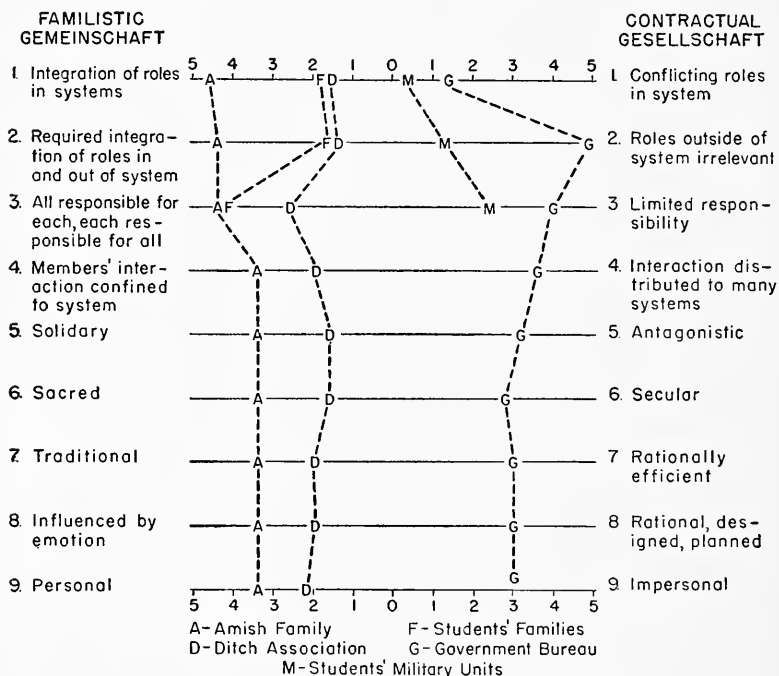
Gesellschaft-like group, the government division, one finds that they differ in solidarity, traditionalism, sacredness, absorptive power, and affectualism chiefly because the familistic Gemeinschaft-like group is composed of people who have known one another from childhood. The members of the government bureau are more frequently friends and associates who have known each other for a fairly short period. Although great, the Amish family's solidarity is lessened by the tremendous emphasis placed upon success in farming, which often

conflicts with the attempt to maintain the taboos on secular usages.

Integration or Extent of Organization. Sorokin has called attention to the fallacy of many sociologists in considering the qualities "solidary" and "integrated" as one and the same thing.⁴² In a solidary

TABLE III

Profiles Resulting When Social Systems Are Compared on Continua Which Reveal the Nature of Non-hierarchical Interaction



group all the members possess the same basic value orientation regardless of the extent to which they are absorbed into the group. When groups manifest integration, true teamwork exists, and the members are absorbed in the group's activities. Members are also greatly influenced by the roles, authority patterns, rights, duties, norms for determining status, rewards, and sanctions, and social action generally. Since our discussion here is of non-hierarchical interaction, we are concerned with roles, insofar as they are not related to

⁴² Sorokin, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

authority. An interesting role in complex systems is the hail-fellow-well-met who frequently glosses over real or apparent conflicts.⁴³

Integration of the Individual's Roles Within and Outside the System. One of the most important therapeutic uses of sociodrama, a new but rapidly developing technique, is assisting individuals and groups to understand emotional disturbances arising from conflicting roles, and the concomitant lack of integration of social systems in which these exist.⁴⁴ There are, of course, many apparently unavoidable reasons why conflicting roles exist, and society has developed many means of cushioning or controlling these conflicts. Other conflicting roles may be eliminated.

Of the two continua related to roles in non-hierarchical arrangement, the prevalence of conflicting roles is the most useful in placing an organization along the continuum of familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft*. The truly familistic *Gemeinschaft* type of social system will discourage participation in roles on the outside which are not compatible with roles within. A church would not permit its minister to be a barkeeper, for example. In fact, the blanket or unlimited nature of the responsibilities and rights within the church, as an example of a familistic *Gemeinschaft* system, would prevent the minister's children from engaging in roles outside the church which would reflect upon the minister's status. It is, of course, of vital importance to the family what roles children play outside. The continuum here discussed extends from familistic *Gemeinschaft* to contractual *Gesellschaft*. In the case of the contribution of specific services required by the "office" for which he is employed, anything that does not interfere with this responsibility is unimportant.

Although many factors are related to functional insanity and suicide, available evidence points to the conclusion that the greater the number of conflicting roles people must perform both in and out of the social systems in which they function, the higher the rates will be.

⁴³ F. L. W. Richardson, "African Tribesmen," *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. II, No. 3, June 1943, p. 48.

⁴⁴ See J. L. Moreno, *Sociodrama, A Method for the Analysis of Social Conflicts*, Psychodrama Monograph No. 1, New York: Beacon House, 1944; Leland P. Bradford and Ronald Lippitt, *Supervisory Training for Group Leadership*, Cambridge: Research Center for Group Dynamics, Publication 4, 1945; and S. D. Hoslett, *Training in Human Relations*, New York: American Management Association, 1946 (reprinted from *Personnel*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2); see also J. L. Moreno, "The Concept of Sociodrama," *Sociometry*, Vol. VI, No. 4, November 1943, pp. 434-449.

Lowest rates are found where such conflicting roles do not exist.⁴⁵ Ranking of the systems on the basis of the integration of roles, as shown in Diagram 11, is based largely upon impressions gained from conversation with the members of each of the systems. No doubt more quantitative methods for comparing social systems will be developed.

DIAGRAM 11

Required integration of roles in and out of system						Roles outside of system irrelevant				
5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5
A			Df			m			G	
Position No. 5 is ap- proached in the case of the strict and fundamen- tal church groups, such as the Amish, who permit members to play only roles which are integrated with those in the family and church.					A—Amish family D—Ditch Association G—Government Bureau m—Students' military units f—Students' families		Position No. 5 represents a condition in which there would be complete indif- ference on the part of members in the systems to those roles played by members outside.			
FAMILISTIC GEMEINSCHAFT					CONTRACTUAL GESELLSCHAFT					

INTEGRATION OF ROLES WITHIN SYSTEMS

Extent to Which People Play Compatible Roles in One System.

A common cause of frustration results when an individual attempts to play conflicting roles within a system. This will, of course, have its effect upon the system which requires that people play conflicting roles.

In situations such as large slave camps or chain gangs many conflicting roles are played by members of the systems. Thus there are the "turn-tail," "stool pigeon," and "informer" who try to get prestige by making themselves useful to the masters. On the other hand, there are those who may be organizing a revolt or escape. In large factories, the foreman has been called the "in-between" man.⁴⁶ In the army unit,

⁴⁵ For a brief summary of the various studies on suicide, see Sorokin, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-13. See also P. A. Sorokin, "The Evolution of the Soul," a lecture of the William F. Ayres Foundation at Plymouth Congregational Church, Lansing, November 2, 1945.

⁴⁶ *Applied Anthropology*, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1945, entire issue.

the sergeant may resemble a foreman in this respect.⁴⁷ In factories and in the army, the management and commissioned officers, respectively, constitute social systems; workers and enlisted men are outsiders from some points of view. Foremen and noncommissioned officers may be "caught in the middle" or frustrated by responsibilities to two systems. In colleges, department heads are supposed to play the role of the scholar or the researcher, as well as the administrator. The same is true of the government division. Anyone who has tried to play both these roles knows that they conflict at many points.

Integration of the Roles Played by Different Individuals. Even though the roles which a given individual plays do not conflict, an organization may suffer from lack of integration due to conflicting roles in a system. To the extent that channels of communication are open and groups are solidary in the sense that they have only one integrated value system, no conflicts should arise between different individuals from conflicting roles. However, anyone in a large organization has had experience with roles or positions which are working at cross purposes. The more stable, older, and smaller the organization, the less this is likely to be true. Usually systems that have existed over long periods have eliminated roles that conflict violently, or have developed institutionalized means of mitigating the conflict, such as rules of avoidance or joking relationships.⁴⁸ Such conflicting roles in one system are frequently due to the merging of two systems.

In the government division, many things that should have been done remained undone in the growing organization because no one knew who was supposed to act. Also, considerable frustration resulted when several people of different specialties tried to do the same thing. Until one person was designated as responsible for the handling of foreign visitors, not only the guests but also the numerous persons who had assisted them were disturbed.

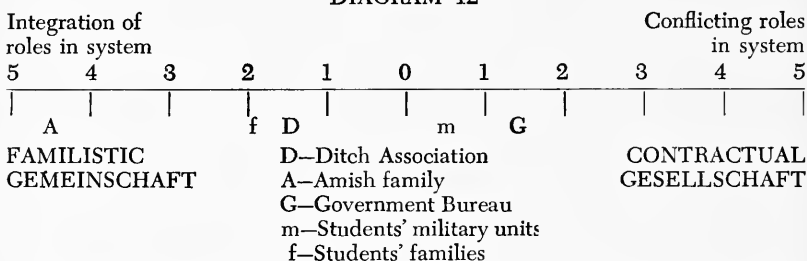
In another bureau, where several divisions were doing work in the same field, conflicts developed. One division leader who did not like administration joined his division to another division, thus moving down to the level of section head, to be able to devote more time to research; he soon found that he had lost most of his staff to his benefactor. In some divisions there frequently seemed to be little "rhyme

⁴⁷ Fritz J. Roethlisberger, "The Foreman: Master and Victim of Double Talk," *Harvard Business Review*, XXIII, Spring, 1945.

⁴⁸ Robert Lowie, *The Crow Indians*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935, pp. 22-23; and Chapple and Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-314.

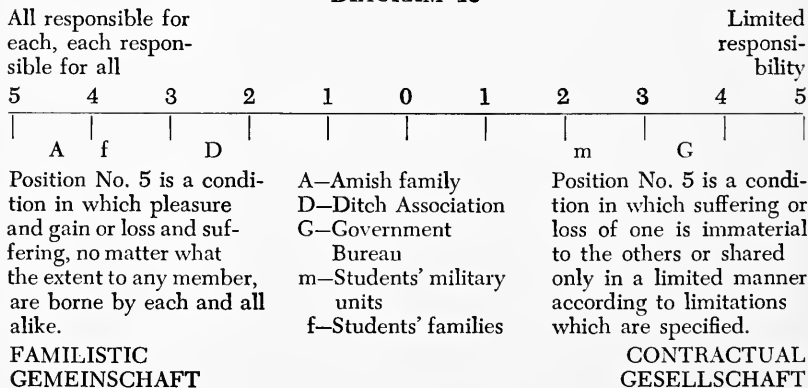
or reason" to why people were assigned specific undertakings. Such a situation leads to considerable frustration. The frequency of frustration arising from conflicting roles played by different persons in the same organization and by the same individual in different roles for our three separate social systems is depicted in Diagram 12.

DIAGRAM 12



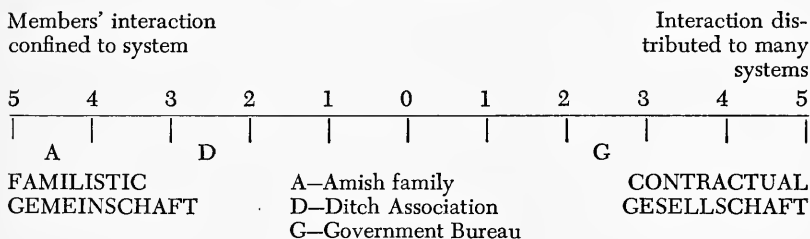
Community of Fate—Extent All Are for One, One for All. For the placing of systems along the continuum of familistic Gemeinschaft-contractual Gesellschaft, few criteria are more meaningful than the extent to which individuals share in good and bad fortune. The extent to which members of equal status of the system felt obligated to assist fellow members in sickness and misfortune can be used to rate social systems in this respect. The reader will remember that a similar continuum was used previously for the responsibilities of authorities. It is the hypothesis of the authors that *anomie* and accompanying high suicide rates will be associated with societies where there is a minimum of sharing misfortune. The systems under consideration have been rated along this continuum, as indicated in Diagram 13.

DIAGRAM 13



Confined Versus Distributed Interaction. Few differences in social systems are more important than the extent to which these systems absorb the interaction of their individual members. One of the most significant differences between systems of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* type and organizations of the contractual *Gesellschaft* type is the extent to which the inter-personal relations of the members are carried on within the systems being compared.

Since we are considering non-hierarchical relationships, we shall use the proportion of the interactions of all members of the separate systems which are with the other members in each of the respective systems as a basis for rating the systems on the continuum, ranging from interaction confined to one system versus interaction distributed to many systems. Diagram 14 shows the ratings for the Amish family, the ditch association, and the government division.

DIAGRAM 14⁴⁹

General Value Orientation—Sacred Versus Secular Norms. Merton⁵⁰ has typed action systems in accordance with the relative emphasis placed upon cultural goals as contrasted with norms, or what he calls institutionalized means. When great stress is placed upon the latter and when there is stress on the cultural goals, ritual results. In a system where preservation of the group, its inter-personal relations, culture, and way of life is the only really important goal, the importance of specific goals, such as profits, will be played down.

Perhaps one can bring the difference between sacred and secular on the continuum in connection with general value orientation into focus by considering the manner in which the norms are regarded. If they are thought of as ways of maximizing returns and minimizing effort, they are secular and rational. If they are so respected and revered that violation results in a general emotional upheaval which

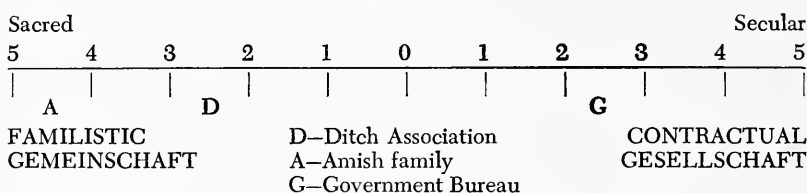
⁴⁹ Students did not use this continuum in placing their military units and families.

⁵⁰ Merton, *op. cit.*

may require retribution, they are sacred. The many Amish taboos on various efficient means of production, marketing, and other regulations which prevent the group from being "profaned by the world" indicate the sacred nature of the norms of the Amish. Within the family, as well as in the community generally, many such norms exist.

In the case of the government, the norms were less important than are results, although even here emphasis on norms, even though they were secular or called "red tape," and other restricting influences cut down efficiency. The three systems are ranked, as shown in Diagram 15, in accordance with the sacredness of their goals.

DIAGRAM 15⁵¹



Other Norms and Aspects of Value Orientation. If one were to attempt to depict the differences in social structure and value orientation between the Amish family system and the government division system, nothing would be more important than the norms which determined status, the roles the members play, their authority, their rights, and their duties.

Social systems determine the status of their members, they assign roles and responsibility, they recognize and/or delegate authority, they grant rights, they mete out punishment, and they give rewards according to various norms. An older son may take over the farm from the father because of traditional norms. In this case, it would be the custom of primogeniture. In another instance, the most capable son may be awarded the farm. In still another, some purely personal factor unrelated to any general system of reward may be responsible for assigning the farm. The fact that one son, for example, had hunted with his father while the other sons had not, illustrates the personal element. The category particularistic is broadened beyond the item personal as used in preceding sections to include such special traits as origin, race, and so forth not supposed to be related

⁵¹ Students did not place their military units and families on this continuum as related to non-hierarchical interaction. See Diagram 5 above for hierarchical interaction as related to the continuum.

to any universal principle, such as the practice of choosing the most competent person.

The status system of the Amish was previously described. Many other aspects of the Amish family's value orientation could be described to explain the comparative ranking given it on the continua shown in Table IV. Whereas status in the Amish family is determined by birth and tradition, it is dependent upon personal qualities and is not closely related to functionally specific attributes. In the government division, status depends upon technical competence, bargaining powers, and specific attributes. A shortage of personnel trained in a given specialty may result in relatively high status for those having this training. Status is supposed to be based upon performance records which, in theory at least, are based upon objective, measurable criteria. In the Amish family such functionally specific characteristics or criteria have very little weight.

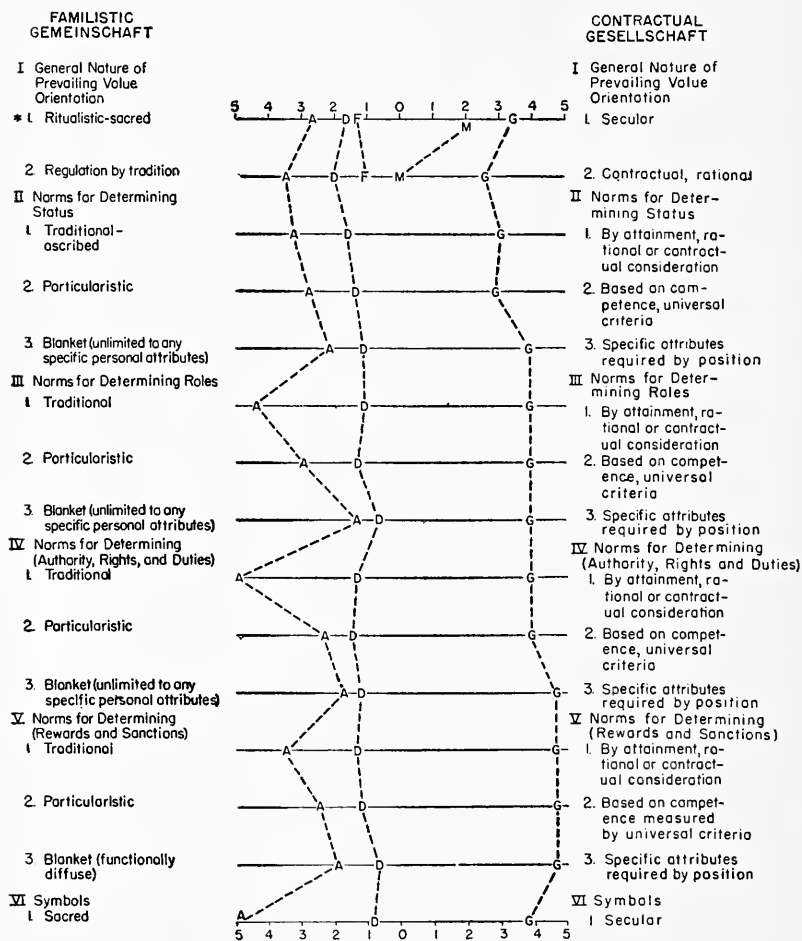
In the determination of roles, the basic determinant for the Amish family is tradition, which makes for age and sex groupings. Personal factors also enter but there are never rigidly and functionally specific considerations. Considerable division of labor exists, but few extremely rigid rules. A family with few sons and many daughters is permitted to have the daughters perform many tasks which would normally be performed by sons. In the government bureau, rational and contractual considerations determine one's role, or what one does in the "office." More and more use is made of various types of tests to determine interests and capabilities. One's training and specialties are determining factors. Whether or not one is qualified to work in farm management, demography, farm finance, land use, agricultural statistics, or to take responsibility in foreign areas can be determined by various tests, by one's training, and by consultation with experts in those fields under whom one had previously worked.

By what norms are authority and accompanying rights and responsibilities assigned? In the Amish family, they are assigned in large measure by birth, although personal factors also enter. The same holds of the ditch association. In the government division, technical competence is the determining factor, but bureau chiefs may be shifted with changes in the administration for particularistic reasons. Persons in other seats of authority are placed in these posts because of executive ability and technical competence.

As indicated in Table IV, the norms here discussed move on the continuum from familistic *Gemeinschaft* to contractual *Gesellschaft*.

TABLE IV

Profiles Resulting When Social Systems Are Compared on Continua Which Reveal the Nature of the Prevailing Value Orientation



*Interaction, personalities and culture of social systems taken as ends in and of themselves--ends undifferentiated from norms and means

A-Amish Family
D-Ditch Association
G-Government Bureau
M-Students' Military Units

The norms in compulsory *Gesellschaft* may be found at either end of this continuum, but force is the dominating feature. It is, therefore, designated as mixed and is omitted. Those who handle slave gangs or prisoners in a concentration camp may rigorously conform to universalistic principles as prescribed by regulations, or they may engage in the most sadistic punishment of persons because of particularistic reasons. Since these continua have been discussed previously in other connections, there is no need to indicate the criteria used in ranking the three systems under consideration in Table IV. Note that on our continua, the Amish family is much more typical of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* than is the government bureau. Institutionalization of some of these norms makes a family rate lower on the particularistic indices than would a boys' gang or clique. Nevertheless, more personalism and particularism enter the family norms than enter the norms of an efficient government bureaucracy.

Sacredness of Symbols. The systems being compared all have symbols to represent them. Actually, each member, and especially the leader of a group, may be a symbol of the group. As a means of rating the units, the sacredness of their names and heirlooms are used as the symbols to be compared. One might consider the loss that members of the system would feel if the names, heirlooms, and other symbols of the units were changed. To the Amish family, the loss of name would be great; to the government bureau the loss would be small. The loss of the family heirlooms, some of which have little intrinsic value but great imputed value, would be very sorely felt by the family. The government units would be less concerned. These groups have other symbols, but the names and heirlooms will demonstrate the concepts involved. See Table IV, in which other continua related to the general value orientation and social structure are included.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As will be seen from the profiles for the first two continua (Diagrams 1 and 2), none of the three systems falls on the compulsory *Gesellschaft* side. The El Cerrito ditch association in New Mexico is nearest to the familistic *Gemeinschaft* ideal type, the Amish family ranks next, and the government division of the United States Department of Agriculture and the military units last. Concentration camps or slave gangs would classify on the right, or compulsory *Gesellschaft*, side. Only two continua are used in connection with the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and compulsory *Gesellschaft* types. All the other con-

tinua describe the profiles as related to the ideal types—familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft*.

The profiles resulting from placements on the continua made by the three co-workers and the senior author place the Amish family and the ditch association on the side of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and the government division on the side of the contractual *Gesellschaft*. On the continua related to the familistic *Gemeinschaft* and contractual *Gesellschaft* dichotomy, only on one continuum does the ditch association fall nearer the familistic *Gemeinschaft* type than does the Amish family. This is on the continuum personalized authority versus impersonal authority. The authority associated with the role of father in the Amish family system is more institutionalized and less dependent upon personal attributes than is that of the ditch boss. The authors believe that their device for breaking down the "sponge types" into their elements makes for precision and reduces oversimplification. In their classes in rural sociology, the authors requested the students to place their own parental families and military units with which they were familiar on these continua as a means of describing the nature of the general types. As one would expect, the average rating of the families placed them on the familistic *Gemeinschaft* side of the continua. The army units invariably fell on the *Gesellschaft* side. Another device used by the authors to present the elements of social systems and their nature is role playing. Situations involving a father and his son, a mother and her daughter, and army life were acted out in class by students. There was a tendency for the students with military service to place the army units with which they were most familiar closer to the familistic *Gemeinschaft* end of the continuum than did the students who had had no military experience. The ratings of students used above were, therefore, made before role playing was used. That the technique of role playing seems to exaggerate the contractual *Gesellschaft* nature of the military for those who have not had experience in it calls for further study and verification.

APPENDIX B

RURAL COLLECTIVITIES

By Paul Honigsheim

Introduction. A rural collectivity may be defined as an organization of adults, who own a more or less definitely circumscribed and permanent portion of land in common, and who anticipate a continuity of organization over many generations. Some special traits, however, characterize only particular subgroups of rural collectivities. The most important of these traits are the following: (1) Limitation of membership; members of rural collectivities may consist of one sex only or both sexes, of married persons or celibates. (2) Psychological factors producing collectivities; the impetus producing the collective unity may be of religious, political, economic, or social character. (3) Amount of goods owned in common; there may be much or little land held collectively, or the common property may also consist of livestock, implements, and buildings.

Our definition of rural collectivities excludes the following kinds of rural institutions: (1) The feoffment in trust. In this case, land is supposed to be the property of a special family; the family head is not supposed to be the exclusive owner but rather the administrator, and he is not entitled to sell the land without restriction. (2) The joint property under a feudal system. In this instance a larger institutionalized group such as state or church is supposed to own the land. That institution then invests an individual or a plurality of individuals with the land for a period of time or even for a lifetime, as a reward for services to be rendered the institution. But the higher contractor, the monarch or church head, maintains the right of retracting the privilege of using the products of the land to the lower contractor in spite of the temporary joint proprietorship. (3) The common conquest by a political unit with subsequent land distribution. This was the case in some early state societies or when migration came to an end once a formerly nomadic or semi-nomadic group had settled in a land which had formerly belonged to another political unit. Nordic tribes in provinces of the Roman Empire would exemplify this situation. A

similar situation occurred at the beginning of colonial periods. (4) Common land occupation and subsequent land distribution among the members of a unit, which is not primarily political. An excellent example would be the land distribution made by Brigham Young among the Mormons in Utah. The remaining rural collectivities can be divided into three types: (I) autochthonous; (II) religious; and (III) collectivities, structured intentionally according to a socio-political system. Each of these species again can be divided into subtypes.

I. Rural collectivities which originated autochthonously out of realistic social situations and usually were found in an incompletely rationalized society.¹ The following countries and peoples at least in part and for some time have produced such collectivities:

A. American Indians.² The "Ayllu" existed in the pre-Inca period, in the Inca state, and in colonial and independent Peru. This rural

¹ Those interested in autonomous rural collectivities will find the following works of value: A. Dopsch, *The Economic and Social Foundations of European Civilization*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1934, pp. 7-27, 33-47, 112, 115, 127, 132, 147-158, 213-223, 235, 268, 385. F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staates*, 11th ed., Stuttgart: Dietz (N.D.). P. Honigsheim, "Max Weber as Historian of Agriculture," *Agricultural History*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, July 1949, pp. 179-213, and "Max Weber as Rural Sociologist," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XI, No. 3, September 1946, pp. 214 ff. E. Jenny, *Der Teilbau*, München: Duncker und Humblot, 1913, p. 239. E. L. V. Laveleye, *Primitive Property*, London: The Macmillan Company, 1878. H. Sumner Maine, *Village Communities*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1880, pp. 1-128; and *Ancient Law*, 3rd American ed., New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1882, p. 125; and *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1878, pp. 27, 81. A. Meitzen, *Siedlung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen, der Kelten, Römer, Finnen und Slaven*, Berlin: Hertz, 1895, Vol. I, pp. 121-220; Vol. II, pp. 213-269, 668; Vol. III, pp. 341-354, 571, 575, 584. N. Neilson, *Medieval Agrarian Economy*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1936, pp. 29, 441. F. Oppenheimer, *System der Soziologie*, Jena: Fischer, Vol. II, 1926, pp. 294-298, 353, 533; Vol. III, 1923-1924, pp. 314, 522 ff.; Vol. IV, 1928, pp. 243 ff., 314; *Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft*, Jena: Fischer, 3rd ed., 1922, pp. 175-183; and *Wege zur Gemeinschaft*, München: Hueber, 1924, pp. 497 ff. H. E. A. Peake, "Village Community," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, New York: The Macmillan Company, Vol. XIV, 1944, pp. 255 ff. P. Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, New York: Allen and Unwin, 1911, pp. 18, 24, 35 ff. M. Weber, *General Economic History*, New York: Greenberg, 1926, pp. 7-25.

² As to American Indian collectivities see *Handbook of South-American Indians*, ed. J. H. Steward, Smithsonian Institution, Bulletin 143, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, Vol. II, 1946 (see especially pp. 253 ff., 409, 441, 483-499, 539).

collectivity was composed of many patrilineal families. Tools, arms, and clothes were private property; land, forests, and herds were owned collectively. Under the Inca regime, redistribution occurred every year and individual labor was required as public service.

B. Oriental peoples. (1) Among the Chinese, some families in the past owned land in common, partitioned eight-ninths of it among themselves with periodic redistribution and cultivated in common the last ninth, which remained the property of the feudal lord. In modern villages the family owned land but often could not sell it without the consent of the clan. (2) The Hindu peasants of some epochs, especially those required to perform soccage service, tilled some land in common and divided the harvest. Moreover, up until recent times in the Punjab, some land was supposed to belong to the village community. The latter collected rent from each farmer and was jointly responsible to the government. (3) Among the Malays, the village community was for some time jointly made responsible by the landlords and later by the East Indies Company for the payment of taxes in kind. Therefore the community organized fire agriculture with subsequent individual harvesting and irrigated rice-fields with regular reallocation to the members. This system, as well as the previously mentioned ancient Chinese and Hindu systems, was neither original nor old, but was relatively recently, infrequently, and temporarily used. In Mohammedan countries, the land typically belonged to the monarch. The peasants were his leaseholders and rural collectives did not flourish.

C. The Non-Occidental Eastern European World. (1) The Serbian Zadruga³ was a rural collectivity in which many families owned land and implements in common, and lived and ate together in the same household. This form represented a Serbian method of protection against the Turkish rulers who imposed taxes on each house. (2) In Czarist Russia, the Mir⁴ was a village community where the land

³ For the Zadruga see especially: E. L. V. Laveleye, *The Balkan Peninsula*, New York: T. F. Unwin, 1887, pp. 57, 227. M. Markovich, *Die Serbische Hauskommunion*, Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1903, pp. 48 ff. D. Novakovitch, *La Zadruga*, Paris: Pedone, 1905, pp. 42, 140. D. Tomasik, *Personality and Culture in Eastern European Politics*, New York: George W. Stewart, 1948, pp. 11, 149, 156. (See also the review of this book by Honigsheim, *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XIV, No. 2, June 1949, pp. 181 ff.)

⁴ As to the Mir, see especially: B. Brutzkuss, *Agrarentwicklung und Agrarrevolution in Russland*, Berlin: Sack, 1925, p. 63; C. v. Dietze, *Stalypinsche Agrarreform und Feldgemeinschaft*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1920, p. 42; A. v. Haxthausen,

belonged to the peasantry and was partitioned in long strips among the families according to the number of able-bodied males. When changes in family size occurred, a new partitioning of land occurred. When a member emigrated, the right to land was not lost, but "rested." Among the many theories concerning the origin of the Mir, one seems most probable. After the Mongolian epoch, the czars needed an army and officers who were willing to work for negligible salaries. Accordingly, the landed proprietors, from whom the officers had to be chosen, found it necessary to place themselves in a financial situation that would enable them to make a living without a high salary. Therefore the Czar assisted in making the peasants land-bound and obliged them to pay taxes to the feudal landlord in kind and work. In order to assure himself of receiving taxes, the landlord made the whole peasantry responsible. Those peasants who had many children had the same interest in creating, maintaining, and developing this institution. The Mir was glorified by the Slavophiles and remained in existence until its destruction by Stalypin a short time before World War I.

D. The Occidental World. (1) The Celtic-speaking peoples,⁵ especially those in Ireland, were for a long period organized into clans that consisted of all members of a family related through the father. The clan was the joint proprietor of the land. The land was assigned for a lifetime to each member. According to the benefit realized in using the land, each had to contribute in kind for war purposes and for the livelihood of the clan leader and his court. Later the clan head, especially in the Scottish Highlands, became a manorial crown-vassal,

Die ländliche Verfassung Russlands, Leipzig: Brockhaus: 1868, pp. 23-366, 386 ff., 410-421; and *The Russian Empire*, London: Chapman Hall, 1856, Vol. I, p. 120; Honigsheim, "Roots of Soviet Rural Social Structure," forthcoming; J. A. Hourvich, *The Economy of the Russian Village*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1892, pp. 19 ff.; K. Kawelin, *Der bäuerliche Gemeinbesitz in Russland*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1877; M. Kowalewski, *Modern Customs and Ancient Laws in Russia*, London: Nut, 1891, pp. 84, 98; E. Schkaff, *La question agraire en Russie*, Paris: Rousseau, 1922, pp. 18-26; W. G. Simkhowitsch, *Die Feldgemeinschaft in Russland*, Jena: Fischer, 1898, pp. 11-58, 70, 90 ff.; K. A. Wieth-Knudsen, *Bauernfrage und Agrarreform in Russland*, München: Duncker und Humblot, 1913, p. 36 ff.; A. Yermoloff, *La Russie Agricole*, Paris: Hachette, 1907, pp. 9-21.

⁵ On rural collectivities of Celtic peoples, see especially: *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, 4th ed., Jena: Fischer, 1923-1929, Vol. I, pp. 338 ff.; F. Seebohm, *The English Village Community*, London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1915, pp. 236 ff., 369, 422, 438 ff.

an originally non-celtic position. (2) Teutonic-speaking peoples.⁶ (a) Germans, even when settling in provinces of the Roman Empire, did so not exclusively as manorial lords but also largely as farmers. Each farmer owned an almost equal amount of land on which his homestead was located. In contrast, the "Hufenland" belonged to the village community and was repartitioned from time to time among the members. Several village communities together formed a "Markgenossenschaft," which owned land located outside the villages and their "Hufenland." Such land was commonly used for felling lumber and collecting hay. The "Markgenossenschaft" was not yet in existence at the time of Tacitus, but was already in existence as the Carolingians came into power. Although it is impossible to fix the date of its origin more exactly, it was not a primitive German institution. The same is true in certain other areas. Thus until the middle of the nineteenth century, peasants in some villages owned in common a quantity of poor land on the plateaus of the Eifel and Hunsrück on the left side of the Rhine. This land could not be used for intensive farming. Occasionally partition occurred, apparently for some time based on lot. This institution originated in the following way. Around 1200 A.D. ecclesiastic and secular landlords of surrounding districts wanted these uninhabited districts under their control and to use them as economically as possible. The surplus population nearby, on the other hand, was willing to do the undesirable work on these plateaus. The landlords permitted them to do so, provided they paid an hereditary ground rent. To make sure that it would be paid, they made the community collectively responsible. Out of this situation originated the collective ownership and administration. (b) The English people in some epochs had common fields around the villages as well as more distant wasteland, woodland, and heath. But common land played a lesser role than among the Germans and Celts. (c) The "Odals" peasants in Norway owned hereditary farms privately and owned the remote, poorer lands commonly. They permitted peasants of lower

⁶ On the rural collectivities of Teutonic peoples, see especially: O. v. Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*, Berlin: Weidman, Vol. I, 1868, pp. 60-89; N. S. B. Gras, *A History of Agriculture*, 2nd ed., New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1940, pp. 264 ff.; H. L. Gray, *The English Field System*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1913, Chapters 5 and 6; *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften* (especially Vol. I, pp. 51 ff., 242 ff.; Vol. III, pp. 944-949; Vol. V, pp. 270 ff.; Vol. VIII, pp. 1065 ff.); E. Lipson, *An Introduction to the Economic History of England*, 4th ed., London: Black, 1926, pp. 64 ff.; F. Seebohm, *op. cit.*, pp. 246, 344, 369, 438 ff.

social status to settle the common land but they were required to pay some rent to the "Odals" collectivity. (3) Among peoples speaking Romance languages,⁷ collectivities still existed in the eighteenth century in the French province of Auvergne in which the members of a family related in the patrilineal sense owned land in common and elected a ruling board. Other occidental peoples, including ancient Greeks and Romans, apparently are not to be considered in this respect.

In summary, we can say, in contrast to the theories of Sumner Maine, Laveleye, Engels, and their followers, that the rural collectivities neither stand at the beginning nor represent a stage through which each people automatically and necessarily has to pass.

II. Rural collectivities based on the common religious attitude of the members. This type may be found in two subtypes: monastic and sectarian rural collectivities.

A. Monasteries and Orders.⁸ These are smaller units within a more universal religious body. Usually the members of the smaller unit consider themselves and also are considered by the other members of the more universal body as being more holy than the masses. On the other hand, the elite members do not require that every member who belongs to the larger unit live according to the rigorous ethical precepts that are valid within the monasteries. Some of these monk associations are supported through land-rent. Theoretically, the land is often not owned by the monks themselves but rather by "less perfect" adherents or benefactors. Often such persons also do the work in the fields, as for example friars or serfs. This monastic subtype of the religiously based rural collectivity was known among the following religious groups: (1) Chinese Taoists, among whom a minority of the ascetics lived with their pupils in remote monasteries in which land was owned collectively; (2) Hindus, especially within Jainism and the two main religious bodies which originated from the original Buddhism, namely the Mahayana and Himayana system, which then

⁷ Indications concerning French rural collectivities may be found in F. Wolters, *Studien über Agrarzustände und Agrarprobleme in Frankreich*, München: Duncker und Humblot, 1913, p. 36.

⁸ On rural collectivities of monastic character see especially: E. Troeltsch, *Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, London: Allen and Unwin, Vol. I, 1949, pp. 237-245; M. Weber, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, Tübingen: Mohr, Vol. I, 1920, p. 477, Vol. II, 1921, pp. 250, 330; H. B. Workman, "Monasticism," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. X, 1944, pp. 584-590.

spread to Tibet and the East Indies; (3) Jews, especially among the Essenians, an ascetic group that wanted to avoid contact with an "ungodly" world; (4) Mohammedans, especially among the Sufis, a group of mystics; (5) Christians, especially among the four following sub-groups: (a) Oriental Christian churches, which have only small differences in dogma from Roman Catholicism but which have different rituals in their own old languages; (b) Greek Orthodoxism; (c) Roman Catholicism. From a sociological viewpoint, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians belong to another type and do not fall into consideration here; but Benedictines and some later orders derived from them, such as Cistercians, Premonstratensians, and Carthusians, do. A special phenomenon was the collectivities termed "reducciones," which were under Jesuitic control. They were located in Paraguay in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁹ These differed from the usual monastic type, for in Paraguay thousands of Indians did the work. This institution was much discussed and admired in the eighteenth century, even by enlighteners such as Voltaire and Diderot. The organization was as follows: Each Indian household had the usufruct of a designated piece of land and was supposed to work three days a week on it; other land was the common property of the special settlement and the male Indians had to work on it the other three days of the week. The livestock was held in common and out of it a yoke of two oxen was loaned to each family for its own use. The women had to spin a fixed quantity of yarn at home and to deliver it every evening. Clothes were made in workshops and

⁹ With regard to the Jesuits in Paraguay, consult: D. Douglas and K. Du Pre Lumpkin, "Communitistic Settlements," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IV, p. 95; J. Cretineau-Joly, *Clement XIV et les Jesuites*, Bruxelles: Bonnes Lectures, 1847, pp. 51-55; J. Cretineau-Joly, *Histoire religieuse, politique et litteraire de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 2nd ed., Paris: Mellier, 1846, Vol. III, pp. 219-268, Vol. V, pp. 68-74, 123-130; E. Gothein, *Der Christlich-soziale Staat der Jesuiten in Paraguay*, Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1883; Honigsheim, "The Philosophical Background of European Anthropology," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLIV, No. 3, July-September 1942, pp. 377 ff.; Honigsheim, "Voltaire as Anthropologist," *ibid.*, Vol. XLVII, No. 1, January-March 1945, pp. 109 ff.; K. Kautzky and others, *Vorläufer des neueren Sozialismus*, Stuttgart: Dietz, 1921, Vol. III, pp. 123-171; *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné*, Paris: Briasson, 1752-1772, Vol. VIII, pp. 512-516; Vol. XI, pp. 900-903; and *Supplement*, Vol. I, 1776, p. 354; D. Diderot, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris: Garnier, 1875, Vol. II, pp. 95 ff., 460 ff.; C. L. Montesquieu, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris: Garnier, 1875-1879, Vol. III, p. 155; F. Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris: Garnier, 1883-1885, Vol. XII, p. 424, Vol. XXX, p. 419.

distributed twice a year. The various "reducciones" exchanged their surplus goods. Tea, cotton, and other products were exported, and metals, salt, and lime were imported. (d) Mormons.¹⁰ Their "United Order" was planned by the prophet Joseph Smith but was not immediately realized because of his death and their subsequent persecution. The group was temporarily organized by Brigham Young in 1873 in Utah.

B. Sectarian groups.¹¹ These are smaller religious bodies in which the members consider themselves an elite. They are not willing to make concessions to the surrounding world, and for that reason have left, either voluntarily or under pressure, a more universal and institutionalized church. A rural collectivity, to which all the members of the sect are bound to belong, is sometimes considered as one among many means of furthering the religious aim of becoming more perfect. This sectarian sub-type of the religiously based rural collectivities includes some sectarian splits from the following more universal religious groups: (1) Greek Orthodoxism, especially the Dukhobors

¹⁰ See: *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1938, pp. 81, 116, 130, 134, 182 ff., 185 ff.; *A Short History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 1938, pp. 140 ff.; H. Gardner, "Communism among the Mormons," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, November 1922, pp. 169 ff.

¹¹ Indications concerning sectarian collectivities in Europe and their anabaptist, pietist, and revivalistic background may be found in: G. Adler, *Geschichte des Sozialismus und Kommunismus*, Leipzig: Hirschfeld, Vol. I, 1920, pp. 98 ff., 121; E. Bernstein, *Sozialismus und Demokratie in der englischen Revolution*, Stuttgart: Dietz, 2nd ed., 1908, pp. 144 ff.; E. H. Correll, *Das Schweizerische Täufermennonitentum*, Tübingen: Mohr, 1925; M. Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens*, Coblenz: Bädeker, Vol. II, 1852, pp. 259, 271; W. Goeters, *Die Vorbereitung des Pietismus*, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911, pp. 180 ff., 263; Haxthausen, *The Russian Empire*, pp. 291–295; H. L. J. Heppe, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, Leiden 1879, pp. 310, 331, 371 ff.; Honigsheim, "Westdeutscher Pietismus als Kulturvermittler," *Westdeutsche Wochenschrift*, Köln: W. D. W. Verlag, Vol. II, No. 10, März 1920, pp. 133 ff.; Honigsheim, "Pietismus und Völkerannäherung," *Die Friedens-Warte*, Zürich: Polygraphischer Verlag, Vol. XLI, Nos. 2–3, 1941, pp. 123–134; Kautzky, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 232–249, 336–352, 369 ff.; Vol. II, pp. 145, 201, 223, 227; *Realenzyklopädie für Theologie und Kirche*, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 3rd ed., 1890–1909 (see especially Vol. VII, p. 432; Vol. XI, pp. 41–47, 195); A. Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, Bonn: Marcus, Vol. I, 1880, pp. 230–237; Vol. III, 1886, p. 296; A. A. Stamouli, "Doukhobors," *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York: Scribner and Son, Vol. IV, 1920, pp. 865 ff.; L. Tiesmeyer, *Die Erweckungsbewegung in Deutschland*, Kassel, Vol. II, 1902, p. 120; Troeltsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 362, 371, 442.

and the Obschtije, the former in part emigrating to the United States and Canada; (2) Medieval Roman Catholicism, especially some Lollards, following Wycliffe, and Taborites, following Huss; (3) Protestantism. Here some pietistic groups, such as Labadists, Kornthal, and some Moravian Brethren made their living in part by collectively owned handicraft enterprises but not by collectively owned land. Accordingly, they do not fall into consideration. Thus there remain some Anabaptists in the epoch of the Reformation, and some Levelers and Diggers after the English Revolution. None of these groups succeeded in realizing the pure type of the religious sectarian rural collectivity. However, some sectarian Protestant splits did so in the United States, especially in the nineteenth century.¹² Their similarities and dissimilarities are shown in Table I.

With regard to the twelve characteristics, Table I denotes the following:

1. All but three (Shakers, Oneida, Hopedale) consisted primarily of foreign-born members.
2. Each was based upon a primarily emotional religion of one or a few persons considered inspired.
3. All but four (Zoar, Amana, Oneida, Bishop Hill) established themselves as a collectivity immediately at the organization of the group.

¹² The readers interested in rural collectivities of sectarian character in the United States will find the following works of value: W. G. Beck, "A German Communistic Society in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review*, Vol. III, No. 1, October 1908, pp. 52-74; No. 2, January 1909, pp. 99-124; F. A. Bushee, "Communistic Societies in U.S.A.," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XI, No. 4, December 1905, pp. 643 ff., 650-652; B. W. Clark, "The Huterian Communities," *The Journal of Political Economics*, Vol. XXXII, No. 3, June 1924, pp. 357-374; No. 4, August 1924, pp. 468-486; Douglas, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 95 ff.; Gras, *op. cit.*, p. 266; F. Herkenrath, *Die eschatologische Religionsgemeinschaft*, Köln-Kalk: Welzel, 1930, pp. 13, 22, 33, 42 ff., 63, 71, 77 ff., 82 (printed Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cologne, under the guidance of P. Honigsheim); Kautzky, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, 2nd part, pp. 14-36; J. M. Leendertz, *Doopsgezind Pioniersleven in Amerika*, Amsterdam: Bussy, (N.D.), p. 7; G. B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1905, pp. 1-43; M. H. Mikkelsen, *The Bishop Hill Colony*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1892; E. Nordhoff, *The Communistic Societies of the United States*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1875, pp. 25-232; P. Noyes, *My Father's House*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, (N.D.); Oppenheimer, *Die Siedelungsgenossenschaft*, pp. 433-442; B. M. H. Shambaugh, *Amana*, Iowa City: The State Historical Society, 1908, pp. 64 ff., 103 ff., 116, 150, 163, 170.

TABLE 1

Rural Collectivities Established according to a Religious Sectarian System in the United States in the 18th and 19th Centuries

Characteristics of Collectivities	(a) Ephrata	(b) Rappists	(c) Zoar	(d) Shakers	(e) Amana
1. National Descent of the Majority of the Members	German	German	German	American	German
2. Basic Ideology	Pietistic ideas of Beissel	Pietistic ideas of Rapp	Pietistic ideas of Bäumeler	Lee's theory of the Bisexuality of God	Pietistic ideas of Rock
3. When Established as a Collectivity	At the organization of the group	At the organization of the group	Some time after the organization of the group	At the organization of the group	Some time after the organization of the group
4. Reasons for Establishment as a Collectivity	Religious	Religious	Help for weak members	Religious	Help for weak members
5. Leadership	Leadership of Beissel; after his death, Peter Müller	Leadership of Rapp; later small board of elected trustees	Leadership of Bäumeler; later, an elected board of trustees	Leadership of Lee; later, self-perpetuating ministry selecting and appointing all subordinates	Founder of movement dead at organization of the group; accordingly elected board of trustees
6. Marriage and Family	Favoring celibacy but tolerating marriage	Originally married, later introduced celibacy	Originally celibacy; later, marriage permitted when trustees agreed	Celibate men and women living in the same house	Marriage neither forbidden nor encouraged; rather, just tolerated
7. Recruitment	Children of members, propaganda	Adoption of children, propaganda	Children of members	Adoption of children, propaganda	Children of members, propaganda
8. Exclusiveness of Agriculture Work	Not exclusively	Not exclusively	Not exclusively	Not exclusively	Not exclusively
9. Degree of Socialization	Low	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
10. Relation to the World Outside	Manifold, even of political character; also printed in their publishing house publications of other groups	Sustaining a hotel as source of income	Occasionally working on outside farm for wages; sustaining stores and a hotel	Somewhat	Selling and buying livestock at the market
11. Use of Hired Workers	Somewhat	Largely	Somewhat	Somewhat	Somewhat
12. Cause of Termination	Death of the second leader, Peter Müller	Increasing wealth and number of hired workers changing it into a joint stock company	Having become wealthy and the antagonism between younger and older generations	Antagonism between younger and older generations	Inner antagonism

Characteristics of Collectivities	(f) Huterites	(g) Oneida	(h) Aurora-Bethel	(i) Bishop Hill	(j) Hopedale
1. National Descent of the Majority of the Members	German	American	German and Pennsylvania Dutch	Swedish	American
2. Basic Ideology	Anabaptist ideas of Huter	Noyes' theory of the sinfulness of the Perfectionists	Revivalism of Keil	Janson's theory of the sinfulness of the believers	Balon's concept of Universalism
3. When Established as a Collectivity	At the organization of the group	Some time after the organization of the group	Shortly after the organization of the group	At the organization of the group	At the organization of the group
4. Reasons for Establishment as a Collectivity	Religious	Fourieristic influence	Rappist influence	Religious	Religious
5. Leadership	Founder of movement dead for centuries at organization of the group; accordingly, elected secular leaders; preachers by cast lots	Leadership of Noyes; later, complicated elected administration	Leadership of Keil, surrounded by an advisory committee nominated by him and almost always agreeing with him	Leadership of Janson; after his death, leadership of Olson and a small board of trustees with dictatorial character	Leadership of Balon
6. Marriage and Family	Everyone almost obliged to marry; in older time, marriage arranged by elders	Originally sexual promiscuity; since 1879 regular marriage under outside pressure	Traditional form of marriage	Originally marriage; later, under Shaker influence, celibacy	Traditional form of marriage
7. Recruitment	Almost exclusively children of members	Children of members, propaganda	Children of members, propaganda	Adoption of children, propaganda	Children of members
8. Exclusiveness of Agricultural Work	Exclusively	Not exclusively	Not exclusively	Predominantly	Not exclusively
9. Socialization	High	Medium	Medium	High	Low
10. Relation to the World Outside	Almost completely isolated, reinforced also by their special clothing and German-Tirolian dialect	Selling their products outside; also by peddling	Sustaining a store where neighbors could buy for cash	Sustaining a hotel as source of income	Members permitted to hold private property in the outside world
11. Use of Hired Workers	Almost none	Somewhat	Somewhat	Somewhat	Somewhat
12. Cause of Termination	Still in existence	Having become wealthy and the antagonism between younger and older generations	Death of the leader Keil	Antagonism between younger and older generations	Inner antagonism

4. All but the four mentioned in 3 above established themselves as a collectivity for religious reasons.

5. Except for two (Amana and Huterites), each remained, at least for a considerable period, under the leadership of one religious personality; in the exceptions the founders of the movements had died before the adherents came to America; therefore some democratic methods were immediately introduced.

6. All but three (Rappists, Shakers, Bishop Hill) had married members; the Huterites even compelled marriage.

7. Each used some propaganda; moreover, the three that promoted celibacy adopted children.

8. All but one (Huterites) were not exclusively supported through agriculture.

9. All but two (Huterites, Bishop Hill) maintained some private property, particularly Ephrata and Hopedale.

10. Each maintained some relations with the outside world; most of all, Ephrata and Hopedale; least of all, the Huterites.

11. Each used hired workers to some extent; most of all, Ephrata and Hopedale; least of all, the Huterites.

12. Two (Ephrata, Aurora-Bethel) disappeared at the death of the leader. One (Rappists) because of great wealth; two (Zoar and Oneida) because of great wealth, and antagonism between the generations; two (Shaker, Bishop Hill) because of the antagonism between the generations; two (Amana, Hopedale) because of other inner antagonisms; the Huterites remained in existence for the longest time.

Is there any relationship between the twelve characteristics on the part of the ten kinds of collectivities? The characteristics numbered 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 7 may be eliminated, since either the attitude of all the collectivities toward one of these characteristics is the same, or the same attitude of more than one of the collectivities as to one of the characteristics appears in connection with diverse or antagonistic attitudes of these same kinds of collectivities toward another among the characteristics. In neither case can a statement concerning the interrelationship between the special attitude of more than one of the collectivities toward more than one of the characteristics be made. As to the remaining six characteristics, the following statements can be made. There are interrelationships between:

a. The almost complete absence of private property, the lack of relations with the outside world, the almost complete absence of use

of hired workers, and the elimination of non-agricultural work (Huterites).

b. Permission to own relatively great amounts of private property, and to have relatively great relations with the outside world (Ephrata, Hopedale).

c. Exceptionally great use of hired workers, increasing wealth, decreasing collectivism, and change in the direction of the joint-stock-company type (Rappists).

III. Rural collectivities established according to a special socio-economic system. This type originated at a time when society was largely rationalized and urbanized. It existed in six sub-species built up according to the following six movements: A. Pre-Marxian socialism, B. Land-socialism, C. Anarchism, D. German youth movement, E. Jewish Zionism, F. Sovietism.

A. Rural collectivities established according to pre-Marxian socialism.¹³ The common background is as follows: Because of ideological

¹³ Those interested in rural collectivities based on pre-Marxian socialistic systems will find the following works of value: K. Asch, *Die Lehre Charles Fourriers*, Jena: Fischer, 1914; H. E. Barnes and H. Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science*, New York: D. C. Heath and Co., Vol. I, 1938, pp. 564 ff., 629 ff.; A. Bebel, *Charles Fourier*, 4th ed., Stuttgart: Dietz, 1921; C. Bouglé, *Socialismes français*, Paris: Collin, 1932, pp. 92-139; H. Bourgin, *Fourier*, Paris: Société nouvelle, 1905; Bushee, *op. cit.*, pp. 650 ff., 660 ff.; K. Burton, *Paradise Planters*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939, pp. 39 ff., 187 ff., 197 ff.; E. Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie*, Paris: Populaire, 1845, pp. 67, 74, 115, 141, 146, 228; E. Cabet, *Colonie Icarienne*, Paris: Chez l'auteur, pp. 56-63; Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 ff.; E. A. Ellwood, *A History of Social Philosophy*, New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1938, pp. 347-557; C. Fourier, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris: Librairie Sociétaire, 1841-1848 (especially Vol. II-V, *Théorie de l'unité universelle*); C. Gide and C. Rist, *A History of Economic Doctrines*, New York: D. C. Heath and Co., pp. 570-578; Gras, *op. cit.*, p. 267; J. B. A. Godin, *Solutions sociales*, Paris: Le Chevallier, 1871; Hillquit, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-136; Honigsheim, "Autorität und Familie in der französischen Geistesgeschichte," *Studien über Autorität und Familie*, ed. M. Horkheimer, Paris: Alcan, 1936, pp. 770-783; Kautzky, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, 2nd Part, pp. 36-136; Lockwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-385; P. Louis, *Histoire du Socialisme en France*, 3rd ed., Paris: Rivière, 1925; Nordhoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-339; Oppenheimer, *Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft*, pp. 423-432; J. Prudhommeaux, *Icarie et son fondateur*, Paris: Cornely, 1926; A. Shaw, *Icaria*, New York: P. Putnam's Sons, 1884, pp. 34 ff., 53 ff., 80 ff., 117 ff., 145, 150; E. Silberling, *Dictionnaire de sociologie phalansterienne*, Paris: Rivière, 1911; P. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928, pp. 11 ff.; L. Swift, *Brook Farm*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1900, pp. 21, 42 ff., 55, 61, 281; M. Thibert, *Le féminisme dans le socialisme français*, Paris: Marcel Giard, 1926, pp. 153 ff.; Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-313.

elements and the interest of the bourgeoisie class, many laws limiting production, circulation, and consumption had been eliminated by the French Revolution. On one hand, the effect was to enable a relatively small group, the members of the new class, to own the means of production. On the other hand, the effect was to create masses which supposedly were not able to own anything. This unforeseen situation led to the elaboration of systems suggesting radical changes. All these programs have an ideological background in common. In contrast to the *laissez-faire* and selfishness emphasized in the eighteenth century, the new ideology emphasized the group and altruism. Both agreed however, in human capacities, educability, and progress. Therefore the men who developed their programs in contrast to the *laissez-faire* ideology desired not only to live their own lives according to their own principles, but also to educate others by demonstrating the "good" life so that others might see and imitate. Therefore, collectivities were built and competition was eliminated in a world where competition was dominant. Having had difficulties in the native countries, collectivities were sometimes attempted in new lands. Among the new groups of thought the adherents of Saint-Simon and Proudhon did not attempt to build such colonies. The collectivities established by Considerant were structured according to the system of Fourier and they do not represent a type divergent from the latter. The *Famillistère*, built by Godin in France, was primarily industrial. Accordingly, none falls into consideration except for the large number of colonies founded in the United States in the nineteenth century according to the systems of Owen, Fourier, and Cabet. Their similarities and dissimilarities are shown in Table II.

With regard to the twelve characteristics, Table II denotes the following:

1. Americans as well as non-Americans were involved.
2. Only three pre-Marxian socialistic systems fall into consideration.
3. Each established itself as a collectivity at the organization of the group.
4. Each established itself as a collectivity for humanitarian reasons.
5. Only Fourier died before colonies based on his system were established in America. In contrast to Owen, Cabet was a dictatorial ruler, at least for a time. Only after Cabet's removal and subsequent death were some democratic institutions introduced. Such institutions had already been in existence in the colonies based upon Owen and Fourier.

6. Only in the "Phalansteries" based upon Fourier, those nearest to Anarchism, was free marriage practiced to any extent.

7. Each used propaganda, but only some of the "Icarian" colonies, based upon Cabet, remained in existence long enough to make it possible for children of members to become members.

8. None made a living exclusively from agriculture.

9. Each maintained some private property and differences in economic status; most of all the Phalansteries.

10. Each maintained some relation with the outside world.

11. Each used hired workers to some extent.

12. Colonies based on Owen and Fourier were terminated because of the lack of training of members, lack of capital, and the poor quality of land. The "Icarian" colonies remained for a longer time and were dissolved as a result of inner antagonisms.

Statements concerning the interrelationship between some of the characteristics on the part of the three kinds of collectivities, as have been established previously in Table I, cannot be made in the case of Table II.

B. Rural collectivities based primarily on land-nationalizing programs.¹⁴ Sometimes the programs of this sub-species somewhat overlapped those of some of the pre-Marxian types. Nevertheless, the chief differences rest in the fact that the former held that the complete or partial elimination of land rent would bring the expected change, and that private property as to implements should be maintained. The earlier propagators of land-nationalizing programs—Spence, Hall, Ogilvie, Theodor Stamm, and Heinrich Wehberg—did not attempt to build colonies. But at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries some of their successors built such collectivities. The "Hellauf-Siedelung Vogelhof" and the "Deut-

¹⁴ As to the rural collectivities based on a land-nationalization program, see especially: Barnes and Becker, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 631 ff., 721-730, 741; Bushee, *op. cit.*, pp. 635 ff.; A. Damaschke, *Geschichte der Nationalökonomie*, Jena: Fischer, 12th ed., Vol. II, 1920, pp. 370-385; Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Gide and Rist, *op. cit.*, pp. 570-578; Honigsheim, "Franz Oppenheimer," *Introduction to the History of Sociology*, ed. H. E. Barnes, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, pp. 332-352; and "Volkshochschule und Bodenreform," *Westdeutsche Wochenschrift*, Vol. II, No. 7, February 1920, pp. 99; Oppenheimer, *System*, Vol. I, pp. 960 ff.; Vol. III, pp. 1109 ff.; Vol. IV, pp. 315-319; and *Die Siedlungsgenossenschaft*, pp. 173-639; and *Wege*, pp. 138-162; Sorokin, *op. cit.*, pp. 481, 483; Hans Wehberg, *Theodor Stamm*, Bonn: Georgi, 1911; and "Ein deutscher Vorkämpfer für internationale Verständigung," *Die Friedens-Warte*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 6, 1937, pp. 232-236; Heinrich Wehberg, *Die Bodenreform*, München: Duncker und Humblot, 1913.

TABLE II

Rural Collectivities Established according to a Pre-Marxian Socio-Economic System in the United States in the Nineteenth Century

Characteristics of Collectivities	(a) Collectivities Based upon Owen	(b) Collectivities Based upon Fourier	(c) Collectivities Based upon Cabet
1. National Descent of the Majority of the Members	All nations	American and French	French
2. Basic Ideology	Owen's system	Fourier's system	Cabet's system
3. When Established as a Collectivity	At the organization of the group	At the organization of the group	At the organization of the group
4. Reasons for Establishment as a Collectivity	Humanitarian	Humanitarian	Humanitarian
5. Leadership	Always changing, with complicated constitutions, systems of meetings, elections, committees	Complicated system of elected government	Originally Cabet's unlimited rule; then opposition and constitutions, with elections and committees
6. Marriage and Family	Traditional form of marriage	Often free marriage	No celibacy tolerated, obligation to marry
7. Recruitment	Printed and oral propaganda	Printed and oral propaganda	Children of members; printed and oral propaganda
8. Exclusiveness of Agriculture Work	Not exclusively	Not exclusively	Predominantly
9. Degree of Socialization	Medium	Low	Medium
10. Relation to the World Outside	Somewhat	Somewhat	Somewhat; sold their pigs, wool, etc., outside
11. Use of Hired Workers	Somewhat	Somewhat	Somewhat
12. Cause of Termination	Inequality of the members as to origin, background, etc.; many without any agricultural or handicraft training	Insufficient capital and bad land	Inner conflicts about organization, young generation against old generation

schordensland Donnershag" in Germany were founded by groups belonging primarily to the German youth movement. The colonies built in Palestine according to the system of Oppenheimer were built by groups which considered themselves primarily Zionists. Both groups of colonies will accordingly be discussed later in connection with the youth movement and Zionism, respectively. Only the colonies according to the systems of Henry George, Hertzka, Flürscheim, and Oppenheimer—the latter outside Palestine—must be mentioned here. They were, with the name of the guiding systems in parentheses, the six following:

1. Kenya in Africa (Hertzka).
2. The Brotherhood of the Commonwealth at Puget Sound, United States (Hertzka).
3. Topolopambo in Mexico (Flürscheim).
4. Wenigenlupnitz in Germany (Oppenheimer).
5. Eden in Germany (Oppenheimer).
6. Fairhope, Alabama, United States (Henry George).

Among them, Kenya, Topolopambo, and Wenigenlupnitz remained in existence for such a short time that a classification according to the scheme developed in the Tables I and II is not feasible.

C. Rural collectivities based primarily on anarchistic ideas.¹⁵ Colonies of this variety were unique in placing extreme emphasis upon the eighteenth-century dogma of man's goodness, and therefore thought compulsory rules to be unnecessary. Voluntary cooperation was felt to be the only form of social organization that conformed to nature and justice. The earlier anarchists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—Godwin, Stirner, Bakunin, and Kropotkin—did not create rural collectivities. But later anarchists built such colonies. Among them the "Barkenhof" and "Freie Erde" were founded by groups primarily considering themselves as belonging to the German youth movement. These groups will be discussed with the German youth movement. Thus, only the two following collectivities fall into consideration:

1. The colony of Josiah Warren in Ohio.
2. The Ruskin Cooperative Colony.

¹⁵ Indications concerning the anarchistic rural collectivities and their ideological background may be found in: Barnes and Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 659 ff.; J. W. Braam, "The Ruskin Cooperative Colony," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. VIII, No. 5, March 1903, pp. 667–678; Bushee, *op. cit.*, pp. 633 ff., 654; Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 101; Gide and Rist, *op. cit.*, pp. 619–636; Sorokin, *op. cit.*, pp. 313, 321.

TABLE III

Rural Collectivities Established according to Ideologies of the German Youth Movement in Germany between World Wars I and II

Characteristics of Collectivities	(a) Habertshof	(b) Bruderhof	(c) Neusonnefeld
1. National Descent of the Majority of the Members	German	German	German
2. Basic Ideology	Christian Socialism	Modernized Anabaptism	Quakerism
3. When Established as a Collectivity	At the organization of the group	At the organization of the group	At the organization of the group
4. Reasons for Establishment as a Collectivity	Religious	Religious	Religious
5. Leadership	Informal leadership of Emil Blum	Informal leadership of Eberhard Arnold	Informal leadership of Hans Klassen
6. Marriage and Family	Traditional form of marriage	Traditional form of marriage	Traditional form of marriage
7. Recruitment	Printed and oral propaganda	Printed and oral propaganda	Printed and oral propaganda
8. Exclusiveness of Agriculture Work	Predominantly	Not exclusively	Not exclusively
9. Degree of Socialization	Medium	High	Medium
10. Relation to the World Outside	Selling their rural products	Taking charge of education of children; small exchange of goods	Taking charge of education of children; a few other relations
11. Use of Hired Workers	Somewhat	Somewhat	Almost none
12. Cause of Termination	Hitler's coming into power	Hitler's coming into power	Hitler's coming into power

TABLE III (continued)

(d) Vogelhof	(e) Deutschordensland	(f) Barkenhof	(g) Freie Erde
German	German	German	German
Landnationalization and anti-ec-clesiastic religiosity	Landnationalization and Nordic racism	Anarcho-com-munism	Anarcho-com-munism
At the organization of the group	At the organiza-tion of the group	At the organiza-tion of the group	At the organiza-tion of the group
Religious and politi-cal radicalism	Political radicalism	Political radicalism	Political radicalism
Informal leadership of Karl Solleder	Informal leader-ship of Ernst Hunkel	Informal leader-ship of Heinrich Vogeler	Almost none
Neither traditional marriage nor promiscuity, but free marriage	Neither traditional marriage nor promiscuity, but free marriage	Neither traditional marriage nor promiscuity, but free marriage	Neither traditional marriage nor promiscuity, but free marriage
Printed and oral propaganda	Printed and oral propaganda	Printed and oral propaganda	Printed and oral propaganda
Predominantly	Not exclusively	Not exclusively	Not exclusively
Medium	Medium	High	High
Somewhat	Hostile; especially hatred for the sex life; police inter-ference	Hostile; especially hatred for the sex life; originally also hostility among left-wing parties against these "Romantics"	Regularly working outside in fac-tories; hostility among the neighbors
None	Almost none	Almost none	None
Hitler's coming into power	Antagonism be-tween members who were pri-marily racially minded and the adherents of Silvio Gesell; also police interference	Inner antagonism and transition to and incorporation in the official com-munist party	Inner antagonism, especially about the degree of liv-ing one's own life fully

In the former, land was held in common and labor was exchanged exclusively for labor. In the latter, garden land and industrial workshops were owned in common; board and room were free; and every labor was valued at the same rate and redeemed at the store in goods or at the treasury in currency. The fact that little is known about Warren's colony renders a classification according to the scheme developed in Tables I and II impossible.

D. Rural collectivities based primarily on ideologies of the German youth movement.¹⁶ As already mentioned, sometimes the youth movement programs somewhat overlapped those of some of the land-nationalizers and anarchists. In common with the countless groups considering themselves a part of the German youth movement was the following basic ideological assumption: Modern life, with the emphasis given to city life, rationalization, and quantification, serves to degenerate man's natural capacities, especially his ability to live in face-to-face relation with his fellow man. Accordingly, a simple existence near to Nature and in small groups of mutual aid is the ideal way of life. In order to escape city life, there is the possibility of settling, in simplicity and genuineness, far away from the city and near to nature in rural collectivities. The epoch of unrest after the collapse of Wilhelminian Germany favored the realization of such

¹⁶ For the German youth movement and the collectivities built by its members, consult: E. Arnold, *Die Arbeitsgemeinschaft des Bruderhofes*, Bruderhof bei Neuhoof, (N.D.); and *Die Wegwarte*, *Monatsschrift der Weggenossen*, Bruderhof bei Neuhoof, since 1925; and *Die Kindergemeinde des Bruderhofes*, Jena: Buchdruck Werkstätte, (N.D.); Georg Becker, *Die Siedlung der deutschen Jugendbewegung*, Hilden: Carsten, 1929 (printed Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cologne, under the guidance of P. Honigsheim); Howard Becker, *German Youth: Bond or Free*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1946 (see also the reviews of this book by Honigsheim, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LIII, No. 2, September 1947, pp. 159 ff.; and *Die Friedens-Warte*, *op. cit.*, Vol. XLVII, 1947, pp. 209 ff.); Honigsheim, "Romantische und religiös-mystisch verankerte Wirtschaftsgesinnungen," *Die Wirtschaftswissenschaft nach dem Kriege*, ed. M. J. Bonn und M. Palyi, München und Leipzig, 1925, pp. 272-275, 279 ff.; and "The Roots of the Nazi Concept of the Ideal German Peasant," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. XII, No. 1, March 1947, pp. 17-19 (here other publications under consideration are listed); *Am Neubrunn*, Sonnefeld bei Coburg: Neu-Sonnefelder Jugend, 1926; *Neu-Sonnefelder Jugend*, ed. H. Classen und H. Harder, Sonnefeld bei Coburg: Neu Sonnefelder Jugend, since 1926; *Neuwerk*, *Ein Dienst am Werden*, Cassel: Neuwerk-Verlag, since 1919. The land-nationalization theory of Silvio Gesell, which was basic to the establishment of "Vogelhof" and "Deutschordensland," may be found in S. Gesell, *The New Economic Order*, San Antonio, Texas: Free Economy Publishing Co., 1934.

collectivities. Their similarities and dissimilarities are shown in Table III.

With regard to the twelve characteristics, Table III denotes the following:

1. The membership of each was almost exclusively German.
2. Three (Habertshof, Bruderhof, Neusonnefeld) were primarily religiously based; one (Vogelhof) was religiously and politically based; and the three others were exclusively politically based.
3. Each has established itself as a collectivity at the organization of the group.
4. Three (Habertshof, Bruderhof, Neusonnefeld) established themselves as collectivities for religious reasons; one (Vogelhof), for religious and political; and the three others, for political reasons.
5. All except the most anarchistic (Freie Erde) had an informal leadership.
6. The three religiously based groups stood for regular marriage, whereas the other four tolerated free marriage.
7. Each used printed and oral propaganda.
8. None made a living exclusively by means of agriculture.
9. Everywhere, private property was more or less completely eliminated, most of all in Bruderhof, Barkenhof, and Freie Erde.
10. Each wanted to maintain some relations with the outside world, but the outside world was hostile toward three of them (Deutschordensland, Barkenhof, Freie Erde), because of political and especially marital reasons.
11. The primarily or exclusively politically based units, less so than the religiously based collectivities, used hired workers.
12. The three politically based colonies (Deutschordensland, Barkenhof, Freie Erde) came to termination primarily because of inner antagonism; the others remained in existence up to the advent of Hitler.

Is there any interrelationship between some of the twelve characteristics on the part of the seven kinds of collectivities? In the analysis, the characteristics numbered 1, 3, 7, 8, and 11 may be eliminated (for the reasons mentioned above by dealing with the corresponding elimination of some characteristics, as in the discussion of Table I). As to the remaining eight characteristics, the following statements can be made. There are interrelationships between:

- a. Primarily religious background and motivation for establishment as a collectivity and insisting upon regular marriage, on one

hand, and the primarily nonreligious background and motivation for establishment, toleration of free marriage, and hatred among the neighbors, on the other hand.

b. Nonexistence of religious ideology and motivation for establishment as a collectivity and the inner antagonism among the members leading to dissolution.

E. Rural collectivities, established by Zionist Jews in Palestine.¹⁷ Certainly the Jewish settlements established in Palestine by the "Chovevei Zion" movement, by Rothschild, or even by more recent Zionist groups such as the "Moshava" were groups of free-holders with private property, rather than collectivities. Even the "Moshav Odim" were associations of small tenants who cultivated the land, although the land remained the property of the Jewish National Fund. The more recent "Kvutzoth," however, are rural collectivities. Here, estates, comprising land and buildings, are granted to the settlers as a group under the terms of the Jewish National Fund. Some of these colonies are organized according to the ideas of Oppenheimer, already mentioned. A written constitution is common to all "Kvutzoth," and provides for meetings and elections. The fact that the "Kvutzoth" are established according to the same scheme renders a classification according to the scheme developed in Tables I, II, and III superfluous.

F. Rural collectivities in Soviet Russia.¹⁸ The "Sovkhozi" are state-

¹⁷ With regard to Zionism and Zionist rural collectivities, consult: M. Buber, *Kampf um Israel*, Berlin: Schocken, 1933, pp. 283-302, 331-345, 351; Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 101; T. Elazari-Volcani, *The Communistic Settlement in the Jewish Colonies in Palestine*, Tel-Aviv: Hapoel Hazair, 1927; Honigsheim, "Martin Buber 70 Jahre alt," *Die Friedens-Warte*, *op. cit.*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 4-5, 1948, pp. 241-245; and "Romantische und religiösmystische," *op. cit.*, pp. 290-294; H. F. Infield, *Cooperative Living in Palestine*, New York: Dryden, 1944 (with foreword by Howard Becker and bibliography); W. Spiegelman, "Colonies, Agricultural," Sect. I, *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York: The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Inc., Vol. III, 1941, pp. 269-288.

¹⁸ On Soviet rural collectivities, see especially: A. Baykov, *The Development of the Soviet Economic System*, Cambridge: University Press (N.D.), pp. 195, 310 ff.; A. Bilimovich, "The Land Settlement in Russia," *Russian Agriculture during the War*, ed. A. N. Antiferow, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930, pp. 372 ff., 377, 382 ff.; Gras, *op. cit.*, pp. 265 ff.; G. T. Grinko, *Five Year Plans of the Soviet Union*, New York: International Publishers, 1931, pp. 135-177; *Handbook of the Soviet Union*, New York: American Russian Chamber of Commerce, pp. 215, 220 ff., 226 ff., 232 ff.; Honigsheim, "Max Weber as Rural Sociologist," *op. cit.*, pp. 216 ff.; and "Roots of Soviet Rural Social Structure," *op. cit.*; C. B. Hoover, *The Economic Life of Soviet Russia*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. 89-92, 103 ff.; L. E. Hubbard, *The Economy of Soviet*

owned farms and the "MTS" are state-owned machine tractor stations. But in contrast, the "Kolkhozi" are rural collectivities. They developed under Lenin's New Economic Policy, especially since 1922, as a compromise between the older Bolshevistic desire for complete land-nationalization and the desire of the peasants for land. Live-stock, land, and machinery are collectivized. The members live in their own dwellings in the villages, own small holdings of land, and manage their own collectivity affairs through elected managers within limits set by the government. The government acts through its own officials. The "Kolkhozi" deliver a specified quantity of kind per unit of land at low prices to the government (especially at the "MTS" as reward for the use of tractors) and redistributes the remaining in kind and cash among the members, according to quantity, quality, and skill of work performed. The fact that the "Kolkhozi" are established according to the same scheme renders a classification according to the scheme developed in Tables I, II, and III superfluous.

Conclusion. We may now attempt to compare the various kinds of rural collectivities, described previously, and attempt to come to a more universal conclusion concerning their essence and development. In doing so, we must again eliminate some of the characteristics used above. Unfortunately we must do so because too little is known about some autochthonous, monastic, European sectarian, land-nationalizing, and anarchistic collectivities to make possible a classification and comparison according to all twelve characteristics. Table IV summarizes those characteristics which may be used to describe the ten main kinds of collectivities.

Table IV shows that the ability of a rural collectivity to survive is independent of its degree of socialization or of its world-escaping ideology. The probability that it will survive a long time, however, is greater when agriculture is emphasized and when democracy is

Agriculture, London: The Macmillan Company, 1939, pp. 77, 82-86, 110 ff., 125-146; L. Lawton, *An Economic History of Soviet Russia*, London: The Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. 89-92, 103 ff.; L. E. Hubbard, *The Economy of Soviet Works*, New York: International Publishers (N.D.), Vol. II, pp. 68-88, 126, 259-267, 271, 313; Vol. III, p. 220; Vol. VIII, pp. 154 ff., 161 ff., 173, 182, 185 ff., 197; Vol. XII, p. 335; A. Rochester, *Lenin and the Agrarian Question*, New York: International Publishers, 1942, pp. 41, 53, 91, 128 ff., 136, 165-169; J. Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*, New York: International Publishers, 10th ed., 1934, pp. 59-73; and *From the First to the Second Five Year Plan*, New York: International Publishers (N.D.), pp. 31-37, 51, 55, 68-79; S. and B. Webb, *Soviet Communism*, New York: Scribner's Sons, Vol. I, 1936, pp. 23 ff., 233-255, 266, 273 ff.

TABLE IV
Final Comparison of the Ten Main Kinds of Rural Collectivities

	Degree of Predominance of Agriculture in Making a Living	Degree of Socialization	Degree of World Escaping
Low	<p>Only secondarily agricultural</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Ger. Youth Mov. (1: Freie Erde)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>	<p>Maintenance of much private property</p> <p>Autochthonous (all)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>European Sectarian (all)</p> <p>Am. Sectarian (2: Ephrata, Hopedale)</p> <p>Pre-Marxian (1: Fourier)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>	<p>Willingness to belong as a smaller group to a more universal group</p> <p>Autochthonous (all)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Landnationalizing (all)</p> <p>Anarchistic (all)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Zionistic (all)</p> <p>Sovietistic (all)</p>
Medium	<p>Predominantly agricultural</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Monastic (all)</p> <p>Am. Sectarian (8)</p> <p>Pre-Marxian (all)</p> <p>Landnationalizing (all)</p> <p>Anarchistic (all)</p> <p>Ger. Youth Mov. (6)</p> <p>Zionistic (all)</p> <p>Sovietistic (all)</p>	<p>Maintenance of some private property</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Am. Sectarian (6)</p> <p>Pre-Marxian (2: Owen, Cabet)</p> <p>Landnationalizing (all)</p> <p>Anarchistic (all)</p> <p>Ger. Youth Mov. (4)</p> <p>Zionistic (all)</p> <p>Sovietistic (all)</p>	<p>Incomplete avoidance of the world</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Monastic (most)</p> <p>European Sectarian (all)</p> <p>Am. Sectarian (all)</p> <p>Pre-Marxian (all)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Ger. Youth Mov. (all)</p> <p>_____</p>
High	<p>Almost exclusively agricultural</p> <p>_____</p> <p>European Sectarian (all)</p> <p>Am. Sectarian (2: Huterites, Bishop Hill)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>	<p>Almost complete socialization</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Monastic (all)</p> <p>Am. Sectarian (2: Huterites, Bishop Hill)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Ger. Youth Mov. (3: Bruderhof, Barkenhof, Freie Erde)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>	<p>Attempt to escape the world completely</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Monastic (1: Carthusians)</p> <p>Am. Sectarian (1: Huterites)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>

TABLE IV (continued)

	Degree of Rapidity of Dissolution	In existence for centuries	Degree of Democracy between Super- and Subordinates	Degree of Rationalization of the Relations within the Collectivity (Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft)
Low	Autochthonous (all) Monastic (most)		Authority	Gemeinschaft
Medium	Autochthonous (all) European Sectarian (all) Am. Sectarian (all) Pre-Marxian (1: Cabet) Landnationalizing (3: Eden, Puget Sound, Faithop) Anarchistic (all) Ger. Youth Mov. (4) Zionistic (all) Sovietistic (all)	In existence for decades	Authority and Elections	Primary, face-to-face relations and some rationalization
High	Monastic (1: Mormon United Order) Pre-Marxian (2: Owen, Fourier) Landnationalizing (3) Ger. Youth Mov. (3: Deutschordensland, Barkenhof, Freie Erde) Zionistic (all)	In existence for a few years only	Elections	Gesellschaft

minimized. Furthermore, collectivities appear to survive best when the life is little rationalized, when the group is of the familistic *Gemeinschaft* type, or, at the most, of a blending of contractual *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* traits.

In summary, the genesis, development, and maintenance of rural collectivities presuppose a social milieu in which many persons feel emotionally united by a conviction which is not exclusively economic or utilitarian in character. For this reason, members are ready to accept, at least within the economic sphere, and perhaps within other spheres, a retrenchment of the possibility of making individual decisions. Accordingly, they are willing to submit to an order and to accept a command. They do so, not because the command is considered to be of a bureaucratic character and for that reason competent, but because they consider the order as the will of a superior being or as the manifestation of their own emotionally accepted, dominating idea, or of their own ecstatically idolized group. Therefore it is possible that such an order may slight or destroy the opposing wishes and desires of the individual.

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